Guide to the FJ23 Shilluk File

[This file has 28 sources by 17 different authors. Of these, three are general ethnographic accounts (2: Seligman, 4: Butt, and 17: Pumphrey) while a number of other articles offer general information on the Shilluk as a background for detailed studies of specific problems. 3: Westermann deals primarily with language and folklore and Mrs. Oyler (source no. 12) gives abstracts of folktales. 6: Riad discusses anthropometric measurements of different groups of Shilluk and offers in source no. 10, an evaluation of Shilluk history in order to ascertain the non-Shilluk origins of Fung. 7: Tucker describes children's games and 26: Pumphrey discusses some special characteristics of forms of address for royal personages. An excellent account of marriage and the laws regarding divorce, legitimacy etc. is offered by 8: Howell, who also provides a good account of Shilluk community organization, (source no. 18) its relation to lineages, and the age-grade system. 16: Cann offers an account of daily routine and 21: Mutwakil discusses the different types of dura used by the Shilluk. 23: Paul traces the history of a Shilluk sacred object. The remainder of the file deals primarily with kingship and religion. 9: Howell discusses the king's legal powers and his role in feuds in order to ascertain the actual nature of his powers and 14: Oyler describes the settlement of a feud. 1: Evans-Pritchard presents a general evaluation of the role of the king with a particular stress on the ritual aspects of kingship. Six sources describe installation and burial ceremonies

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(19, 20, 22, 24, 25, and 27). In addition to the religious materials found in the accounts of kingship and in the general monographs, Oyler discusses Shilluk beliefs in medicine men, sorcery and general religious beliefs (11, 13, 28), Lienhardt (5) gives an account of their cosmology and the general characteristics of religion, and Oyler describes some beliefs about natural phenomena (15).

The file as a whole offers little material on material culture, technology, economic organization, child rearing or behavior.

The kin based group termed clan by most authors in this file corresponds to the OCM category 614 (Sibs) and material has been marked accordingly. In addition, since different authors disagree on the functions vested in various types of religious and magical practitioners materials on the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth will be found in categories 754, 756, 791 and 793.]

Processed in 1960-61.

114 *Shilluk People* by Professor Diedrich Westermann,
121 who conducted linguistic research among the Shilluk in 1910, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr's *Die Schilluk*, largely based on the observations of Father Banholzer and other of his fellow Catholic missionaries, which date from the beginning of the century. Father Hofmayr himself worked among the Shilluk from 1906 to 1916. There has, indeed, long been a considerable body of knowledge about the Shilluk and I would not have considered it profitable to discuss the Shilluk kingship afresh were it not that new light has recently been shed on their social structure, and more particularly on the place of the kingship in it, by officers of the Sudan Political Service. It is significant that two of them studied anthropology before joining the Sudan Service, Mr P. P. Howell at Cambridge, from where he had carried out some research among the Shilluk before joining the Service, and Mr W. P. G. Thomson at Oxford. It is from this literature, and especially from the more recent accounts, that I have drawn the material for my lecture, for though the Shilluk live in a part of the world with which I am very familiar, my contact with them has been slight.

101 The Shilluk are the most northern of the Nilotic
175 peoples and have been for centuries in contact

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [175 101] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of 361 161 131

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been
644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line-
[613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang*
565 *nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince
644 during his lifetime, and after his death their de-
613 scendants continued to live near the prince's
621 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general
[101] category of commoners, *colo*, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

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I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔchɔ̄l̄ɩ̄*, "a Shilluk", plural *ɩ̄ɩ̄te chɔ̄l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *ʃɔ̄ɩ̄ chɔ̄l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *chɔ̄l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *ɔkɩ̄ɩ̄ŋ*, "descendants of *kɩ̄ɩ̄ŋ*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ɔchɔ̄l̄ɩ̄*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tɩ̄ɩ̄ŋ*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Masran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Masran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Beiker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mɩ̄ɩ̄ŋ*, *Tɩ̄ɩ̄ŋ*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beraheba.

131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended farther northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Duein; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a trait of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

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The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwo rij* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way; "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chōlo* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

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the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bonj, Nuer fonj and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "fungo", and the plural "fungi". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* o being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and i that of the plural. The meaning of the word "fungo" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Ptoemphanae of the ancients, and morever compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.)

The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smelting and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Fung, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, Jebels Gereiwa and Rera; on the east, Jebel Agadi and the Fazogli district. Southwards, it extends to the Abyssinian frontier, and including the district of Keili and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Fung were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of Abyssinia, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Funj must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. Sir James Bruce, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts *the identity of the Shilluks and Funj.* In his Travels into Abyssinia he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wed Ageeb, the

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174 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole
101 Gezira. *"This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook"*.[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" . . . . but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to
[114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his misdoings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shilluks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tegla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar began in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Fung, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Fung tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name

[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

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of Fung. King Baadi Abu Dign, who reigned from 1635—1671, *attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves.* The Shilluks at that time inhabited the country on both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa. Thence he invaded the mountains of Tagale and destroyed Kordofan, where he again took a large number of slaves. On his return to Sennar he built a number of villages in that district for his prisoners. The prisoners named these villages after those they had left, hence the number of villages now near Sennar with names similar tho those in Jebel Nuba, Tagale, and other districts about Kordofan. In time these slaves supplied the kings of Fung with recruits for their armies. — In 1719 a king whose name was *Gaadi Abu Shilluk* ascended the throne.

In the first half of the 18th century the Fungs drove the Darfurians back, which had at that time dominion over the country east of the White Nile as far as the Atbara; the Fungs then again established their own authority on the banks of the White Nile. In 1770 they even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr el Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile, under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fungs were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region.

According to Cailliaud, a French writer, who was in Sennar about 1820, the "Foungi" came from the Sudan, crossed the White Nile and arrived at "Arbaguy" (= Herbagi of Bruce); here a great battle was delivered, in which the Funj were victorious, so that they became lords of the country; "they gave their name to a part of the Sennar kingdom in the Bouroum (= Burun) country, called also Jebel Fungi, *where the soldiers of the mek live*".

R. Hartmann, who visited the country in 1859/60, is of the opinion that the original home of the Funj is in Sennar. "They recruited their (black) soldiers from their military colonies, which were situated at the foot of the Sennar hills, and from Kordofan Nubas." "Between 1499 and 1530 the christian state of Alos (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and *whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks*". *"The Shilluks are relatives of the Funj,* whose intimate allies they were during the conquest of Sennar in the 16th century."

Cailliaud and the A. E. S. as well as Bruce give a list of the Funj kings, which, though differing in severel items, is on the whole consistent. Bruce fixes the beginning of the dynasty in the year 1504, Cailliaud in 1484, and A. E. S. in 1493.

Leaving the question of the provenience of the Funj alone, the following can

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be regarded as sure: 1. The kingdom of Funj was founded in the beginning of the 16th, or at the end of the 15th century. 2. the political influence of the Funj extended at times westward beyond the White Nile, as far as Darfur and Kordofan; consequently the Shilluks must also have been under the dominion of the Funj, as their country is situated on the way to Kordofan. 3. All writers confirm that the Funj have repeatedly transplanted great numbers of Shilluk and Kordofan prisoners into the Funj country, where they were settled, formed large colonies of their own, and finally submerged in the "Funj" nation. It was these large numbers of new settlers who formed the bulk of the Funj armies and enabled them to carry on their great conquests. 4. But it is not at all unprobable that portions of the Shilluk people should have emigrated into Sennar of their own will; the coincidence of the arrival of the Shilluks in the White Nile region and the foundation of the Funj kingdom is remarkable; both events took place about the beginning of the 16th century; at that time the Shilluks inhabited *both* shores of the White Nile as far north as Kawa; consequently they lived in close contact with the people of Sennar, and it seems not unlikely that parts of them should have pushed forward into Sennar, the more so as they had only just arrived in the country and were not yet finally settled; such an emigration would also explain their now being limited to a relatively small district compared with the former much larger size of the Shilluk country. 5. The Shilluks themselves tell in their traditions of repeated and severe fights against the people of Sennar; they call the place where these wars were fought, Chai, and say it is close to Roseires on the Blue Nile, that is *east* of Jebel Gule, where the old capital of the Funj was situated. 6. Cailliaud in his book "Voyage à Méroé, names 50 villages beginning in *Fa*, in the Bertat and Faseql country on both sides of the Blue Nile; as shown above, *Fa* is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, being an abbreviation of *fa*, *pa* "village". It seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks who emigrated into these regions. 7. The Shilluks living in Sennar called the aboriginal inhabitants "*bueá* or *fueá*" (= Fenj, Funj) that is "strangers", just as to-day they call every one who is not a Shilluk: *bueá* (= *bueaj*), and finally this became the name of the "Funj nation". 8. It is possible that this Shilluk population in Sennar came to political influence and took part in the government of the state. This becomes even highly probable by a very curious remark of Bruce; where he translates the name Fungi by "free citizen" he continues: "Methinks they should not boast of the title "free citizen", because the first name of nobility in this country is that of 'slave', indeed they have no other title except this. If a man in Sennar feels himself not sufficiently respected, he will ask at once: 'Do you not know who I am? Do you not know I am a

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174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England
101 would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

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Funj.		Shilluk.	
bunj	Arab	*bwoń*	stranger, Arab
ibibia	ant	*bī*	white ant
kamas	to eat	*chāmo*	to eat
ńań	hippo	*ńań*	crocodile
lei	giraffe	*lęi*	game
jok	God	*jwok*	God
kglu	star	*kyglo*	star
mine	dumb	*mjn*	dumb
kaj au	to-day	*kach au*	this time
ko-song	spear	*tgń*	spear
luas	stick	*loţ, loţ*	stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has *not* in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hameg (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hameg continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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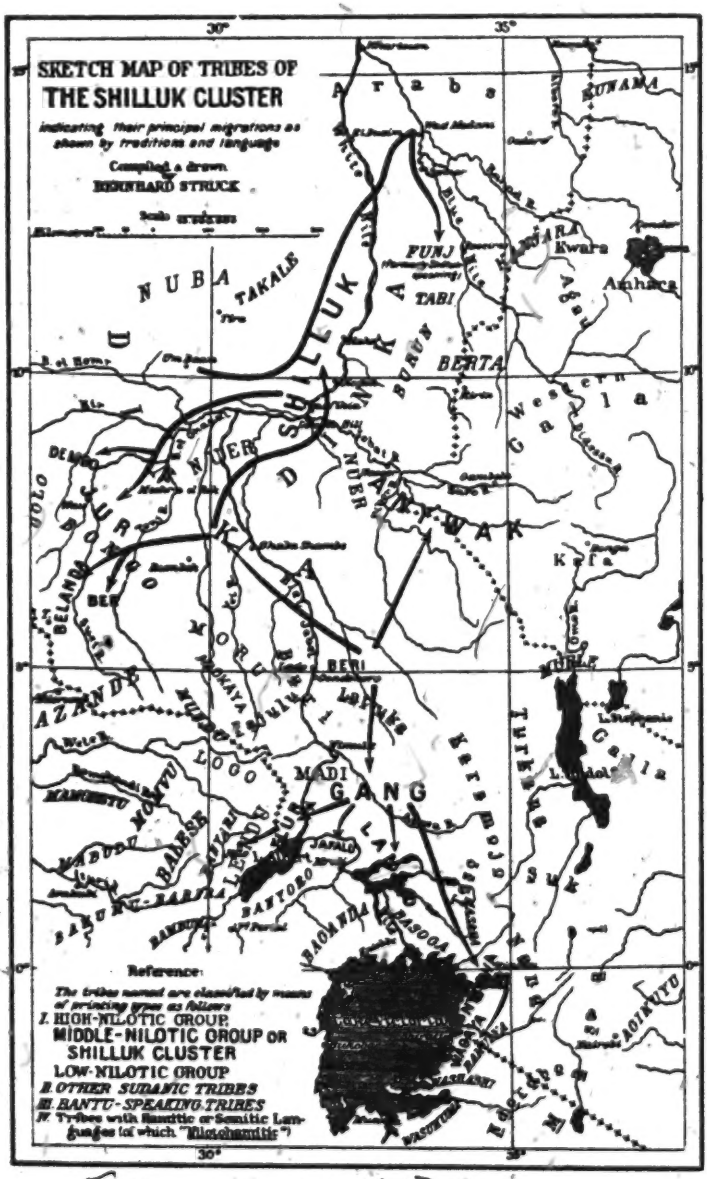

[Following p. LXIV (B)]

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S. kwani to count, read
E. *χlẽ* to count, read
T. *kani*, *kane* to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara, karan* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwenọ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nḷú, nḷua to lick, suck
E. *ḍọ́* to lick, suck
ḍúḍọ́ to lick
Y. *adun*, *adọn* taste
Nu. *duge*, *dach* to lick
Shi. *ḍọ̄ḍọ* to suck, lick
Shi. *ḍwọ̄ḍọ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagi to divide
E. *afā* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afā* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pạ́ṅọ* to divide

S. pụ́ to beat
E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwōdọ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tiagi to be hard
E. *sẽ* to be hard, strong
Di. *chek* to be hard
Shi. *tẹ̄k* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *tẹ̄k* to be hard
Any. *tẹ̄k* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tiji hand
E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyẹ̄nọ* hand
Ju. *shyēno* hand
Any. *shyẹnọ* hand

S. tiji to bear a child; wife
E. *ashi* wife
Ku. *shi* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash, ashi* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chi* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Ócholọ* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chọ̄l*, or *wate Chọ̄l* "children of *Chọl*"; their country: *fọtẹ chọ̄l;* their language: *ḍọ chọ̄l.* The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bạr*, by the Nuers: *Tẹt.*

The *Anywaks* call themselves: *Asiwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálāk*, by the Dinkas: *Pálāk*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jāne;* they are called by the Shilluks: *ójáṅọ* pl. *jáṅi;* by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánāt* a Nuer man, pl. *Kẹ́gánāt;* their language: *tọk Nāt;* they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuẹ́r*, by the Dinkas: *Núẹ̀r;* by the Arabs: *Nuẹ́r* or *Nawár.*

The Jurs call themselves De-Luọ or Luọ, by the Shilluks they are called Odimọ, "descendants of Dimọ", by the Bongo: *Bẹ̄r.* The Belanda call them-

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuago*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *jwok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurwa, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alol, Achak (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Eyingar, (near Lul) Fadit (near eastern Jau), Kolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Autu (eastern bank), Famath, Thrujok, Kwogo, Fokan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar und Nyijok.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"A"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lauk (southern Shilluk province) - we get a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *pedh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pedh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *pedh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *pedh ello*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pedh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *ayireth* (son of a *reth*), or *ayinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyareth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang ayireth* Adung, &c.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part I & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104 194

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 101 [173 197]

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang 173

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[221] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
[883] across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
614 opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
631 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
182 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
721 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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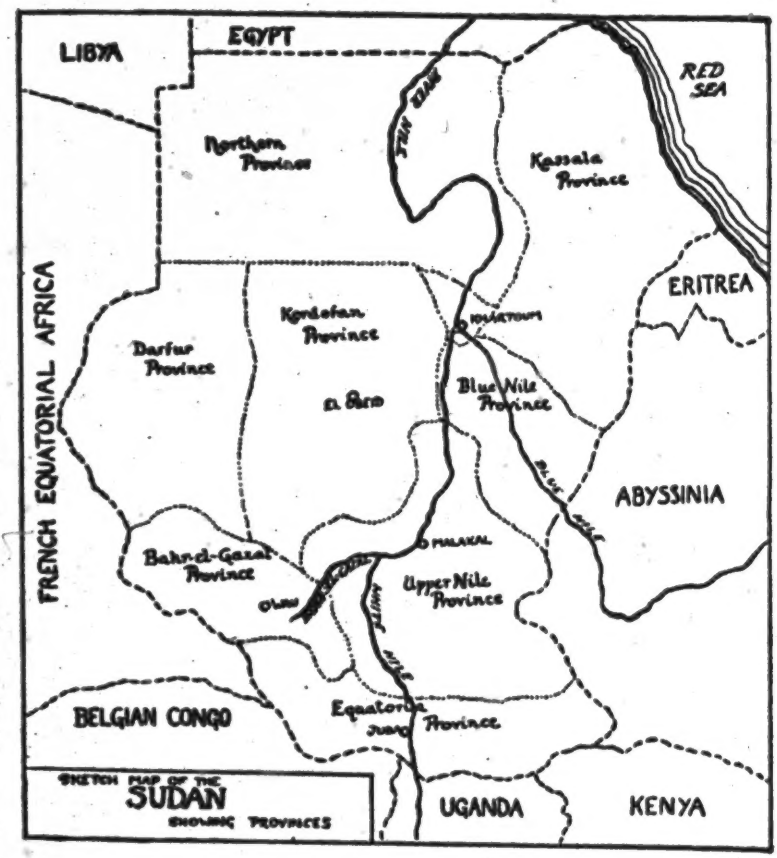

This was made on the paddle steamer which wanders along the river between Khartoum in the north and Juba in the south, accepting and delivering mail and cargo at the trading posts and mission stations established on the Nile banks. The good ship *Rejaf* was more of a convoy than a single vessel, for she pushed and pulled along with her seven barges for passengers and cargo. First-class passengers were accommodated on the steamer itself; intermediate second-class passengers were carried on a house-boat-like barge alongside; in front went three barges conveying

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [565] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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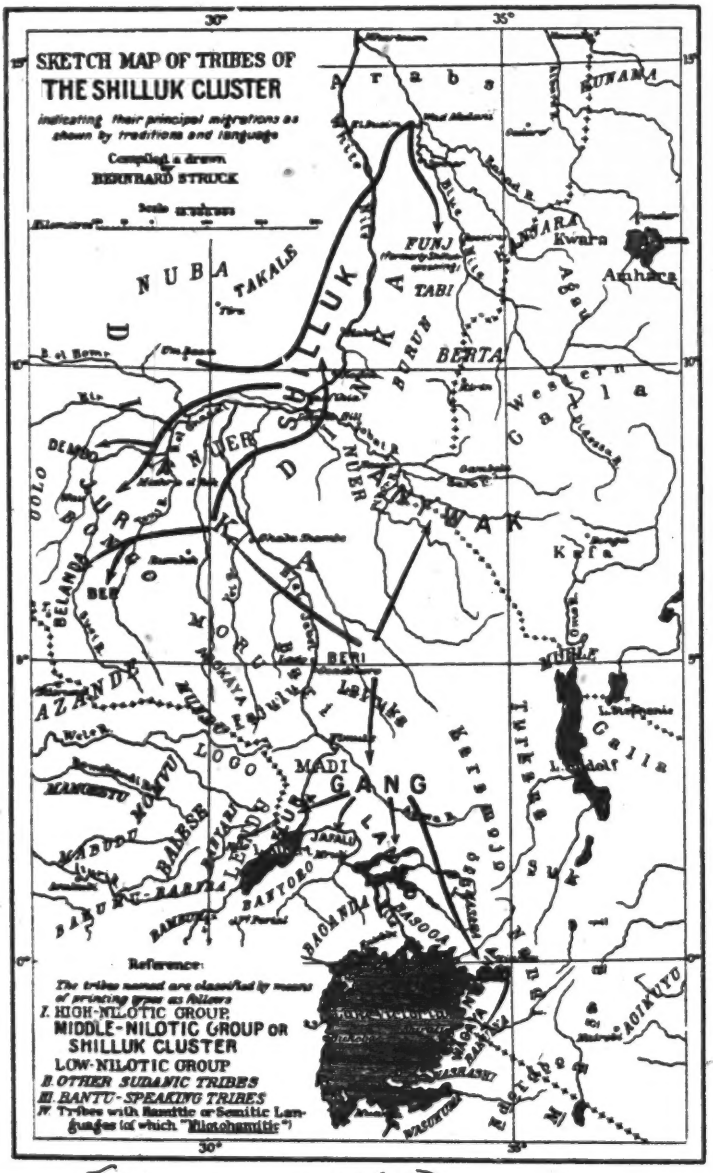
SKETCH MAP OF TRIBES OF
THE SHILLUK CLUSTER
indicating their principal migrations as shown by traditions and language
Compiled & drawn
BERNHARD STRUCK
Scale unknown
Reference:
The tribes named are classified by means of printing types as follows
I. HIGH-NILOTIC GROUP
MIDDLE-NILOTIC GROUP OR SHILLUK CLUSTER
LOW-NILOTIC GROUP
II. OTHER SUDANIC TRIBES
III. BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES
IV. Tribes with Hamitic or Semitic Languages (of which "Nilotohamitic")
Arabs
NUBA
TAKALE
SHILLUK
FUNJ
TABI
BERTA
Kwara
Amhara
Kafa
Galla
ANUER
DINKA
BEL
BERI
AZANDE
LOGO
MADI
GANG
JAPALU
BANTORO
BASOGA
BANTU-BARTA
MANGBETU
MABUDU
BABESE
MOMVU
MOMBUTTU
MOMBUTTU
MOMBUTTU
TWIRERE
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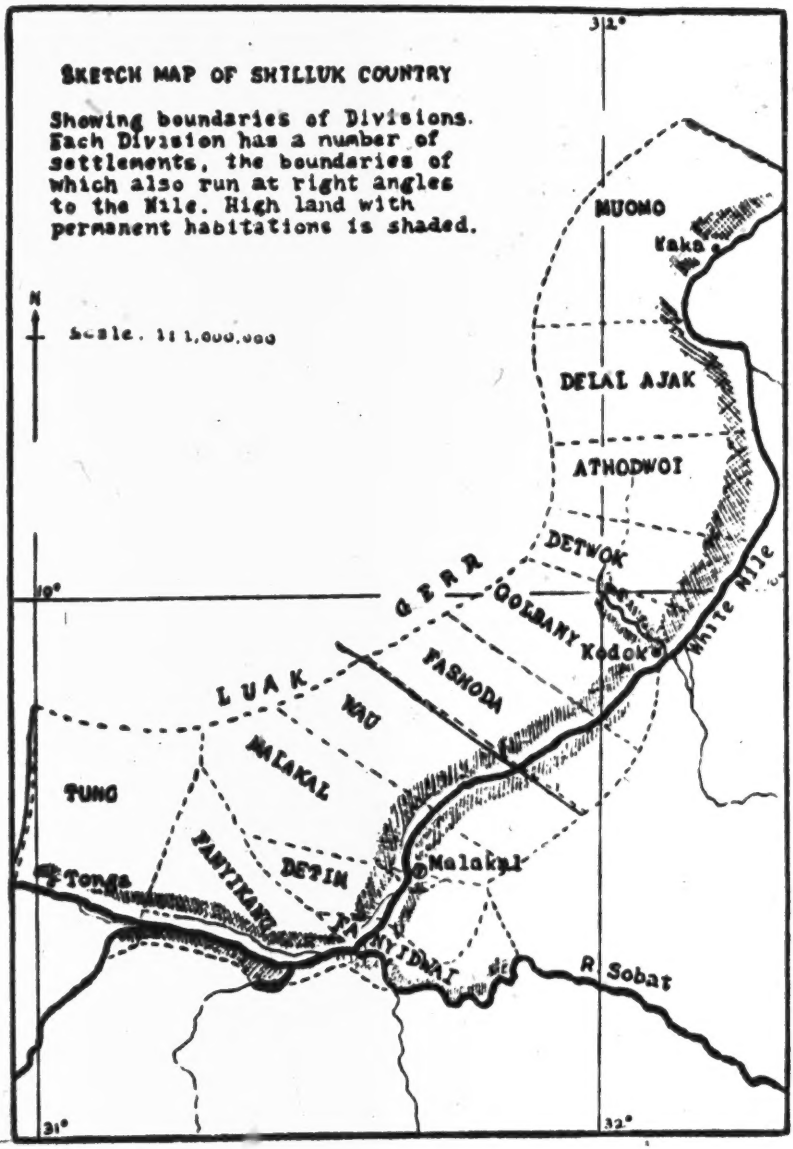

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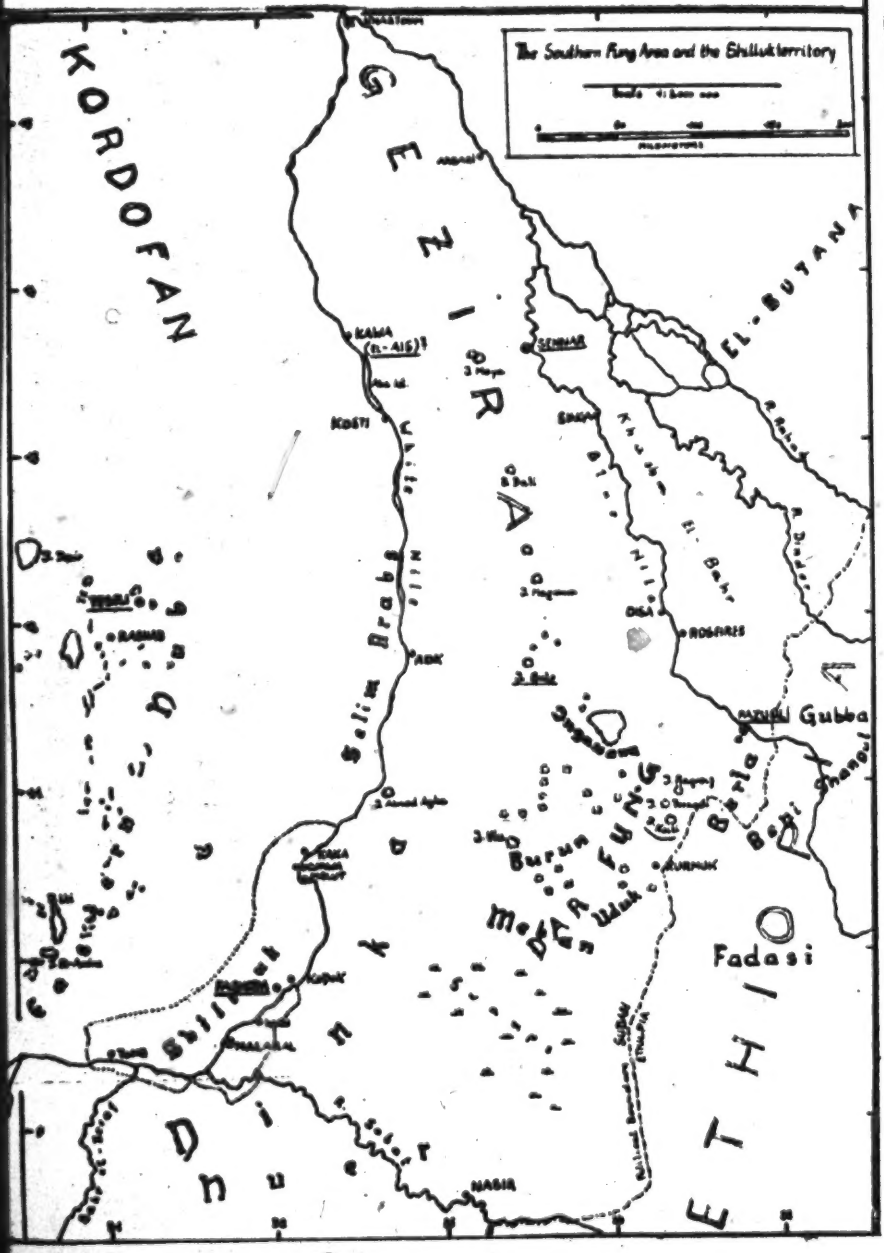

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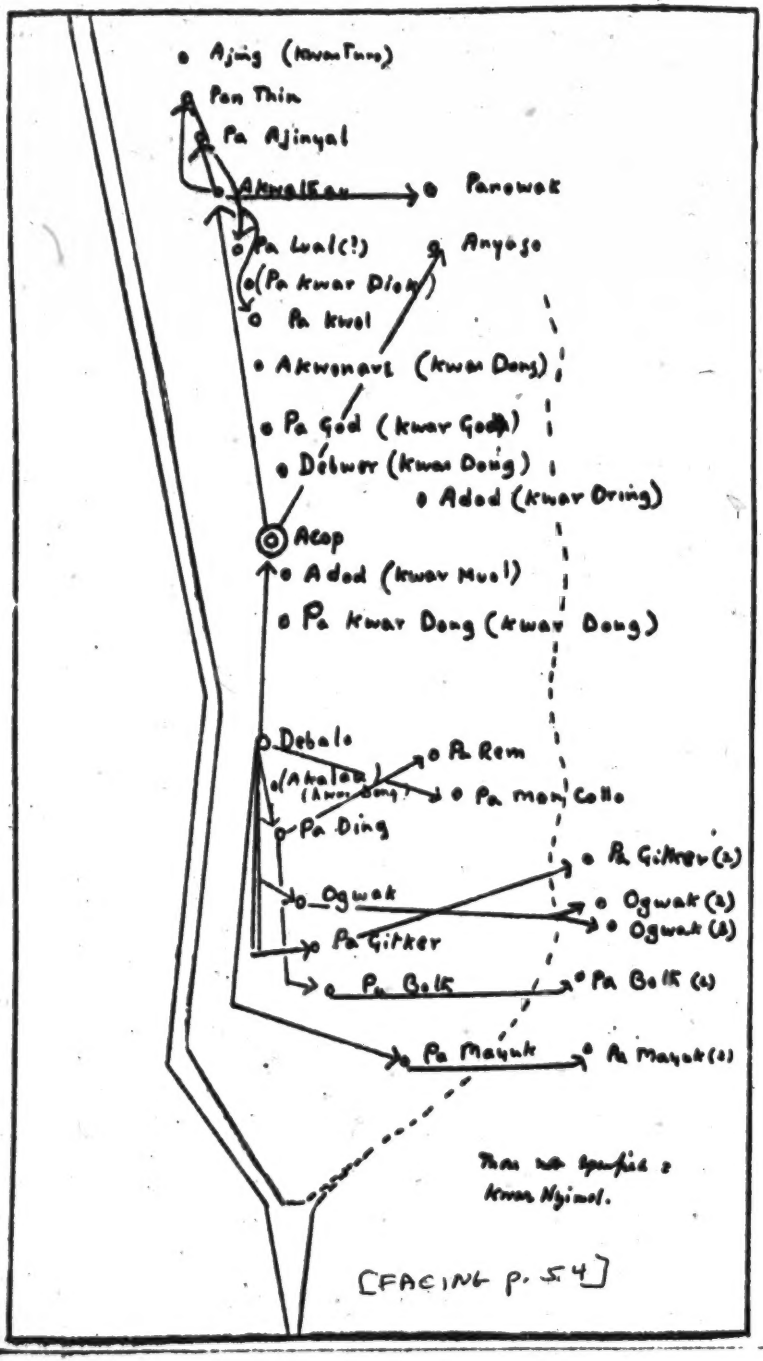

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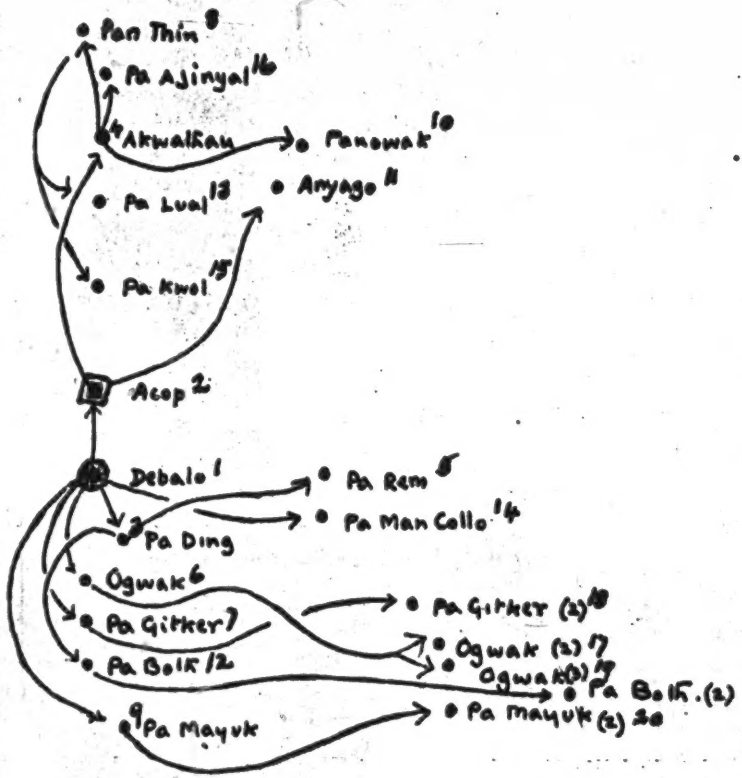

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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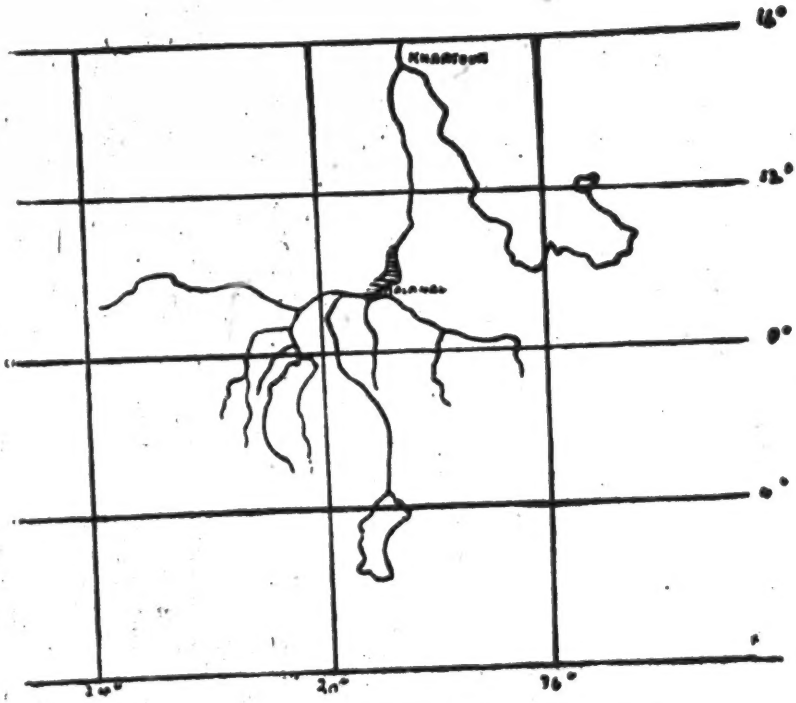

THE SHADED POSITION SHOWS THE TERRITORY OF THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

[p. 4]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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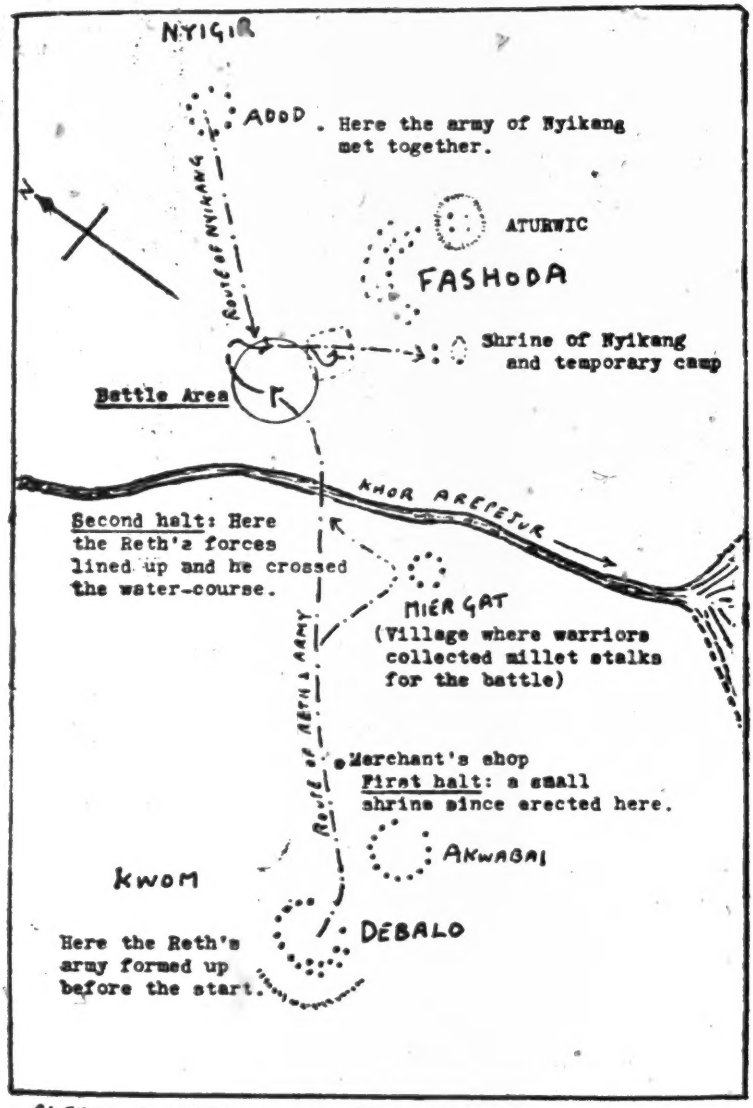

SKETCH-MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

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24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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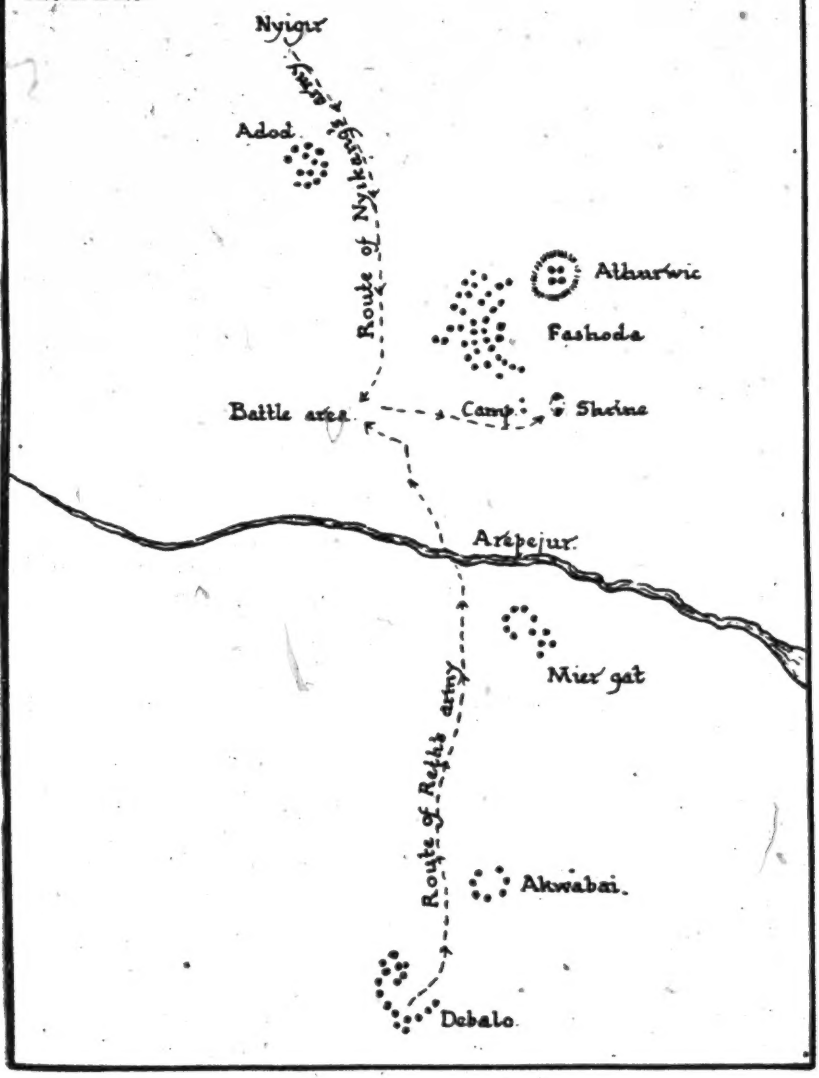
SKETCH MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES

Not to scale.



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24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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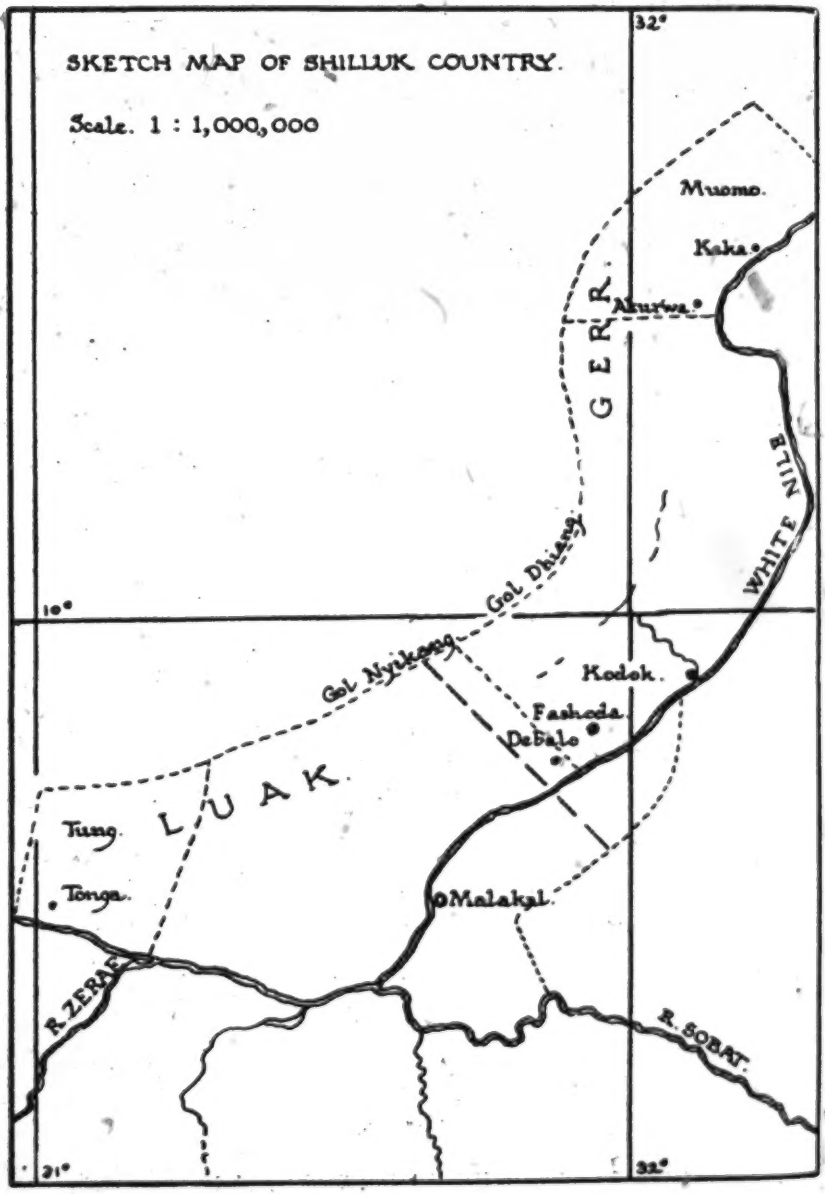

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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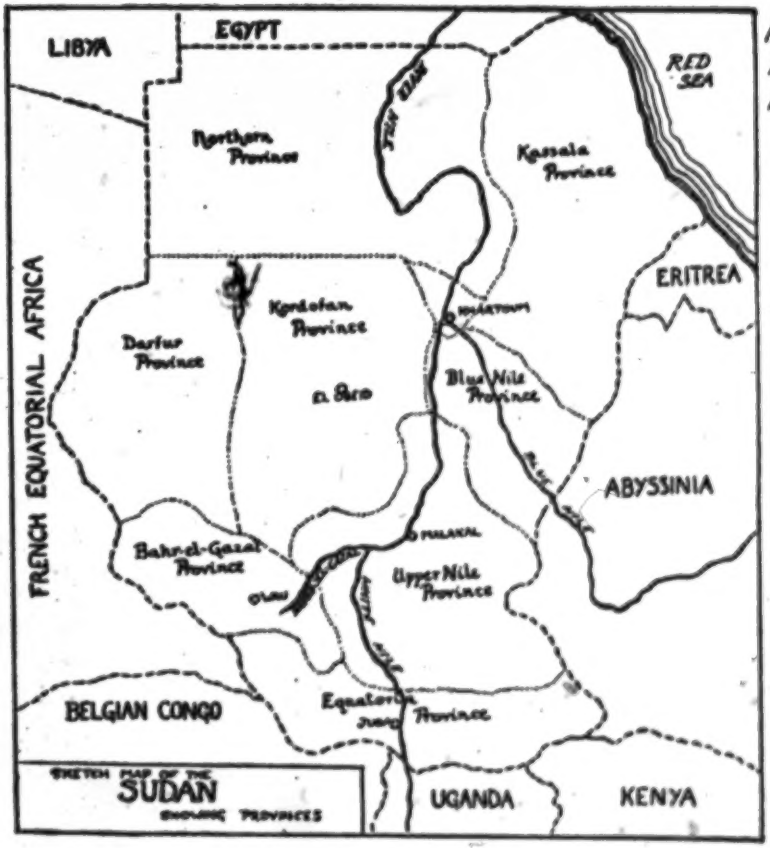

This was made on the paddle steamer which wanders along the river between Khartoum in the north and Juba in the south, accepting and delivering mail and cargo at the trading posts and mission stations established on the Nile banks. The good ship *Rejaf* was more of a convoy than a single vessel, for she pushed and pulled along with her seven barges for passengers and cargo. First-class passengers were accommodated on the steamer itself; intermediate second-class passengers were carried on a house-boat-like barge alongside; in front went three barges conveying

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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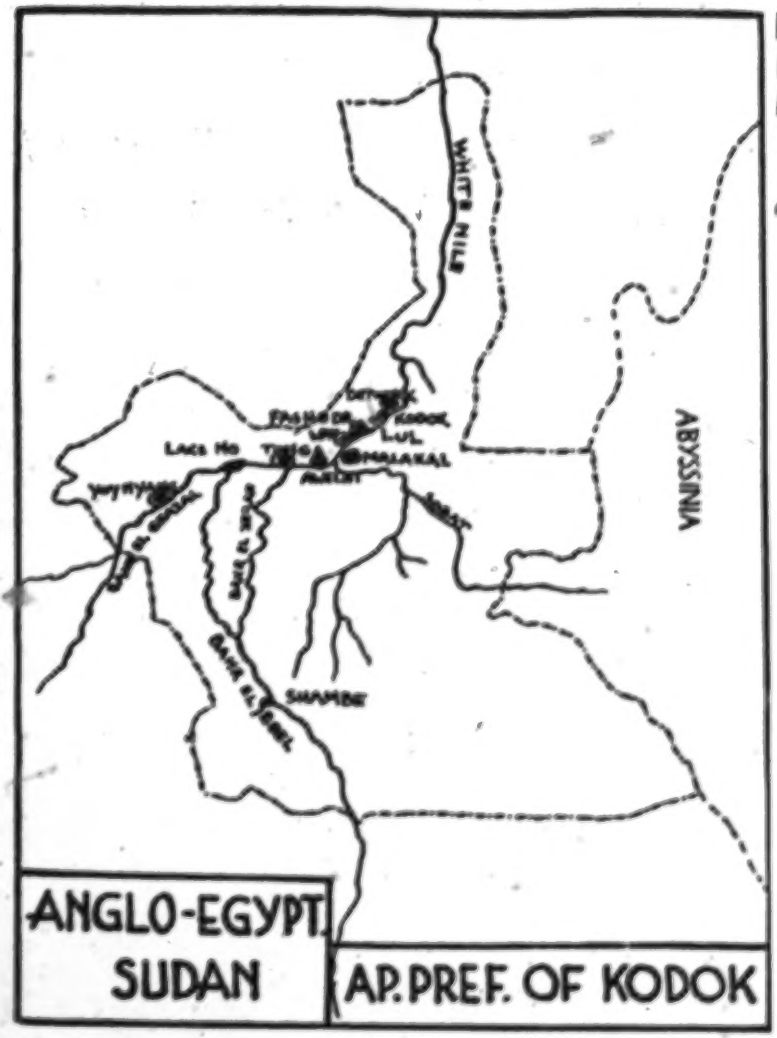
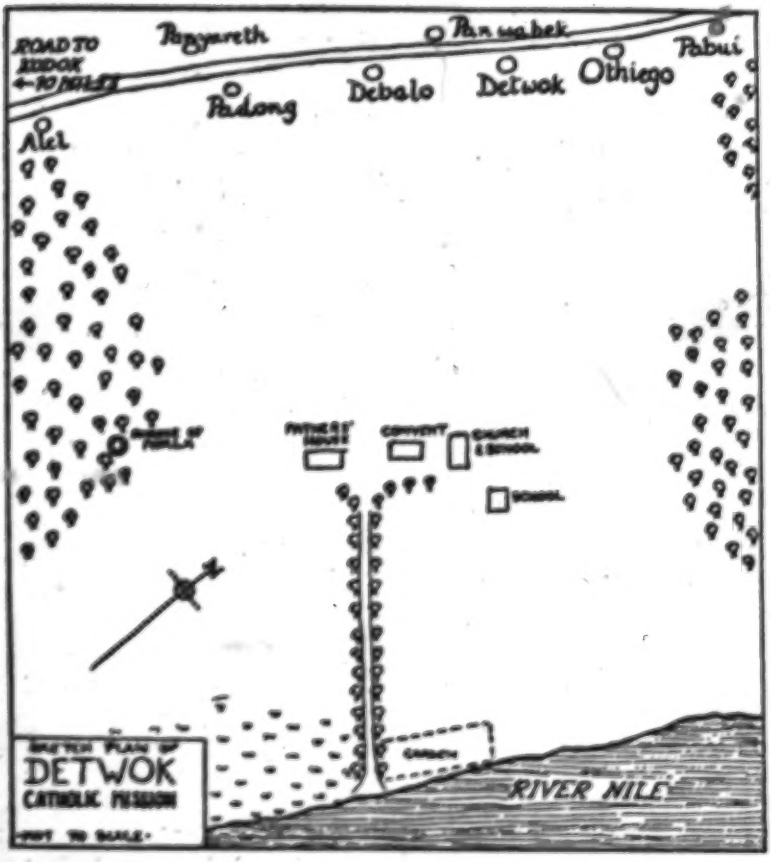


had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 9 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had 77 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔcɔ̀ɔ̀l*, "a Shilluk", plural *ɔgɔ́ɔ́ cɔ̀ɔ̀l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *ʃɔ́ɔ́ cɔ̀ɔ̀l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cɔ̀ɔ̀l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *cɔ̀ɔ̀ig*, "descendants of *ɔ̀ɔ̀ig*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *cɔ̀ɔ̀ig*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tɔ̀ɔ̀g*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Mazraa Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Mazraa Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Bolkar.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwome and Tonga (*Mɔ́ɔ́gɔ́, Tɔ̀ɔ̀g*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.

131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended further northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Duaim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil." 101 171 241

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shillak.(6) 161

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong: 114

Akurua, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alel, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Nyingar, (near Lul) Fadit (near eastern Lau), Kolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Butu (eastern bank), Pamath, Tharujok, Kango, Fokan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar und Nyijok. [103]

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7) Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth. 125

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain. 114 141

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"1"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.3	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lauk (southern Shilluk province) - we get a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned. 141

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief." (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
621 Shilluk political institutions. (27) Those institutions are more or less matters
643 of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan. London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligamn, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "C"
(15) see above , table "C", card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[m 997] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 59
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 50
(26) Ibid, p 50
[117] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Fung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

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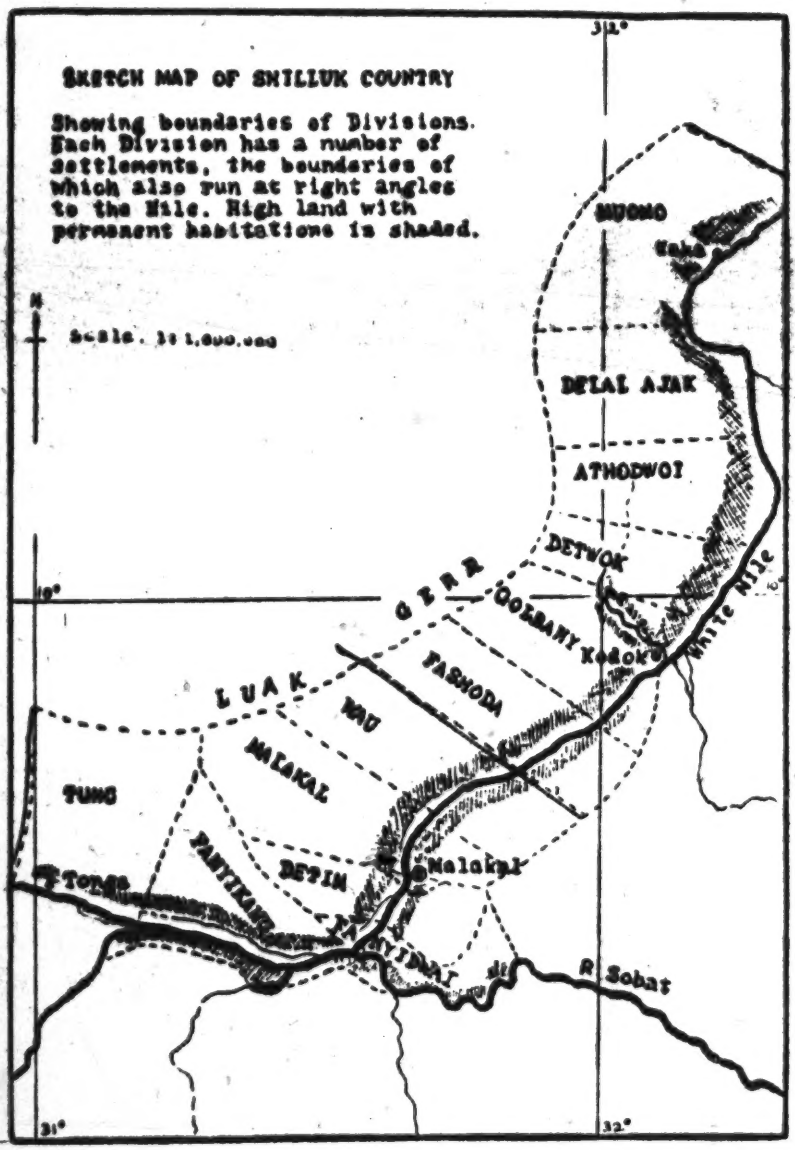
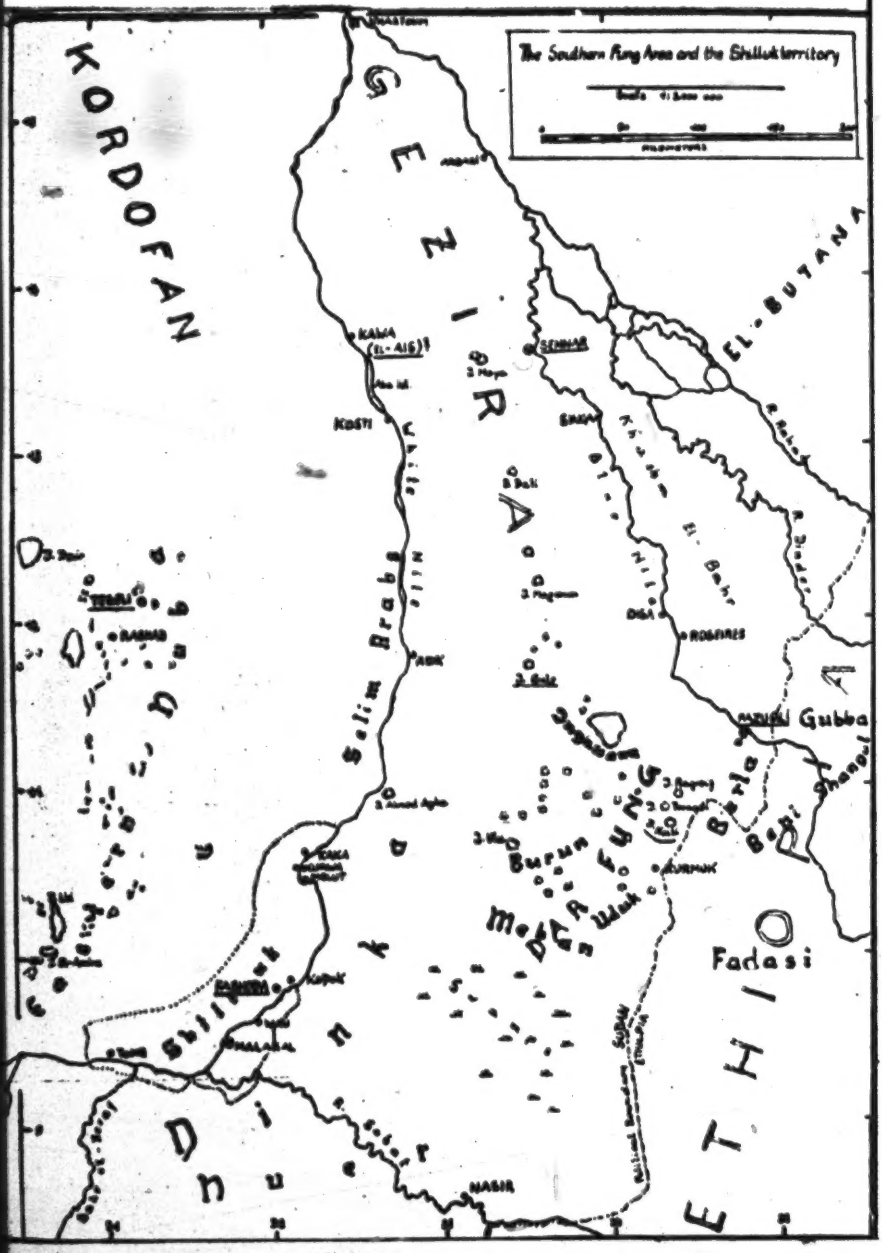


10: Rind E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
	Akurwa	94	
Delal	Nun	139	Delal
	Arumboth....	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
	Arueth	57	
Atoduoi	Thuro	197	Athoduoi
	Dimoth	66	
	Athoduoi	310	
	Nyilec	144	Abiangyai
	Fanyikang	50	
	Ogod	101	
Detwok	Abiangyai	174	
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	52	Oticogo
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Alel	97	
	Kwocung	73	
	Acago	77	
	Ataro	62	
Golbaß	Golo	377	Golbaß
	Kodok	550	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Golbaß	226	
	Nyigir	466	
OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAR.			
Fashoda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul....	250	
	Yoß	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu....	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol....	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	65	

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAR.			
Ogod	Fathau	75	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogod Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
	Ogod Famadh	128	
Malakal	Malakal Fathuoro	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobuenyo	71	
	Obwa	357	Awarajuok
	Awarajuok	269	
	Athokong	129	
Dettim	Adodo	141	Dettim
	Dur	232	
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	
	Obai Abujop	161	Fanyidwai
	Obai Dego	101	
	Fakang	214	Fakang
Fanyidwai	Falo	216	Fanyidwai
	Fathuoro	95	
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
	Faju	267	
	Abujop	210	
	Odwar	63	
Nyijok	Nyijok	226	non existent
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Oduoje	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
	Nyilwak	279	
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
Tonga	Diff	96	Nyibang
	Nyijwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	Tonga (Tung)
	Atigo	145	
	Nyibodo	122	
	Ayadhajo	108	
	Fafunje	104	

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18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

361 621 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have 361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as [613] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 621 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacoda* = *Facoda* (*Fashoda*).

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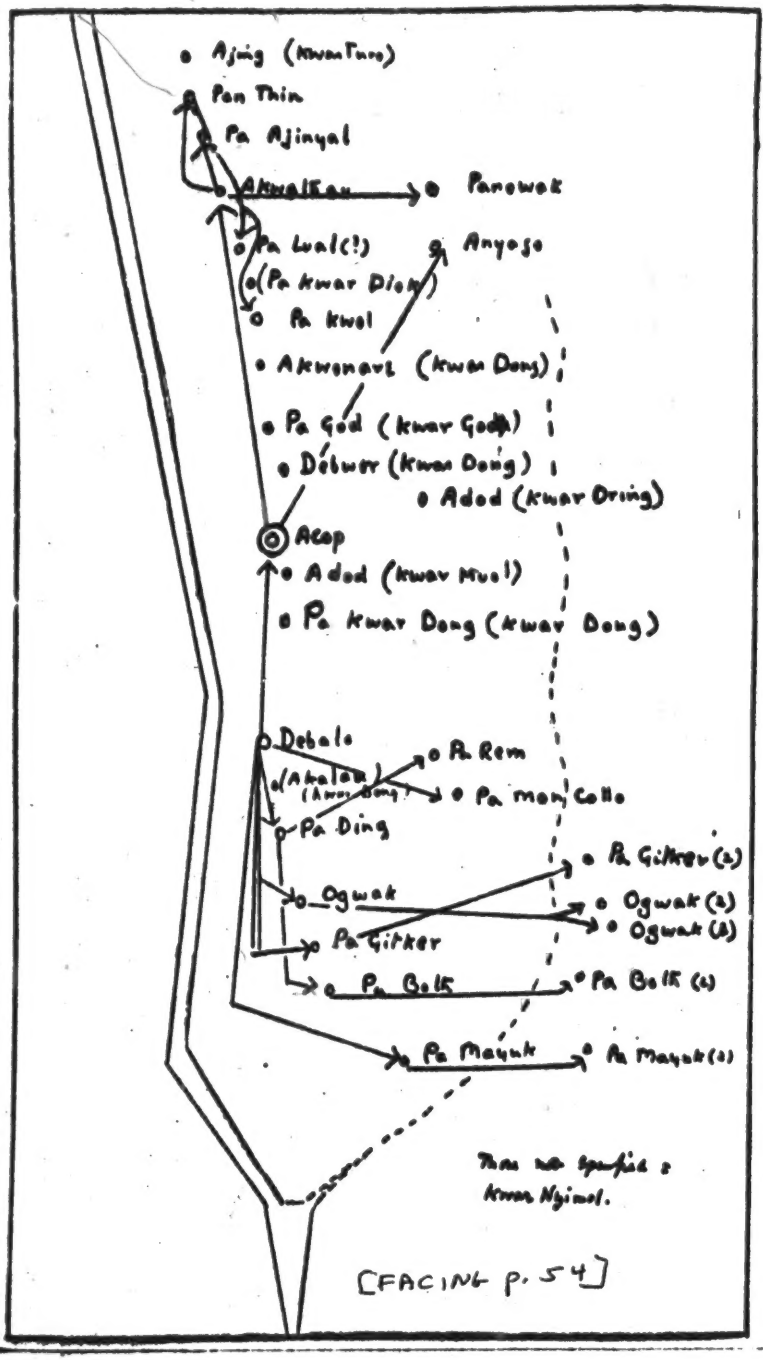

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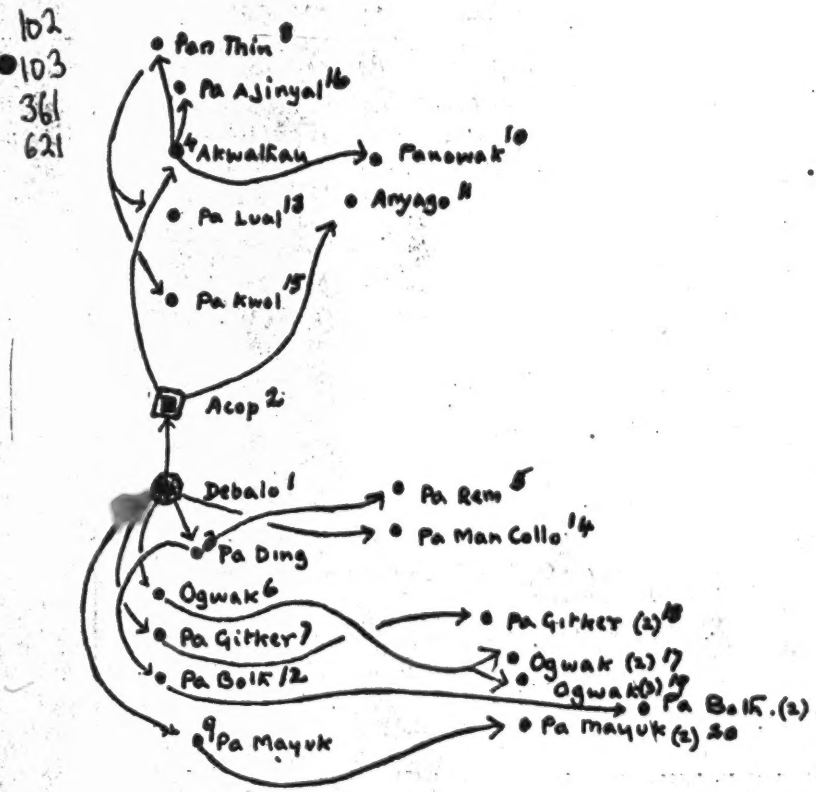
102
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Pan Thin 8
Pa Ajinyal 16
4 Akwalkau
Panowak 10
Pa Lual 13
Anyago 11
Pa Kwol 15
Acop 2
Debalo 1
Pa Rem 5
Pa Man Collo 14
3 Pa Ding
Ogwak 6
Pa Gitker (2) 18
Pa Gitker 7
Ogwak (2) 17
Pa Bolk 12
Ogwak (3) 19
Pa Bolk. (2)
9 Pa Mayuk
Pa mayuk (2) 20

[FACING p. 55]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[FACING p. 6]

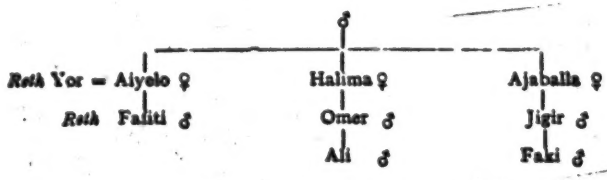
19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

NOTES TO PART I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no fuueral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizoutally upon forked sticks.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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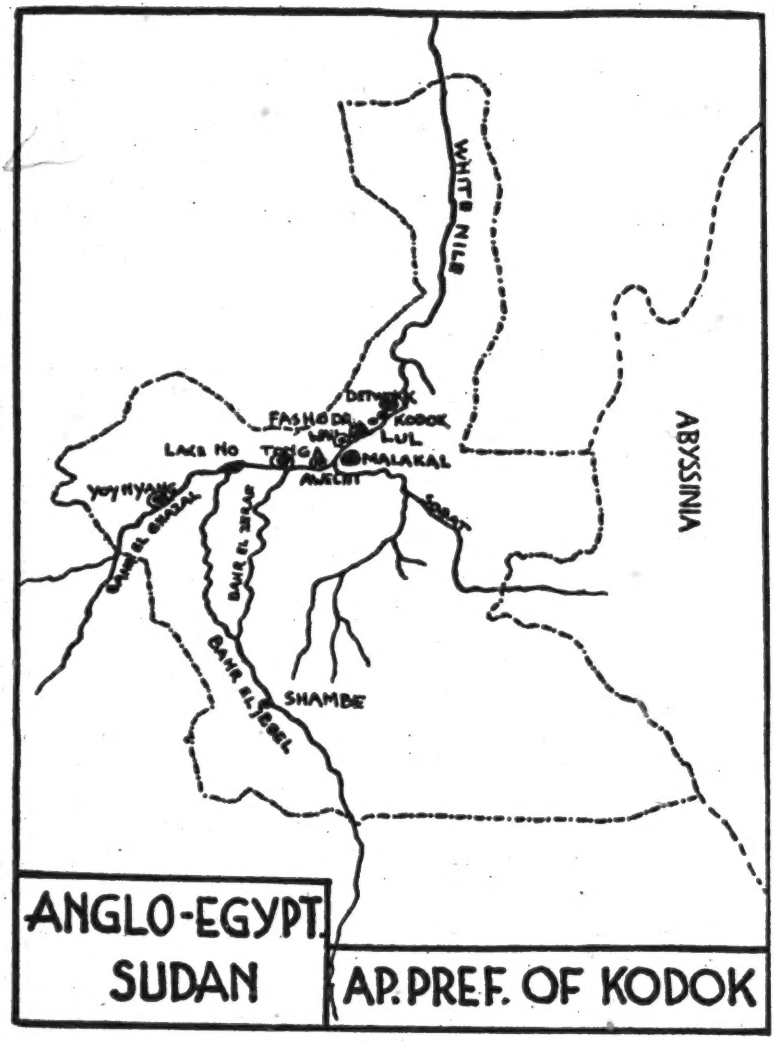

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its 174
home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. [197]
This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that 173
long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half 174
of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away,
a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its [103]
name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 648 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term '"Fashoda" Incident' is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north [103] of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognized right of any potential [669]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

104

ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective
adv. = adverb
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Authors Quoted"
interr. = interrogative
n. = noun, also verbal noun
prep. = preposition
rel. = relative
v. = verb
v. a. = verb active
v. n. = verb neuter
verb. n. = verbal noun

ff. = and the following
* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
\- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. *ádfr-ádfr* means: *ádfr-i* is the singular, *ádfr* the plural
(means: is derived from
) means: changes into.

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

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Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Alur
Any. = Anywak
Ba. = Bari
Bo. = Bongo
Di. = Dinka
E. = Ewe
Ef. = Efik
G. = Gã
Ga. = Gang
Ju. = Jur
La. = Lango
Nu. = Nuba
Nr. = Nuer
N. = Nupe
Shl. = Shilluk
T. = Tiéi
Y. = Yoruba
V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (Nyilwa).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part I & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104 194

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 101 [173 197]

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang 173

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[178] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth: The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth: A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa: Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak: Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

7. Cf. P. Munro, "Installation of the Reth of the Choi." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 143 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. [194]

Recent Shilluk History.

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[8] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure; he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwathker, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (Note 2) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

8. Fashoda the capital of the *reth* is actually 11 miles upstream of Kodok.

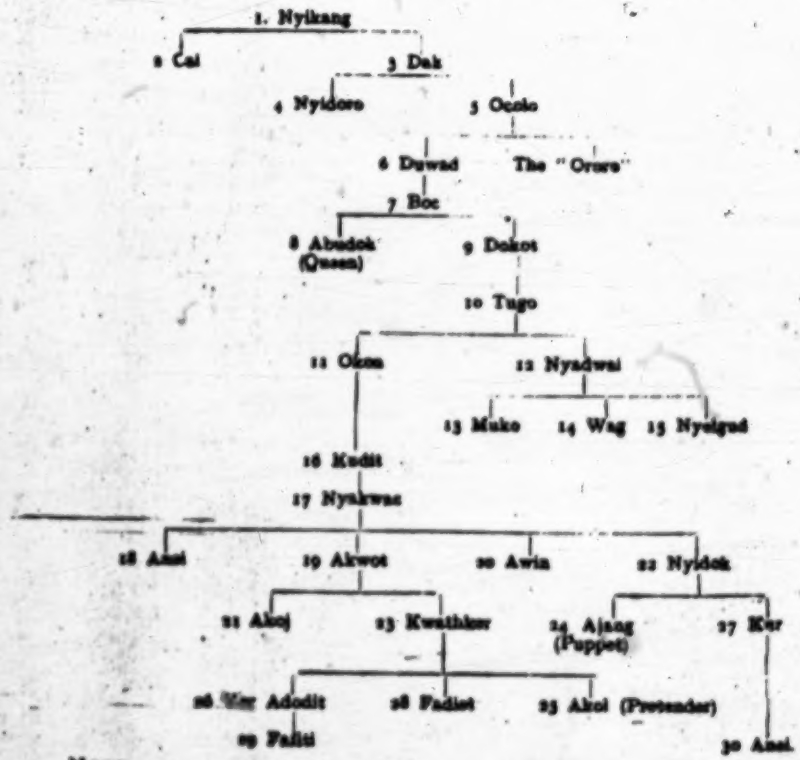
19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX IV.

List of Shilluk Reths.

173 As given by Pumphrey (*op. cit.*) and Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* p. 44.

This supersedes the earlier list given by Seligman in "The Cult of Nyikang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk" p. 218.



NOTE.

[104] The spelling has been altered in a few important cases to bring it more in line with the decisions of the Rejaf Conference.

The tradition is only sound as far back as *reth* Tugo (10).

There is a doubt about Cal (2) as to whether he was *reth*, or whether he stayed behind at the time of Nyikang's migration to become the leader of the Acholi.

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all. 000

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation. 128

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river. [13] 361

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically. 105 221

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition 592 [3 42]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Luo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of whom the Luo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Luo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are chiefly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign enemies and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous custom, particularly that concerning the election and disposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might explain some apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

[114] 177 105

Social Organization

614 105 The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about 100 different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate existence.

[1] G. Schweinfurth, 1873, p. 93.
[2] P. Munro, 1918, and Howell and Thomson, 1946.

existence. The smallest unit of Shilluk social structure is the family (*gol*) [592] living in a homestead of one or two huts. From one to fifty or more such 621 homesteads built together form a hamlet, the members of which keep their 631 cattle together, and are gathered round a headman; a group of hamlets 105 forms a settlement, of which there are about a hundred in Shilluk-land. The settlement is composed of branches of different descent groups, one of which is dominant within the settlement and forms a nucleus around which the others form themselves into a distinct community. This dominant descent group or lineage provides the leader or chief of the settlement. Settlements are politically opposed to each other, though there have been in the past loose confederations of settlements, which have been used, and sharpened in outline, for administrative purposes. The whole of Shilluk land is divided into two provinces, Ger in the north and Luak in the south. All the Shilluk recognize a common head of their whole land, the *reth*, who 643 is here called the king; the king always comes from the royal clan, the 105 *kwareth*, founded by the first Shilluk king, Nyikang; it is the largest clan in Shilluk land, and may have representatives in any settlement. There is now a royal capital at Fashoda. In Shilluk tradition the earliest Shilluk kings had no fixed capital, but reigned from their natal homes. Now, although the capital at Fashoda has been long established, the wives of the king are sent away from Fashoda to various parts of Shilluk land to bear their children, and the children of the king (*nyireth*) are brought up away from the capital. Only those princes whose fathers have been installed as kings of the Shilluk can themselves claim to be installed and, in theory at least, princes who are thus eligible may at any time advance their claims 105 by killing the reigning king. Besides the royal clan, and the lineages of 'commoner' clans, known collectively as the *colo*, there is a distinct clan called *ororo*, originally a branch of the royal house, but said to have been disinherited and cut off by an early Shilluk king. Members of this clan have special duties to perform in connexion with the king, but do not have royal status. In addition, there are the *bang reth*, servants of the king, composed of wives of previous kings, descendants of personal attendants of the king, people possessed by the spirit of Nyikang or of some other king, and others who in one way or another have become retainers dependent on the royal house. From these come the guardians and priests of the shrines of Nyikang, of which there are several in various parts of Shilluk country, and the shrines and graves of other Shilluk kings. Offerings are made at these graves and shrines as part of the religious cult of Nyikang and the royal house, which is the main cult of the Shilluk, though offerings are made to their own ancestors also by the heads of the commoner lineages. Their totemic observances seem to amount to little more than not eating the totemic species, and both totemism and the cult of ancestors of commoner descent groups are said to figure less largely in Shilluk religion than the cult of Nyikang and the kings. Shilluk totemism may in fact be of Dinka origin. Besides the priests of the Nyikang cult, and operating apart from them,

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuogo*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *juok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

101 In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those 173 who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most 173 detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the 829 present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic 186 validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the
[171] institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[131] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-
361 scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which [361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, [558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but [567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to [792 serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who 735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *ororo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, 582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang [554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though 171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and 643 stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary [161 campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 233] 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·5 and 1:0·25. *Cf.* Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:2·5 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan 565 614 [644]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwa*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 644

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth's* daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect. 565 614 644 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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105 similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka. They have, however, an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy, of which there is no counterpart among their more democratic Nilotic neighbours, and which shows more definite and developed principles than those found in the institution of kings among the Anuak and chiefs among the Acholi. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere or a natural and spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking peoples is a controversial subject, which we do not propose to discuss here.[4]

SHILLUK RELIGION AND THE TRADITION OF NYIKANG.

776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral diety is called Juok. Juok is the Shilluk conception of God and is present to a greater or lesser degree in all things. Juok is the explanation of the unknown, the reassuring justification of all the supernatural phenomena, good or bad, of which life is made up. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang. The distinction between them is not clear. Nyikang is Juok, but Juok is not Nyikang, for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place as the hero-leader of Shilluk tradition. He is also the first *reth* of the Shilluk and the founder of the royal 643 house. Further the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk 776 *reth*, and thus exists both in the past and the present. Nyikang is [775] the *reth*, but the *reth* is not Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define. The Shilluk themselves would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the *reth* represent the line through whom divinity runs, a conception which may be expressed as an analogy to the ancestor cult, only the cult is symbolic of the tribe as a whole rather than of the Kwareth alone or other individual kinship groups. The *reth* is clearly himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached, and is the human intercessor of mankind with God. Voluntarily by

4. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (1934), p. 60.

Identification

The Shilluk are a tribe belonging to the Nilotic branch of the Eastern sub-family of the Sudanic linguistic stock. They numbered about 100, 000 in 1932, but Evans-Pritchard (1948) gives their population as 110, 000. From 1820 on, they were subject to intermittent taxation by the Turkish government of Egypt, which finally conquered them in 1867, incorporating them in the Ottoman Empire. Subsequently they came under Mahdist domination, which ended with Kitchener's conquest of the Sudan and the establishment of British rule in 1898.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural and sedentary, with sorghum and pearl millet (Pennisetum spicatum) as the staple crops. Also grown are maize, broom-corn millet (Panicum miliaceum), sesame, cow peas (Vigna sinensis), broad beans (Faba vulgaris), jack beans (Canavalia ensiformis), cucumbers, melons (Cucumis melo), watermelons, pumpkins, and some rice and peanuts.

Zebu cattle, goats, sheep, dogs (for hunting), and chickens are kept, but animal husbandry plays a markedly less prominent role in the economy than among the Nilotic tribes farther south. A 1903 census showed 1.2 cattle per family and 6.4 sheep and goats. Cattle are important for prestige, marriage payments, and milk, but they are not bled while alive.

There is a modest amount of gathering of wild roots, seeds, and fruits. Hunting was formerly important; antelope, elephant, and rhinoceros were caught, and the harpooning of hippopotamus was both a major sport and a prime source of meat. Fishing--done with harpoons, spears, and nets--is very important during the rainy season.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt. Cattle are tended exclusively by men and boys, and milked by boys. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes--more by the men today, more by the women formerly, when warfare was prevalent.

Property

Movable wealth consists primarily of livestock, secondarily of slaves, iron weapons, dugout canoes, drums, and ivory armbands.

Land, including grazing and fishing rights, is communally owned by the local community, more specifically by the founding or dominant lineage thereof. Individuals acquire usufruct rights, presumably heritable, to plots which they bring under cultivation.

Inheritance is patrilineal--by ElSo, by YoBr in default of sons. The heir is obligated to provide cattle for the marriages of his younger brothers.

Social Stratification

There is a complex structure of social classes. In interclass marriages the children take the status of their father. The distinct classes are as follows:

a. Royalty (nyireth), consisting of the king, his children, and the children of all previous kings. The females are forbidden to marry. The males, all of whom are eligible to succeed to the kingship, are compelled to live away from the capital with their maternal kinsmen.

b. Nobility. This class consists of all the patrilineal descendants of former kings who are not actually the children of a king. They are differentiated from the first class mainly by their ineligibility to succeed to the throne. They are treated with deference but lack authority unless they happen to be heads of communities. They belong to the royal sib, which is the largest in the land (numbering 7 per cent of the total population).

c. Degraded royalty (ororo). This class consists of a single small sib comprising the patrilineal descendants of members of the royal class who were in former times, for various reasons, declared ineligible to succeed to the kingship. Except for certain ritual functions their status differs little from that of the nobility.

d. Commoners (colo). This class is composed of the patrilineal descendants of the Shilluk followers of Nyikang, who traditionally conquered the Shilluk country and founded the state.

e. Retainers (bang reth). This class consists of clients of the king, who are organized into an artificial exogamous sib reported to be even larger than the royal sib. They are composed of the following and their patrilineal descendants: war captives kept by the king as personal servants, convicted murderers and their brothers, and poor commoners and aliens who have attached themselves to the king in return for cattle to marry with. They are ineligible to hold land or to intermarry with the royal class and thus have a status somewhat lower than that of commoners. In addition to those who are personal retainers of the king, they include retainers (and their patrilineal descendants) assigned to tend the burial shrines of deceased kings in their natal communities, along with the elderly widows of the latter, and others assigned as clients to royal princes "planted out" in their maternal communities.

f. Slaves, comprising war captives, slaves purchased from the Arabs, children bought from poor parents during a famine, and their descendants. Hofmayr also mentions debt slaves. The children of slaves are slaves, but there is no prohibition against a slave man marrying a free woman.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price and usually also a certain amount of premarital bride-service. An average bride-price consists of ten cattle, seven sheep or goats, and some spears and other goods. A man usually derives the bulk of his bride-price from that received for his younger sister. It is paid to the head of the bride's homestead, i.e., her Fa, FaBr, or Br, and, in contrast to Dinka and Nuer usage, her MoBr does not receive a share. Payments are normally made in installments over a number of years, at the completion of which the bride leaves her home, commonly with a rite of mock capture.

Polygyny is general (incidence c. 23%), preferential and preferably sororal. Wealthy men also take slave concubines. Each co-wife has

her own hut. Secondary unions, which Westermann suggests are of the "seed-raising" type, are customary with BrWi and FaWi. Howell denies "ghost marriages" of Dinka and Nuer type.

Family

The normal residential unit is an independent polygynous family occupying an individual homestead, typically two huts encircled by a fence. The hamlet is a large extended family or patri-clan.

Residence

Children live in the homestead of their father (ElBr if Fa is dead) until puberty, when girls move to a separate hut and boys go to live in a special hut in the hamlet's cattle corral which serves them as a bachelors' dormitory. Patrilocal residence is the norm, though it may be preceded by a period of from a few days to a year during which the bride continues to live in her paternal homestead. Individual cases of matrilocal residence occur, this being the principal way in which a new lineage becomes established in a community. There are also individual cases of neolocal residence, especially when royal retainers are removed from their special hamlet near the capital and attached to princes or royal shrines. Avunculocal residence from birth is the rule for royal princes. They are forbidden to live in the capital, and a wife of the king always leaves the capital to bear her children, who are brought up by their maternal relatives, usually a MoBr. This is the way in which royal lineages become established in a large number of communities.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Strict exogamy prevails with respect to the hamlet, but there is a tendency (by no means absolute) toward local endogamy within the community as a whole.

Marriage is forbidden with any first cousin, indeed with any known consanguineal relative. There are no bilateral kindreds.

Kin groups are of the segmentary patrilineal lineage type. There are about 100 exogamous patri-sibs with totemic traces and bearing the names of their traditional common ancestors. They are not corporate units and are scattered over the country, but they are divided into corporate major and minor patri-lineages. A major lineage comprises the members of a sib living in one community; a minor

lineage, those living in one hamlet. A man tends to identify himself with his major lineage rather than his sib, and sib exogamy is occasionally violated for very distant sibmates.

There are a number of suggestive intimations of possible former matrilineal descent. One is the avunculocal rule of residence for royal princes. A second is the prohibition of marriage for royal princesses, which eliminates the possibility of any matrilineal claimant for the throne. A third is the fact that all lineages in a community except the dominant one are considered to be attached to the latter as "sisters' sons"; they are, of course, usually established by the matrilocal or avunculocal residence of their founder. In addition, the avunculate is strong.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--wa, wia. Mo--maia. Ch--nyara. So--wat, wada. Sibling terms are descriptive, meaning FaCh, MoCh, FaSo, MoSo.

FaBr called "father." MoBr--na. MoSi--ma. FaSi--waja. BrSo--umade. SiSo--oka. SiDa--nyaka. GrFa--kwa, kwaia. GrMo--wanga. GrCh--kware.

Cousin terms are descriptive and thus of Sudanese type.

Settlement Pattern

The Shilluk country is divided into about 100 settlements or communities, each consisting of a cluster of hamlets united for defense and age-grade rituals. Hamlets are strung along the banks of the Nile, about 100 yards apart. They consist of from one to fifty homesteads each, the homesteads being commonly arranged in a horseshoe around a central cattle corral. Dwellings are round with cylindrical mud walls and conical roofs of poles and grass thatch.

Community Organization

Each hamlet consists of a localized minor patri-lineage, and is thus a patrilocal clan-barrio. One lineage in each community is the dominant lineage (dyil), usually consisting of the patrilineal descendants of the founding lineage but sometimes of a stronger lineage, occasionally of the royal sib, which has supplanted it. The other lineages, called wedh, which often belong to other sibs, are bound to the dominant lineage as its "sisters' sons," and were usually originally established by a matrilocal or avunculocal marriage.

Each community has an age-grade organization, which formerly functioned in war but today only regulates etiquette at feasts. The grades are three in number (young men, warriors, and elders), and each is commonly divided into three subdivisions. As boys reach puberty they are initiated into the lowest age-grade and into successive divisions thereof. As these grow unwieldy, but not at set intervals, a community "cutting ceremony" is held, at which the surviving men of the oldest grade pass into retirement, the older subdivisions of the intermediate grade pass into the oldest grade, and the most recent subdivisions of the young men pass into the intermediate grade. The movement is sometimes by one but usually by two age-sets or sub-grades at a time, rather than by an entire grade.

Local Government

Each hamlet has a headman, who represents it on the council of the community and receives a robe of office from the chief of the community or from the king. The headman is the head of the minor lineage localized in the hamlet. The community or settlement has a chief (jago), who is normally the head of the dominant lineage. He has ritual connections with the soil, and maintains the local shrine of Nyimang, the royal ancestral spirit. He is elected by the council of lineage heads from among the men of the senior minor lineage of the dyil lineage. He is directly responsible to the king, who confirms him in office but does not appoint him.

State

The Shilluk are organized into a single tribal state under a divine king (reth), who resides in the capital town of Fashoda where he is served by a large body of retainers. He is the direct patrilineal descendant of Nyikang, the culture hero and traditional founder of the kingdom through conquest, and his authority is based on the belief that the spirit of Nyikang dwells within him and rules through him. A royal stool is a symbol of his office, and it is his duty to maintain and replenish the sacred cattle herds of Nyikang. He is the high priest of the country, making sacrifices for rain and for victory in war. The entire welfare of the country is believed to rest upon him (or rather upon the indwelling spirit of Nyikang). He must therefore maintain himself in a state of ritual purity and perfect

health, for if he weakens or suffers misfortune this may indicate the loss of his divinity and the possibility that the spirit of Nyikang may desert his people. This can be prevented only by regicide (see below). The king maintains a court and a harem of wives. When he dies, his elderly widows tend his tomb; younger ones are inherited by his successor. Hofmayr states that his principal wife can serve as his representative in criminal tribunals in his absence. Several sources report that kings often married their sisters or half-sisters, but in general all royal princesses were forbidden to marry or bear children. The death of a king is followed by an anarchic interregnum while his successor is being selected from among the men of the royal class by a body which may be called an electoral college. The principal persons in this body were the chiefs of the two provinces, a northern and a southern one, into which the kingdom was divided, but it also included the chiefs of the northern and southern marches or border communities, the chiefs of the nine communities descended from those among whom Nyikang traditionally divided his conquered territory, and the chiefs of three prominent noble lineages. The electors must come to a decision, else the state will cease to exist and its divine support be lost. Naturally, however, they tend to support different candidates, the chiefs of the two provinces being particularly rivalrous. Compromises are therefore inevitable. A particularly common compromise is for the supporters of one strong candidate to accept another on the understanding that their own candidate will be groomed by the winner to succeed him. The king-elect will then do this; if when he dies the scion of the other line is elected, the latter is likely to groom the son of his predecessor. Thus, the succession, though patrilineal, shifts from one branch to another of the royal lineage. Once the electoral college has agreed on the king-elect, the effigy of Nyikang is brought from his shrine in the north by his priests and paraded through the northern province, collecting an army which meets in mock combat a similar army raised in the southern province and headed by the king-elect. The latter is defeated and taken to the capital. Here the effigy of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then removed, and the king-elect seated upon it, trembling as the spirit of Nyikang enters into him. A second mock battle then occurs, in which the king's army wins, symbolizing the fact that the spirit of Nyikang has now departed from his effigy and taken up his abode in the body of the

king. Evans-Pritchard denies that the Shilluk king possessed any administrative authority or judicial power, alleging that he served only as a mediator in disputes and that his influence rested solely on his personal prestige, divinity, and ritual functions. He states quite correctly that the two provincial chiefs and the other electors had no administrative functions, the community chiefs being responsible directly to the king, but otherwise his denial of an authoritarian state among the Shilluk appears dubious. Among earlier writers, both Hofmayr and Westermann speak of the king's power as absolute, and both Howell and Thomson dwell upon the "theoretical omnipotence" of his office. The long period of Turkish Egyptian, Mahdist, and British domination may well have obscured the original power of the Shilluk ruler. It is obvious that in his large body of retainers the king had at his command a major instrument of force, and even Evans-Pritchard admits that he intervened in local disputes, using his retainers and troops levied from other communities to attack a recalcitrant local chief, burning his homestead and expropriating his cattle, part of which were kept and part distributed among the cooperating chiefs. Evans-Pritchard also admits that such a show of force, or its possibility, was usually enough to abate or discourage resistance. Moreover, a king who could not command such punitive force thereby gave evidence of weakness and was likely to be overthrown. This raises a second moot point--that of regicide. All the earlier sources state that if a king became ill or senile, or unable to satisfy his wives sexually, or if the state underwent some major misfortune such as a famine, an epidemic, or a disastrous war, this gave evidence of his loss of divine power and made it necessary to kill him to preserve the society. Moreover, the Shilluk themselves say, and unquestionably believe, that under such circumstances the king may be strangled or walled up in a house and left to die. The Seligmans specifically state that "there is not the least doubt that kings of the Shilluk were killed with due ceremony when they began to show signs of old age or ill health." It is also clear that the kings themselves stood in great fear of assassination and took extraordinary precautions to forestall it, e.g., expelling all royal princes, in other words all possible candidates for his office, from the capital to the communities of their maternal kinsmen. They also sleep only in the daytime and remain awake at night. Nevertheless, Evans-Pritchard regards it as improbable that regicide of this type ever took place.

He admits that "Shilluk kings generally met a violent death" but believes that this did not occur by private assassination but by a prince and his supporters taking advantage of discontent to lead an armed rebellion which, if successful, led to the slaying of the king. Perhaps this issue is purely verbal. There is no inherent reason why an ambitious prince and his supporters should not seek to gain their ends by secret conspiracy and assassination rather than by an open military attack. Indeed, the number and potential military power of the king's retainers would seem to suggest the greater likelihood of success of the former. Moreover, Evans-Pritchard ignores the distributional evidence of regicide through conspiracy in the Fung states to the east, whose inhabitants belong to the same general culture area as the Shilluk. However it was accomplished, there can be no doubt of the fact and frequency of regicide in the Shilluk state.

Warfare

Intertribal warfare was formerly prevalent, being waged for women, slaves, cattle, and other booty, especially against the Dinka and Nuer. The king might either keep the booty for himself or distribute it. There were also civil wars over the succession, and cattle raiding between communities. If a community carried the latter too far, however, the king was likely to wage a punitive war against it with the help of its injured neighbors.

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Butt, A. The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, pp. 45-67. London, 1952. (A good secondary summary).

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan. Cambridge, 1948. (A largely secondary reinterpretation).

Hofmayr, W. Die Schilluk. Wien, 1925. (An important primary source).

Howell, P.P. The Shilluk Settlement. Sudan Notes and Records, XXIV, 47-67. 1941. (Good on settlement pattern and age-grades).

_____. Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile. Africa, XXII, 97-119; XIII, 94-109. 1952-53. (Useful).

Humphrey, M.E.C. The Shilluk Tribe. Sudan Notes and Records, XXIV, 1-45. 1941. (Useful).

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Seligman, C.G. and B.Z. Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, pp. 37-105. London, 1932. (Especially good on social organization).

Westermann, D. The Shilluk People. Berlin, 1912. (Primarily linguistic with relatively superficial ethnographic data).

1: Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans. The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan. The Frazer Lecture, 1948. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1948.

Pp. iv, 40.

Yale: Nkd 81 S4 948e

[This is an account of Shilluk kingship with particular emphasis on structural and ritual aspects. Although the author, a social anthropologist, has done fieldwork in the Sudan he has had only limited first hand contact with the Shilluk. The study is based on secondary materials. Comments on earlier interpretations of Shilluk kingship and a general theory of divine kingship are presented. A bibliography is included.--Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1960

2: Seligman, C.G. and Brenda Z. Seligman. Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1932.

Pp. xxiv, 565; 60 plates; 38 text figures; appendix; end map.

Yale: Nkd80 932s

[Only pages dealing with the Shilluk i-xv and 37-105 have been processed for this file.]

[The materials in this source provide a good overall account of Shilluk culture based primarily on the authors' own fieldwork with supplementary materials drawn from other accounts. While the treatment is necessarily brief it is comprehensive and covers all aspects of Shilluk culture except for technology and material culture. The authors appear to rely on informants' statements about Shilluk culture and traditions and to depend on this rather than on personal observation or investigation. As a result the normative aspects of culture are stressed and there is little information on variability or on day to day life. The authors were social anthropologists.--Analyst]

Field dates: 1909-1910 , Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Betty Potash Processed in 1960

3: Westermann, Diedrich. The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore. Philadelphia: The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1912.

Pp. lxiv, 312; 8 plates; map.

Yale: Nkd81 S4 912w

[Pages dealing with language, 243-307 have not been processed for the Shilluk file.]

[The materials included in this source offer a brief but comprehensive summary of Shilluk culture and provide considerable information on language and folklore. Much of this mythological and linguistic data has been used by the author for a historical reconstruction which is not generally accepted today. Recent linguistic work by Greenberg using different methods of analysis also raises questions about Westermann's ideas of Hamitic components in Shilluk. The author, an ethnologist and linguist, spent four months in the field concentrating primarily on language. He has also used other published accounts and information provided by missionaries in his study. --Analyst]

Field date: 1910
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

4: Butt, Audrey. The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda. Ethnographic Survey of Africa, East Central Africa, Part Iv. Pp. 45-67. London: International African Institute, 1952.

HRAF copy

[Only pp. 45-67 of this source have been processed for the FJ23 Shilluk File.]

[This account by a professional anthropologist, provides a convenient summary of materials found elsewhere in the file on the social, political and religious organization of the Shilluk. While the treatment is necessarily summary and brief it covers adequately the information found in the published accounts of Shilluk. -- Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1960

5: Lienhardt, Godfrey. The Shilluk of the Upper Nile. Daryll Forde, ed., African Worlds, pp. 138-163. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1954.

Yale: Nkc58 954J

[This article, which is based on previously published sources, deals with the cosmology, religious beliefs and world view of the Shilluk. While there is little that is new in the data, Lienhardt pulls together materials from various sources to develop a systematic picture of Shilluk cosmology. The nature of divinities and the amoral characteristic of Shilluk religion are discussed and related to the values placed on success. A number of recurrent themes and symbols are examined and tied to significant social and economic aspects of Shilluk life. Finally the basis of the divine nature of kingship is examined and traced to conceptions of universal order and the king's role as a symbol and a maintainer of that order. Much of this interpretation is based on Shilluk myths and traditional history which the author summarizes. A brief cultural summary is also included. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1960

6: Riad, Mohamed. Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk. Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Vol. 3, pp. 70-78. Wien: Völkerkundliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft in der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1955.

Yale: Nk10 +V85W 3

[This article discusses some anthropometric measurements of the Shilluk taken by an anthropology student. The author found that the measurements varied according to area and between those with commoner and royal status. From these differences and Shilluk traditions the author attempts to reconstruct Shilluk history and migrations. It should be noted that the reconstruction is based on the measurements of only 34 Shilluk. Information is also offered on tribal markings and clothing. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1955
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

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7: Tucker, A.N. Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 63, pp. 165-187. London, 1933.

17 plates.

Yale: Nk10 + R81 v.63

[This source describes children's games played by the Shilluk and other Sudanese tribes. Differences in the manner of playing particular games are noted. The author, an ethnologist, also gives the music and words for songs accompanying these games. The material was gathered from children at a mission school while the author was in the Sudan. --Analyst]

Field date: 1929-1933
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

8: Howell, P. P. Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile, Customary Law: Marriage and the Violation of Rights in Women. Africa, Vol. 23, pp. 94-109. London: International African Institute, 1953.

Yale: Bk2 10 23

[This article deals with marriage among the Shilluk. The manner in which a marriage is arranged and legalized, the circulation and distribution of bridewealth, and rules governing divorce and widowerhood are treated in some detail. In particular the rules governing the return of cattle in cases of divorce and death are described. Material on legitimacy of children, and data on penalties for adultery, pre-marital intercourse, and sexual relations with royal women are included. Some criticisms are offered of other accounts of Shilluk marriage practices and materials from several authors are used. Howell notes that the development of Native Courts has crystallized customs and brought about rigidity in rules that once had greater flexibility. --Analyst]

Field dates: 1937, 1948
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1960

9: Howell, P. P. Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The Laws of Homicide and the Legal Functions of the Reth. Africa, Vol. 22, pp. 97-119. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1952.

Yale: Bk2 10 22

[After a brief discussion of Shilluk culture the author considers the judicial functions of the king with particular reference to homicide and blood feuds. He weighs the different accounts of the Shilluk which vary in attributing enforcement powers or powers of arbitration to the Reth. Using these accounts and comparative materials from neighboring tribes he attempts to arrive at some conclusions regarding the degree of effective power vested in the Reth. Materials on the sanctions for different types of crimes and injuries are also given with examples drawn from traditional and more recent cases. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937-1950
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

10: Riad, Mohamed. Of Fung and Shilluk. Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Vol. 3, pp. 138-166. Wien: Völkerkundliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft in der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1955.

Yale: Nk10 ǂV85W 3

[In this article Riad considers a critique of various theories set forth about the origins and relationship of Fung and Shilluk. Much of Sudanic history and prehistory is given, particularly on the Fung, and this material together with traditions of the different groups and the author's own evaluations of cultural similarities are used to prove a non-Shilluk origin for the Fung. The author concludes that both societies had some relations with each other, but not a common origin. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1955
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

11: Oyler, D.S. The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye, The Evil Medicine Man. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 2, pp. 122-137. Khartoum, 1919.

Yale: Bk32 3 2

[This article, by a missionary, deals with Shilluk beliefs in sorcery. The author discusses the evil eye and the diseases attributed to this power, the social position and relations of persons believed to possess the evil eye, the manner in which such power is passed on to others, and the treatment of diseases attributed to this power. The jal yat or evil medicine man is discussed in similar terms. In addition some materials are offered on infanticide and on norms of behavior related to Shilluk beliefs in sorcery.--Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

12: Oyler, L. (Mrs. D.S.). Examples of Shilluk Folk-lore. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 2, pp. 216-223. Khartoum, 1919.

Yale: Bk32 3 2

[This article gives abstracts of nine Shilluk folk-tales dealing with animals. The author was the wife of a missionary who resided among the Shilluk. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

13: Oyler, D.S. The Shilluk's Belief in the Good Medicine Men. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 3, pp. 110-116. Khartoum, 1920.

Yale: Bk32 3 3-4

[This article describes the functions of shamans among the Shilluk. It discusses beliefs regarding their source of power, the physical characteristics of medicine men and their children, and the degree to which shamans are specialized among themselves. In addition to brief descriptions of therapeutic practices other magical functions of the shamans are described. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

14: Oyler, D.S. The Shilluk Peace Ceremony. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 3, pp. 296-299. Khartoum, 1920.

Yale: Bk32 3 3-4

[The author describes the settlement of a feud which he witnessed while serving as a missionary among the Shilluk. He discusses the role of the king, district chief, and neighboring chieftains in bringing about peace as well as the ceremonies of peace making. There are indications throughout the account that the king and chiefs serve primarily as mediators without enforcement powers since feuding factions can refuse to settle the dispute. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

15: Oyler, D.S. Shilluk Notes. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 9, pp. 57-68. Khartoum, 1926.

Yale: Bk32 3 9-10

[This article, written by a missionary, describes some Shilluk customs and beliefs. It deals with their attitudes toward storms and lightning and the behavior and rituals connected with these natural phenomena. Initiation of young boys and girls and the privileges connected with adolescence are also discussed. Begging customs including stereotyped begging expeditions as well as assistance given to the needy are described. --Analyst]

Field dates: ca 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

16: Cann, G. P. A Day in the Life of an Idle Shilluk. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 12, pp. 251-53. Khartoum, 1929.

Yale: Bk32 3 11-12

[This article describes some of the economic activities and domestic duties engaged in by Shilluk of different ages and sexes. While it is quite brief and does not describe the duties in any detail some notion of the daily routine and ordering of activities is given. The author is an army captain who was stationed in the Sudan.--Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1928
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

17: Pumphrey, M.E.C. The Shilluk Tribe. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 24, pp. 1-45. Khartoum, 1941.

5 appendices; 1 plate

Yale: Bk32 3 23-24

[This article offers a general account of Shilluk culture. The author discusses their history, settlement organization, clans, class divisions, marriage practices and property system. He notes the changes in the political system which may be attributed to foreign influence and control. Lists of kinship terms, a genealogy of Shilluk kins, and a list of the different settlements which includes their populations and information on their organization into larger divisions are given for two different time periods. The author was a government official. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-1938
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

18: Howell, P. P. The Shilluk Settlement. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 24, pp. 47-66. Khartoum, 1941.

2 maps; 4 plates; 4 charts.

Yale: Bk32 3 23-24

[This source offers an excellent account of Shilluk settlement organization. The author discusses the relationship of lineages to community organization, the manner in which hamlets within a settlement develop and die out, and the role of the founding lineage in the community. The age-grade organization which is seldom mentioned in other sources is described and its function as a means of uniting different kinship groups for defense is examined. The author is an ethnologist. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

19: Howell, P. P. and W. P. G. Thomson. The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of His Successor. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 27, pp. 4-85. Khartoum, 1946.

Bibliography; appendices; 4 maps; 9 plates; 3 figures

Yale: Bk32 3 27-28

[The authors present a description of the funeral and installation ceremonies of the Reth which does not differ significantly from materials available in other published accounts. Somewhat greater detail is given, e.g., the sib affiliations of individuals chosen to select a new reth are listed, full descriptions of sacred objects and effigies are included, etc. The authors point out that the full installation ceremony had not taken place for a number of years due to foreign control and unsettled conditions. The authors suggest that many elements may have been forgotten or undergone change. --Analyst]

Field date: 1943-1944
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official, Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

20: Thomson, W. P. G. Further Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk (1945). Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 29, pp. 151-160. Khartoum, 1948.

Yale: Bk32 3 29-30

[This article supplements an earlier account by the author and Howell on the death of the Reth (Source number 19 this file). It provides little additional information on either the funeral or installation of the reth and agrees substantially with most other accounts. The author notes one or two minor variations in the 1944 and 1946 installation ceremonies, corrects a statement made in the earlier article about the material composition of one of the effigies, and adds a few details on the ceremonial "wife" of the reth after the installation. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1945-46
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

21: Mutwakil, Hasan. Types of Dura Used by Shilluk and Dinka. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 28, pp. 184-186. Khartoum, 1947.

Yale: Bk32 3 27-28

[This article lists the varieties of dura grown by the Shilluk and Dinka along with native terms for each. The seasons in which various types are planted are also given. --Analyst]

Field date: 1946
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1960

22: Howell, P. P. The Death and Burial of reth Dak wad Fadiet of the Shilluk. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33, pp. 156-164. Khartoum, 1952.

Yale: Bk32 3 33-34

[This article describes a burial of a Shilluk reth witnessed by the author. Details are given on the ceremonies and their order, the participants and ceremonial paraphernalia. The author, an ethnologist, notes some small differences of detail from other published descriptions of burial rites which he believes are due to flexibility in the rituals themselves.--Analyst]

Field date: 1951
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

23: Paul, A. The Mar of the Shilluk. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33, pp. 165-166. Khartoum, 1952.

Yale: Bk32 3 33-34

[This article recounts a Shilluk tradition about a sacred object which brought luck to the Shilluk. The author believes this was an emerald derived from the Red Sea. The argument is based on linguistic similarities in the name of the object. The author was a deputy governor of Kassala Province.--Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1951
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

24: Howell, P. P. The Election and Installation of Reth Kur Wad Fafiti of the Shilluk. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 34, pp. 189-203. Khartoum, 1953.

4 plates; 2 maps; appendix.

Yale: Bk32 3 33-34

[This article describes the manner in which a Shilluk king is elected and the ceremony of installation witnessed by the author. Beliefs about the sacred character of the king are described and related to ritual elements in the ceremony. Variations in rites are discussed and related either to fears of opposition and rebellion on the part of the king who may wish to shorten the time period and/or to flexibility in the order of the ceremonies themselves. In addition to the ceremony witnessed by the author, observations of several Europeans are included relating to installation ceremonies not witnessed by Howell. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1952
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

25: Anonymous. The Installation of a New Shilluk King. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 37, pp. 99-101. Khartoum, 1956.

Yale: Bk32 3 37-38

[This account by a Shilluk secondary school pupil describes the election and installation ceremonies of a king. Dr. P. P. Howell, an expert on the Shilluk, recommended that this account be published. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Indigene-5
Processed in 1960

26: Pumphrey, M.E.C. Shilluk "Royal" Language Conventions. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 20, pp. 319-321. Khartoum, 1937.

Yale: Bk32 3 19-20

[This article describes the different manner in which Royalty and Commoners are addressed and recounts differences in style used in addressing the king and European district commissioners. --Analyst]

Field date: 1934-1937
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

27: Munro, P. Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks). Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 1, pp. 145-152. Khartoum, 1918.

Yale: Bk32 3 1.

[This account describes an installation ceremony of a Shilluk king witnessed by the author. He notes some small discrepancies of detail in the ceremony observed by him and in that recorded by Seligman which he attributes to a certain amount of flexibility and variation in the rites. On the whole the account does not add any further information to that already recorded in other sources in the files. --Analyst]

Field date: 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Unknown-5
Processed in 1960

28: Oyler, D.S. Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion. Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 1, pp. 283-292. Khartoum, 1918.

Yale: Bk32 3 1

[This article deals with the religious and medical beliefs and practices of the Shilluk. Various aspects of the religion are discussed, including ancestor worship, concepts of the relations of various deities and deified culture heroes to each other, prayers, sacrifices, shrines, etc. There is considerable detail given on shamanism and spirit possession and the manner in which communication is established with the spirits of dead kings and Nikawng. The author, a missionary, spent several years among the Shilluk. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1960

29: Dempsey, James. Mission On The Nile. London: Burns & Oates, 1955.

Pp. xxii, 247; 17 plates; 5 maps.

Yale Divinity School: MX51 D399m

[Only pp. xxii, 1-149; 11 plates; 3 maps have been processed for the file.]

[This source by a Roman Catholic priest is an excellent descriptive account of village life, daily routine and mission activity among the Shilluk. There are detailed accounts of the history and background of the area, problems and growth of the mission, ceremonies associated with installation of a new king, labor and leisure activity, mission education, government and judicial authority, clothing and adornment. The source also contains a number of life histories, personal experiences and specific incidents which took place during the author's 14 years in the field. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940-1954 Evaluation: Missionary-5
Analyst: Millicent Kim Processed in 1963

Seligman, C. G. The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk. Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum, Vol. B, General Science, pp. 216-232. London: Balliere, Tindall and Cox, 1911 for the Department of Education, Sudan Government.

Oberlin College: 613.11 G657 v.4.,B

[This article contains materials which appear in a later and more complete account of the Shilluk by the author and his wife, Brenda Seligman (source no. 2, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, 1932, pp. 37-107). Therefore it has not been processed.--Analyst]

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
F723 Shilluk F723

113 Oyler, Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk's Belief in the Good Medicine Man.' *S.N. and R.* 1920.

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, 174 with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.

643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] [1] "Cult of Nyikang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands and protect us, save me. You and Nikawang you are the ones who created [539]
> people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawang, who are announced to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawang. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dak, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773]
as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokawang), God the Protector [539]
> (Juokagim); I have taken [Godl] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when assisted cluster like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he dwells the upper, upper thrones are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pun Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the [775]
opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pun Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawang's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman K-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ojuogo* is due to the immanence of the spirits
775 of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang might or might not be *ojuogo*; they do not become *ojuogo* because
[78] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ojuogo* alter their official position. According to our more reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Bor (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ojuogo*. When a man first becomes *ojuogo* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ojuogo*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not afflict him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ojuogo* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ojuogo*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ojuogo*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ojuogo* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ojuogo* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ojuogo* would have access to their

[13] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, 6, 1919, 103.

2:Westermann E-5 (0910) 1912 F223 Sh.Ehb F223

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S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

of its occupant, are most clearly recognized. Then the elected king, wearing on his wrists the emblematic silver bracelets and followed by a bearer carrying a fan made from the wings of the saddle-billed stork, comes down from the mound of the shrine at Atyerwic; he is lifted on to the sacred mound of Nyikang, and receives the allegiance of the chiefs of settlements, who stick their spears into the ground before him. Though he sits in state as a king, he is admonished by the chiefs and told what is expected of him. At the election of 1943–4, the chief of Tonga said to the king: 'Our job is not to keep order, that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat.'[1] Although he was speaking of a new, administrative situation, we may see here the idea of the king as a source of social order, who fulfils his function merely by existing. The king's office keeps the Shilluk in palpable relation with an ideal order, which they hold to be the true order of their universe. There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk only believe what they see'.[2] In their human king they are also able to see what they believe.

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 71.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 333.

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28/ connected with a Lakh, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
64/ (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the Lakh plays a symbolic role in the
69/ Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

28/ I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Seligman, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural reconstructions of the Shilluk, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a easily acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G., & B. Z.(Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932 p.48
(2) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk, Vienna 1927. p.267.
64 (3) The more sacred the "sacrificial-place of the people".
(4) Evans-Pritchard, E.E., Anthropology in the Sudan, London 1946, p.87)
(5) Ibid, pp. 88/90
(6) Ibid, p. 89
(7) Seligman, C., Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 5)
(9) Hofmayer A., The Shilluk. Vienna 1927), p. 9)
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1918, pp. 594/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No 4 C, and 4 D, have three lines.
(13) Beth A., 1936, p 28
(14) see above, Table "C"
(15) see above , Table "C", part No 3 D, he was the son of King Ter, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
(17) Beth, A., 1936, p 28
(18) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk, Vienna 1927, p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the club to left the right are always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Fetham, mark a scorpion-several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the smaller cloth."
(22) Hofmayer, A., 1927, p 345/346
[117] (23) This is the term I have observed; the Shilluk who engage under the influence of missions or who are converted to Christianity wear European shirts and shirts, and the Shilluk who are converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmayer, A., 1927, p 35
(25) Beth, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1937, p. 30
(26) Ibid, p 30
[118] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Ping of investing the new chief's with a head dress.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F223

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL.

IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, vol. 2, 1931. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. F. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.* In principle, there are here no profound differences between the Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social stage. Parricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuole ji kipe ruom*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as '*fines*' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sanctions by the present Government.

* Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 15.

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9.Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

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Résumé

LES LOIS SHILLUK CONCERNANT L'HOMICIDE ET LES FONCTIONS JURIDIQUES DU *RETH*

Après un récit sommaire de l'histoire du peuple Shilluk et des caractéristiques de leur société, l'auteur examine l'autorité et les fonctions administratives du roi (*reth*), et plus particulièrement ses fonctions juridiques concernant les vendettas et les cas d'homicide. Il suggère que les traditions des Shilluk et les récits des premiers explorateurs et anthropologues ont eu tendance à exagérer les pouvoirs du roi en le représentant comme l'autocrate ou même le souverain tout puissant d'une société hautement organisée. Pendant le régime turqui, ainsi que sous l'administration actuelle, l'autorité du *reth* a été soustraite et, dans une certaine mesure, augmentée par un système de gouvernement indirect; mais l'auteur exprime l'opinion qu'avant l'intervention de ces autorités extérieures, les fonctions du *reth* étaient principalement, sinon entièrement, rituelles. Il paraît que le *reth* agissait comme médiateur dans les vendettas entre groupes, qui survenaient fréquemment et persistaient souvent pendant de longues années, mais il est douteux s'il possédait le pouvoir d'intervenir avant d'y être invité par les participants. L'auteur examine, comme exemple de procédures judiciaires, les lois concernant l'homicide, et exprime l'opinion que l'homicide était regardé traditionnellement comme un délit privé pour lequel une indemnité en bétail, d'après un barème déterminé, était demandée par la famille du défunt dans le but d'acquérir une épouse pour le groupe d'appartenance. Des bénéfices supplémentaires venus au *reth* constituaient une sorte de rétribution pour ses services de célébration des rites de réconciliation et purification, et non d'" amendes " dues au chef d'un état à titre de pénalité pour un délit public.

10: Rind R-4.9 (1950) 1955 F313 Shilluk F313

Dinka war invasions from the north always swept the plains, and compelled the older cultures with their practitioners to seek refuge areas. But it is not expected that the whole of the older population will seek new homes; many will stay and, after a time, when the new-comers have forgotten their former superiority and pride, both components will mingle, to a certain extent, freely with each other. After that it is expected that there will be a free reciprocal exchange of cultural elements, modified to the new conditions.

On the basis of such theory, can we explain the fact that it was only in the reign of King Bakin, number 9 in the list of Sennar, and in the reign of King Tugo, number 18 in the Shilluk list, that coronation ceremonies were introduced in each kingdom separately? It would be highly probable to justify such an assumption if we remember that the Funj were incorporating part of the older population, namely the Hamaj, into their kingdom, and that the northern part of the Shilluk land at least belongs to this old stratum of peoples.

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[illegible] Le Soudan. Gilbe Milion, Paris, Hachette & Co.
[illegible] Islam in the Sudan. Oxford, 1948.
[illegible] The Shilluk People. Philadelphia, 1912.

Abbreviations

[illegible] Journal of the Historical Society, Cairo.
[illegible] Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum.
[illegible] Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Wien.

Summary

[illegible] vertritt heute die Ansicht, dass die Shilluk von den Fung herausgeleitet seien. Dieser Standpunkt löste eine heftige Diskussion pro und kontra aus. Vorliegend versuch es Elgin[illegible], die an Hand einzelner Traditionen sich an die Herkunftsfrage der Shilluk heranhöre.

Dieser Mitarbeiter, Dr. G. Kind, der bereits eine Studienreise an den Shilluk unternommen hatte (siehe Bericht über Observations among the Shilluk, Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen III/1, pgs. 70 ff.), versucht das Thema von der ethnologischen und geographischen Seite her zu beleuchten. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Fung zeitlich tiefer belegbar sind, während die Shilluk als eine von ihrem Urheimg gegrundete Nation verhältnismässig jung anzusetzen sind. Aus der Geschichte der Shilluk scheint hervorzugehen, dass sie zeitweilig von den Fung unterworfen wurden.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX V.

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22: Howell K-S (1951) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak and FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By F. P. Howell.

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants here and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 119 [643]

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643 (5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Akurwa to Fashoda;

[113]

[1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol, Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bugon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to assure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth's* remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *wowo*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

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[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Col.*, S.N.R. Vol. 1. 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. P. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27. 1946, and Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29. 1948.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. [669] Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodak. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113] [1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyawcilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

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INTRODUCTION

THE central theme of *The Golden Bough* was the divine kingship, and it has seemed to me appropriate that a lecture established in its author's honour and now dedicated to his memory should be on that subject. I propose, therefore, to examine one of the examples of divine kingship cited by Sir James Frazer, that of the Shilluk of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and to discuss it as a problem of social structure.

It was recorded as early as 1905 that it was a Shilluk custom to kill their kings[1] and much information about the Shilluk kingship in general has since been collected. Professor and Mrs Seligman studied the institution in 1909–10 and it was they who brought it to the notice of Sir James Frazer and into the main stream of ethnological theory. Apart from the writings of the Seligmans and a number of articles by other hands there are two monographs on the Shilluk, *The*

[1] Banholzer, P. and Giffen, J. K., *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (edited by Count Gleichen, 1905), ch. VIII, p. 199.

•114 *Shilluk People* by Professor Diedrich Westermann,
121 who conducted linguistic research among the Shilluk in 1910, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr's *Die Schilluk*, largely based on the observations of Father Banholzer and other of his fellow Catholic missionaries, which date from the beginning of the century. Father Hofmayr himself worked among the Shilluk from 1906 to 1916. There has, indeed, long been a considerable body of knowledge about the Shilluk and I would not have considered it profitable to discuss the Shilluk kingship afresh were it not that new light has recently been shed on their social structure, and more particularly on the place of the kingship in it, by officers of the Sudan Political Service. It is significant that two of them studied anthropology before joining the Sudan Service, Mr P. P. Howell at Cambridge, from where he had carried out some research among the Shilluk before joining the Service, and Mr W. P. G. Thomson at Oxford. It is from this literature, and especially from the more recent accounts, that I have drawn the material for my lecture, for though the Shilluk live in a part of the world with which I am very familiar, my contact with them has been slight.

101 The Shilluk are the most northern of the Nilotic
175 peoples and have been for centuries in contact

The development of the Shilluk kingship has thus produced, though not in a very pronounced or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin). 565 644

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben 643 114 642

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

643 kann, und Herr sogar des Eigentums seiner Unter-
●114 tanen'.[1] These statements would seem to require
642 some modification. As Mr Pumphrey has pointed
[177] out, it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments.[2] Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.

643 It is true that the more recent authorities imply
114 rather than explicitly state what in their opinion
692 is the position of the king. Mr Howell and Mr Thomson speak of 'the theoretical omnipotence' of the king and of a 'theoretically omnipotent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 150–1.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 18–19.

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old 643
days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale 114
fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, 692
feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We 643
are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifi- 114
able' war on another or refused persistently to 721
listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from 701
the adjacent settlements and with this force and his 692
own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage 114
resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, there- 643
fore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes 692
backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19. [1] *Ibid.* p. 12.

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
•114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in
[631] the second half of the nineteenth century was connected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.

consistently supported rival candidates.

consistently supported rival candidates. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the practice of the present day, by which it is more or less understood that the surviving lines of kings take it in turn to provide the king,[1] is new. A collateral royal line does not to-day contest an election on the understanding that they have next turn. The custom is for the reigning king to take under his wing a scion of a rival line and by so doing to indicate him as his successor, though he cannot nominate him and his choice may not be followed by the people. When this prince becomes king he takes under his wing a son of his protector. The reigning king insures by this convention against both rebellion by a rival line and his own line being excluded from the kingship in the future.

643 114

There can be no doubt that in recent times there has been an alternation on the throne of branches of the royal house, nor that the alternation is related to the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We are told that if the ceremonial chiefs of the north and south fail to reach agreement in the election of a new king the chiefs of the northern settlements follow their representative and the

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[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. xlvi; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 145; Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 27.

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
669 representative and the issue is fought out. It would seem probable that when there is disagreement it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
174 about the merits of the candidates but of local
631 loyalties in which different members of the royal
643 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
644 land. Whether disputed succession in the past was a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact that in earlier times the king ruled from the settlement in which he was brought up or moved from one settlement to another and did not have a fixed residence at the central and neutral point of Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the association of princes with settlements and districts is clearly related to the custom by which they are brought up away from the capital. It is probable that the backing given by north and south to candidates for the kingship in past times arose from the fact that some princes were brought up in the north and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
643 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by
669 recent Shilluk history any more than the belief
173 that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

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[114]

has been suggested,[1] but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it. This is the conclusion I have drawn from Father Hofmayr's involved chronicle of the Shilluk kings.[2] It must here be remarked that Shilluk rebellions have not been made against the kingship. On the contrary, they were made to preserve the values embodied in the kingship which were being weakened, or it was believed so, by the individual who held office. They were not revolutions but rebellions against the king in the name of the kingship.

CONCLUSION

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The divine kingship, to one, perhaps the best known, of the examples of which I have devoted this lecture, has been extensively written about by ethnologists, particularly in reference to its occur-

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 64; Prof. and Mrs Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–1. Howell and Thomson (*op. cit.* p. 11 *et passim*) are more reserved.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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FOREWORD

IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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121 kept before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: rules of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people [114] investigated. In this matter Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study technological processes, but specimens of any object of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Whenever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to 128 illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

114 Our first expedition, in 1909–10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911–12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the Kababish of Kordofan and the Beja of the Red Sea Province. It was not until 1921 that we were able to resume our work, the winter of 1921–2 being spent mainly among the tribes south and east of the Dinka, i.e. among the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes. Severe illness during the next few years negatived further work in the tropics, but the survey was taken up and extended by our friend and pupil, Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard. In three expeditions he worked especially among the tribes of the south-west Bahr el Ghazal and the Azande, later extending his studies to that most difficult people the Nuer. Professor Evans-Pritchard has already begun to publish his results, largely in *Sudan Notes and Records*, but besides being able to avail ourselves of these for our West Bank chapters we have, owing to his remarkable generosity, had at our full disposal his photographs, his Bahr el Ghazal and Nuer notes, and the almost finished manuscript of his Azande monograph, a study which will undoubtedly rank as one of the most exhaustive and authoritative of anthropological works. We desire to take this opportunity of emphasizing how slight is our first-hand knowledge of Azande and Nuer, and how greatly we are indebted to him; we would also point out that part of the chapter dealing with the Fung Province is based on his material. But although we have had the benefit of his constant help and advice, and not only in regard to the above-mentioned peoples, Professor Evans-Pritchard must in no way be held responsible for our presentation of the facts or our conclusions concerning them. The same holds with regard to two others who have helped us in the most generous and unselfish manner, freely putting at our disposal their great experience and the contents of their notebooks. We refer to the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw and to Mr. G. O. Whitehead. The former has lived for many years among the Dinka, the latter is our leading authority on the Bari and the Bari-speaking tribes; from both we have received help of inestimable value.

In connection with the Bari we must also express our gratitude to an old friend, Mr. Ernest Haddon, of the Uganda Civil Service, who a quarter of a century ago when the Bari country formed part of Uganda presided over the destinies of the tribe and compiled an MS., later put at our disposal, from which we have not hesitated to quote.

We have, indeed, everywhere been most fortunate in the assistance rendered to us. Two successive Governors, General Sir Reginald Wingate and Major-General Sir Lee Stack, stimulated our work by

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Nilotem-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us
142 to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is
[462] a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[173 [1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit.,
539 p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xiv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with
114 vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Amlî, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list [1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

There are numerous observances connected with animals, including some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following example:—

> "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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773 825 son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness."[1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearthstone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 773 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

● 114 197 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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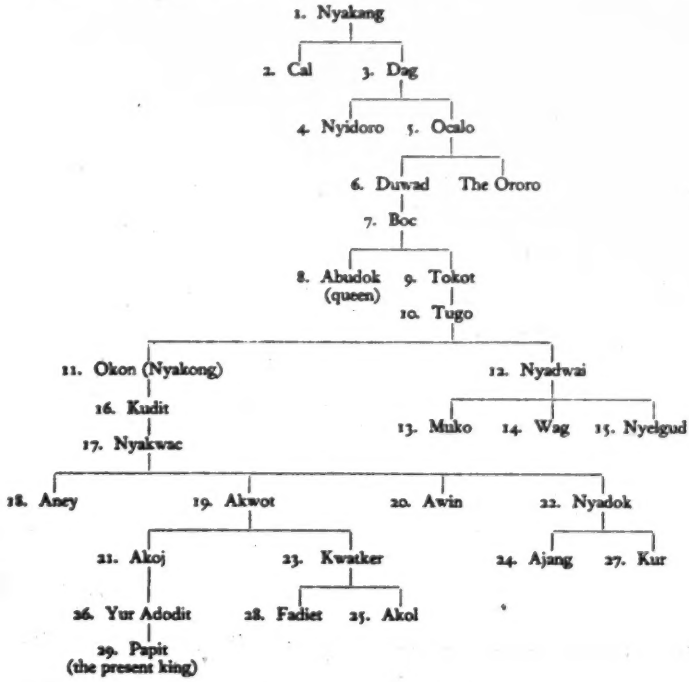
643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 114 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] [1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mek* for aunt,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here. 601 [114]

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *uwa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *una*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *uwa* are his *na*; from the point of function, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *na*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ora*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyiwa*, *nyimia*, *nyima*, or *nywaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *ora* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nywaja*. A man calls *ora* the "parents-in-law" of all his *uwa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *uwa*. When *ora* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *uwa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ora*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ora* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother. [614]

When a woman speaks, the term *ora* has a much less wide significance. Her *ora* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ora* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Yura.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *uwa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 290.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may merely be regarded as one of the wife's people and so an *ora*; but it must be noted that among some other African peoples the wife's brother's wife is potentially a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's 601
family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother [587] are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's [837] wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan [614] after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and [851] *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his [607] wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much 606
tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by 607
means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted 593
that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in 606
importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described [114] by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth [583] had been paid.

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
796 *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly
782 consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest
782 shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December,
796 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete:—

[114] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

tere kwaje nayegen
" The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
tere kwaje tiengen
" The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called " the spears of the dead ", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk " take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste " (" Nikawng's place in the Shilluk Religion ": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that " God " is a translation of " Juok "): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PREFACE.

121 In the summer of 1910 the Prussian Board of Education provided me with
122 the means to undertake a journey to the Northern Sudan. My object was to make linguistic studies. During my stay in the Sudan the material for this work was collected. My studies in the Shilluk language and people are due to a request made to me by the Reverend C. R. Watson D. D., of Philadelphia Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Mr. Watson, having heard of my intended journey to Egypt and the Sudan, asked me to visit the United Presbyterian Church's Mission on the Sobat, and to study the language of that district which lies within the sphere of their activity. By supplying the necessary funds for this part of the journey and for my stay in the Sudan, I was enabled to carry out this proposition, which was at the same time of importance for my linguistic studies.

● 114 I left for the Sudan at the beginning of August 1910, where I staid in Khartum and on the Sobat till the middle of November.

The results of my work obtained during this comparatively short time would not have been possible had it not been for the extremely active and kind support rendered me everywhere in the Sudan by the American missionaries. Not only was I able to profit by their kind hospitality, but they also most generously placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of the country, people and language. I owe my practical introduction to the language to Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, medical missionary at Khartum, in whose house I was privileged to stay for over a month. In addition to the contributions signed by him he also supplied me with several native texts from his collection which will be found incorporated in this book.

The missionaries on Delaib Hill, Mr. C. B. Guthrie and the Reverend D. S. Oyler also helped me on all possible occasions; above all they introduced me to the Shilluks and put me into touch with those natives who were necessary and useful to me in my researches. Both these gentlemen and the Reverend E. McCreery and Mr. R. W. Tidrick have supplied me with very valuable information in answer to questions addressed to them since my return to Germany, some of which appears as signed contributions. Part of it has been included in the introduction. During the winter of 1911 I had the pleasure of receiving the Reverend McCreery while he was in Berlin, and thus had an opportunity of discussing grammatical questions with him.

I must express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in their

[p. vi is blank]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

136 ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60000 souls,[1] who live in a little more
162 than 1200 villages, and 10000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three
[621] to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the
361 Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In
162 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so
361 densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of
311 the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high;
114 the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 [761] [576] [753]

latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ́ jwɔ́k* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yí kɛ́l jwɔ́k* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi mɛ̄ɛ́ jwɔ́k*" you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114]

[In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG AND THE ORIGION OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɖeasi aduk,* came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɔlɔ; Kɔlɔ* begat *Omarɔ*, who begat *Wat Mɔ̄l* ("son of *Mɔ̄l*"); *Wat Mɔ̄l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat *(Ńakāyɔ* and *Ońwāt)*. One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Omɔ̄ɔ́*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) Ad Dui, Ari Umkor, and Busyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Buorɔ*. Okwa married

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bonj, Nuer fonj and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "fungo", and the plural "fungi". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* o being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and i that of the plural. The meaning of the word "fungo" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Ptoemphanae of the ancients, and morever compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.)

The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smelting and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Fung, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, Jebels Gereiwa and Rera; on the east, Jebel Agadi and the Fazogli district. Southwards, it extends to the Abyssinian frontier, and including the district of Keili and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Fung were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of Abyssinia, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Funj must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. Sir James Bruce, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts *the identity of the Shilluks and Funj.* In his Travels into Abyssinia he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wed Ageeb, the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar
101 became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole Gezira. *"This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook"*.[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" .... but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to
● [114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his misdoings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shilluks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tegla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar began in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Fung, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Fung tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name

[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs. 613 622

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.) 592

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Luak & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
.....Division *(Luak)*.....	Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal dwong pac*
Homestead *(Gol)*	*Jal Gol*

631

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.) [648]

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual..."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful. 643 114

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials. 631 643

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.39.

643 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth*'s
644 sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not
669 allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth*'s sons from the time of their birth.

The Death of a Reth

643 The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was walled up alive in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at
[114] any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne ".... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the *reth*.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

[114] Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been given - apart from information by Nornol - by Howell and Thomson who were
643 in Shillukland at the election of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and of his successor, King Anei in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree,
[614] for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.34-5.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Duk are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabalo settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
171 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

● 114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
54 organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three
[88] or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114] [182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other 171 Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[171] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [114] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 172 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [127] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, [58] abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

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105 Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Luo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of whom the Luo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Luo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are chiefly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign enemies and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous custom, particularly that concerning the election and disposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might explain some apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

[114] 117 105

Social Organization

614 105 The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about 100 different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate existence.

[1] G. Schweinfurth, 1873, p. 93.

[2] P. Munro, 1918, and Howell and Thomson, 1946.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Heasty, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *ya puny*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Heasty, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each
793 other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river,
182 the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the cere-
173 monies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

631 Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose
616 confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 75. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 402.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

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should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

> We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyler, 1918, (ii) p. 283.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

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776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [753] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional [643] reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

182 Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account 643 of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear 776 that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of 173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to 776 kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though [114] in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 159, Nyikang made the effigy.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurua, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alel, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Nyingar, (near Lul) Fadit (near eastern Ana), Kolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Butu (eastern bank), Pamath, Thrujok, Kuego, Fokan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Ater und Nyijok.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"Z"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lauk (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homo - geneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

		C.I.	N.I.	S. (cm)
141 "B" Gerr Prov.	(12)	72.2	84.7	178.6
565 Lunk "	(22)	71.1	86.4	176.8

This is further and clearly illustrated from the measurements taken only on the Colo (any common Shilluk other than the members of the royal family and the Ororo members):

"C" Gerr Prov.	(6)	73.3	85.5	178.5
Lunk "	(17)	71.7	85.0	174.5

Here the differences are shown more clearly than those in table "B" in which royal members were included. This means, that the royal members have had, so to say, a compromising effect on the indices and further it means that the royal members have different anthropometric qualities. This is shown in table "D".

		C.I.	N.I.	S. (cm)
Royals	(11)	70.8	85.9	178.9
Colo	(23)	72.5	85.2	176.5

Also there is a tendency among the royal family members to differenciate physically, in north and south. This may be seen clearly in table "E":

Gerr (6)	71.1	83.9	178.7
Lunk (5)	70.5	87.9	179.2

The mean indices for the 6 women were:

"F"			
Colo(5)	72.1	86.1	162.9
Royal (1)	70.22	85.1	165.7

Here we also see the difference between commoners and nobles, though the number of samples is not sufficient to stand by itself. We depend here on the results of the 34 men measured to state that difference of physical character occurs also among Shilluk women.

Now here are some notes on the forgoing tables, to sum up, for the time being, a hurried conclusion liable to alteration if new anthropometric studies on the Shilluk and related tribes are undertaken in the future.

114 141 1. The difference in the Nasal index in table "A" may be attributed to differences in the points of measurement between Professor Seligman and me, unless Seligman has taken his samples from a certain area in the Shilluk-land. If this happens to be the case, it is most probable that the majority of his samples were taken from southern Shillukland in general, and the districts of Tonga and Fanyikang specifically, because my samples in this area show the highest nasal indices recorded as shown in table "G" below.

141 2. The considerable differences between north and south, shown in tables "E" and "C", are a matter of the first degree of importance. This is the first time, as far as I know, that this difference has been brought to light. And its importance is not a self-contained racial matter, but is accentuated by Shilluk mythology in which North and South stand opposed to each other as two political units and in certain times as two religious units.

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. mn.	C.I. mx.	N.I. mn.	N.I. mx.	S mn.	S mx.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			175.1			+	+					+	+		
D 7	67.0	88.7	85.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	7[illegible].5	87.9			179.2												
D 3	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder R= right upper arm and shoulder B= Back A= Abdomen

mn= minimum mx= maximum

Tribal Marks .

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The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Nuer and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum , as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

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The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower incisors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk the royal family alone keep their tooth intact." (17) From the results I have obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:

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a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,
b) that some royal members practice it.

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The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes .

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Stande als verschwunden betrachten." (20) During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that theLAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It standsunique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Moslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [355] [177] [177] [177] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jagoi's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children."

[19] " While the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) Those institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.; Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan. London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligamn, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "m"
(15) see above , table "G" card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[117] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence
797] of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 50
(26) Ibid, p 50
[171] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Dung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

175 648 IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be 177 idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

671 692 [648] By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative [114 648] system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

671 We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has [648] acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[113] [1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:10·25; Nuer 1:2·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 25.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marrige, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> it is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeijo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yar nian ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yac cie dhano* or *kwor yac cie ot*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okeijo* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of *reid* Kur (1903).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

VOLUME XXII APRIL 1952 NUMBER 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

THE LAWS OF HOMICIDE AND THE LEGAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *RETH*

P. P. HOWELL

INTRODUCTION

PUBLISHED literature on the subject of the Shilluk is considerable[1] and there are also many interesting accounts of specific subjects buried in the files of the Administration. Nowhere, however, is there a complete account of all aspects of Shilluk life. Moreover, there has been a tendency to concentrate on certain aspects, notably the Divine Kingship, to the exclusion of others. In 1941 Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and I published two articles: the first a general summary account of the Shilluk tribe based on Mr. Pumphrey's observations and wide experience; the second a more detailed analysis of one Shilluk settlement,[2] the result of fieldwork carried out in 1937. In 1944 I had the privilege of attending the installation of *reth* Anei Kur and, together with Mr. W. P. G. Thomson, published a full account.[3] Subsequently Mr. Thomson published his 'Further Notes on the Death of a Shilluk Reth',[4] after the death of *reth* Anei in 1943. This, with Professor Evans-Pritchard's Frazer Lecture, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*,[5] represents the total of information published on the subject of the Shilluk in recent years. 114

The Shilluk are an exceptionally conservative people and, perhaps the legacy of centuries of resistance to external aggression, have a natural distaste for innovation. Yet times are changing and it is therefore all the more important that the gaps in our knowledge of Shilluk society as it was during the last few decades, and is now, should be filled. During the last two years I have had occasional opportunities to visit the Shilluk and to continue fieldwork, begun in 1937. The results of these investigations, [18] 12

[1] See Bibliography, pp. 118-19.

[2] Pumphrey, M. E. C., 'The Shilluk Tribe', and Howell, P. P., 'The Shilluk Settlement', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[3] 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor.' By Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., ibid., vol. xxvii, 1946.

[4] Ibid., vol. xxix, part ii, 1948.

[5] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Frazer Lecture 1948 Cambridge University Press, 1948.

[p. 97]

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

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Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

131 197

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the [631] country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is 643 not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, [692] such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of 631 administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the 692 village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would 642 tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present [177] 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at 643 Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. 682 The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy 692 would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tick*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he [114] thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

631 it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they 642 were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.

[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.

[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy. 171 682

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature. 682 114

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[6] Hofmayr on this subject says: [621] 561 701

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[6]

The *bany* or *beng*[7] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[8] Again, in 1947: 701 578 624

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[6] Howell, op. cit., p. 37.

[6] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[7] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.

[8] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes:

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance.

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Pabur, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pabur and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the ornaments and cattle away from the village, even the clothes of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that:

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ŋyo ŋrok* ('men of crime') or *adro* ['slaves' of the Royal Household].

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances.

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Owaci and Thworo already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows:

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the sections of Owaci and Thworo on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and and. He then went to Thworo where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Thworo companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a much sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. 1[illegible].

628 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight
643 hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[634] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back,
[782] held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth*'s had been by persons with an active interest in the feud. Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under
[787] a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Fualo and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that
[648] he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.
[119] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, Fatworo, and Falo[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawa*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that worse peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ngat*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the restoration of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.32.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

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tinual guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak'.

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice' is tainted with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, untypical of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Later we hear that 'he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added most seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' Then, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were pelted with the stomach contents.

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a murderous or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the guilty and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was *nothing incompatible in it with methods of those days*.'[2]

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1903, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.'

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition

[1] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] 'A note on Customary Law', dated here 1951 (unpublished). The italics are mine.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[648 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing
682] of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
781 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agwony*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
[671 of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of
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amounts to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not amenable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kuar kow*, but to the possessors of spirits (*yaw kwath*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *ruth* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls - a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwop*, magician, *jal yat*, sorcerer, *yeok*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1930.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry 682 a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo rewo*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the 643 Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 692 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against 114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* [671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears [illegible] in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 25.

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OF FUNG AND SHILLUK

Mohamed Rind

121 114 Any one who deals with either the Fung or the Shilluk, historians as well as anthropologists, must say a word about the possible relationship between the two kingdoms. Many pages have been written on this subject by well known writers, but the lack of a good comparative study that would envisage the whole problem in its various aspects is noted in some of these works. Others were motivated by "a prioristic" conceptions, or one-sidedness, or depended entirely upon certain points, or "... fever for verbal similarities". 1)

The last word in the controversy has not yet been said, and most probably will not be said. I do not contend that this paper will put an end to the controversies, but I think that by taking into consideration the historical as well as the anthropological points of view, we can reach a safe stage at which we can build our own point towards this complicated subject.

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A) The PROBLEM :

114 175 The story begins in 1790, the year James Bruce of Kinnaird -an English traveller- published a voluminous work describing his journey to discover the sources of the Nile, which took place between 1768 and 1773. In 1772 Bruce was in Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, which was the most important and the most powerful state of the Eastern Sudan in the Middle-Ages. In this city Bruce got a glimpse of history of Kingdoms and tribal movements in this part of Africa. Bruce transmits to us what he heard (and maybe what he imagined) 2) in such a statement:

174 "In the year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 13, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces ..... This race of negroes is in their own country called Shillook .... At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of

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1) Arkell was so described by Chataway, p.117

2) It is agreed upon that Bruce always imagined many things, and in his writings pictured himself as a hero who escaped dangers through his bravery etc. ... Read a short description of Bruce's character in Crawford, pp. 253-254

"Shilleeks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohamedism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Fungo, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organisation of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Ashmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazugle, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarise these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Fungs and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 484. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).

4) Seligman, p. 483.

5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crowford to a certain extent).

6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Bouscily, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chatewy and Walder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Nobs.

7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a NAM DOUN , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kwr, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existance of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converteds- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in man's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77
16) Westermann, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains. [174]
17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [648]
18) The government does not allow it any more.

174 According to these two authors, the Shilluk made an attack on the Arabs and defeated them; the Arabs were reduced to a tributary state under the Shilluk. Arkell elaborates on the subject with his European mentality of statesman, and proceeds to say that the Shilluk, by a mastery of diplomacy, changed the injured pride of the Arabs to complete alliance with them, by diverting their attention to a common foe. To such high diplomacy, the Alwa kingdom fell as a sacrifice. 34) Thus, the downfall of the Alwa kingdom was undertaken by a combined Shilluk-Arab force !!

175 We may now proceed to give a short historical outline of the Fung kingdom, leaving this controversial point to be discussed below.

In 1534 Amara Dunkas died, leaving a vast realm which extended northward to the third cataract, including Dongola, and eastward to the Red Sea; but Suakin was a Turkish possession at that time. The White Nile probably marked the western border to latitude 13°, whence northwards the country to the west bank, which comprised Arabs from the Jaalin group, must have been under the rule of the Viceroy of Sennar residing at Gerri. To the south, the Fung border included some provinces of present Ethiopia, namely Gubba, Ganjar, and Fadasi. The border in southern Gezira was not clear, but sporadic hints indicate that the Fung expanded steadily southwards. This point will also be discussed later.

The next expansion of the Fung was during the reign of King Abdul Qadir, the second or third king. He reduced Jebel Gule, and converted the inhabitants to Islam. The third expansion was also to the south-west. King Baadi Abu Dign crossed the White Nile in 1642, invaded the Tagali Moslem kingdom and reduced it to a tributary state. He also "attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves". 35)

In Fung history, there were two wars with Abyssinia in which there was no decisive result, except for the routing of most of the Abyssinian king's army in the second war. But these wars are not relevant to our subject.

In the year 1747, during the reign of King Baadi Abu Shillukh, 36) the Fung Empire reached the zenith of its expansion. The whole of Kordofan was won to the Fungs by a man called Mohamed Abu El Keilik. During a battle with the Darfur Army, the Fung were first defeated, "the troops fled, but were rallied by Mohamed Abu El Keilik and his sons, who defeated the Army of the Furs, led

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34) Arkell, (A), p.
35) Westermann, p. LV.
36) Westermann, p. LV, mis-spells his name, and writes it as Baadi Abu Shilluk, probably he was motivated by the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung, and found in the name another backing to the theory, forgetting that by adding "h" at the end, the word would mean -in Sudanese Arabic- the different modes of face scarcs used until now in the Arabic Sudan. Abu Shillukh is not a name, but a nickname, and we find it frequent that nicknames were given to many Fung kings, according to their characteristics.

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10: Riad E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 But an almost continuous influx of nomads, who are of Semitic or Hamite-Semitic origin, brought about the nearly complete annihilation of Negroid elements in the North, except in such refuge areas as Nubia. In the South, the geographical environment and the paucity of the Caucasian blood, in comparison with the Negro element, created a new type, culturally clinging to the northern element, though cuterops of the old culture remain in function, modified to the new superstructure.

What is of interest to our present paper is the discussion of three names which are misunderstood, these being Fung, Hamag and Dar Fung.

114 174 The Fung: "Bruce gives the singular of the name by 'funge', and the plural 'fungi'. This is a pure Shilluk form, "e" being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and "i" that of plural". 39) Now the Arabic singular form of the word is 'funji فنجي', and the plural is 'funj فنج' with a very slight "e" ي at the end of the word. Did Bruce mix the positions, and instead of writing the singular, write the plural, or vice versa? We have to bear in mind that it was certainly difficult for Bruce to write Arabic, using the Latin alphabet, and so this "e" came at the end of his supposed singular form of the word as a substitute for the Arabic "o" movement, which we call "dammah". At any rate the etymology of the word needs further 174 study, should we not confine the comparison to Shilluk and Arabic only. All authorities on the subject agree that the Fung were a family, not a tribe, which developed numerous offshoots through marriage. The original physical characters, most naturally, will be modified according to the mothers. Thus, we have for example a fair offshoot like Baadi el Ahmer, meaning Baadi the red, due to his white complexion, and we have King Ismail, whom Bruce met at Sennar, and who appeared to him as a typical Negro. So it seems unwise to judge the origin of a family by one instance, if we know that proper Islam does not discriminate races and colours, and accordingly Fung kings married without discrimination, and accordingly different physical types ruled as kings in Sennar.

The Hamag: This name was heard often after the Viziers of Sennar took the real power into their hands, beginning from Mohammed Abu El Keilik, i.e. the beginning of the decadent phase of the kingdom. Seligman says that "Hamag in Arabic means 'ignorant', and is used to indicate a slave or vassal ..." 40) The word in Arabic could mean also an uncultivated, brute, barbarian, disorganized group, wild etc. ... Professor Awad says "In Bornu, Arabs call the aboriginal inhabitants 'Nuba' ... (and that) some Arabs give the name 'damag' to the tribe of Kanem, this being a nomenclature they were used to in the East (in the Sudan of the Nile Valley)". 41)

39) Westermann, p. LIII.

40) Seligman, p. 418

41) Awad, p. 232.

D) SUMMING UP :

Now we come to our point: What was the actual relationship between the Funge and the Shilluk? 174

In the light which was thrown upon the whole situation from the foregoing survey, and in order not to lose ourselves in minute details, we may fix the points of discussion in the following items:

1) The time problem, i.e. dating the foundation of both kingdoms

2) The space problem, i.e. the Fung-Shilluk boundary

3) The cultural aspects of kingship

   a) the meaning of kingship
   b) the mode of accession to the throne
   c) the mode of death of kings.

4) Evidences of the theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung

5) Conclusion.

1) The Time Problem:

Bruce and Tremaux date the foundation of the Fung kingdom at 1504, Shoucair dates it to 1505, while Cailliaud gives 1484 as the date of founding the kingdom. 48) Now if we apply the conventional way of dating back histories, and assume 13½ years as a reigning period for each king, we get the following dates: 114 174

a) At the time Bruce was in Sennar, namely 1772, the ruling king was Ismail, who appears on the list of the Fung kings as number 20, and who ascended the throne in 1769. Multiplying 13½ years by 19 kings would give 1511 as the beginning of the kingdom;

b) Cailliaud, Tremaux and Shoucair list 29 kings from the beginning of the dynasty until the Egyptian conquest in 1820. This would give us an approximate date of 1428.

Thus, we have a difference of 84 years between a) and b). This hypothetical difference is well accounted for in the real dates we possess. It was mentioned before that the decadent phase of the Funge began about 1765. The total period of the last 10 kings is only 44 years instead of 135 years, making a difference of 91 years, which corresponds to 84 years of difference between a) and b). This is an almost certain result and proves the validity of the 13½ years as a criterion serving our purpose here.

Concerning the Shilluk, we have stated above the dates of 1533, 1566 and 1610 as representing different results of different criterions. From my point of view, I would prefer the date of 1566 as marking the beginning of the Shilluk kingdom, because it is based on the 13½ years criterion, and it is reckoned from a fixed date, i.e. 1863, when the Shilluk tribe and land were incorporated as a province in the Sudan. Furthermore, we know that in the Mahdiya Regime and its aftermath, Shilluk kings were either killed or deposed, thus 174

48) Jackson, p. 98.

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4) Evidences of the Theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung:

James Bruce was the first to declare that the Fung were originally a Shilluk northern offshoot, who descended upon the Arabs, defeated them, and erected Sennar as a seat of their new Kingdom.

First of all, it is quite clear from the Journal of Bruce that he was very much interested in the Shangally, and probably confused Shangalla, Shankala, and Shilluk. Once, while in Tsawa near Gedaref, he said that "The Fung were originally Shankala or Hamidge", 61) and on arriving at Sennar, he added, "and are, as they are called, Fungs, that is Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came to drive out the Arabs under Wad Agib. Of these, the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly pagans even yet." 62)

Further quotations from Bruce give an idea about the mess into which he had fallen. He says that the king of Sennar pretends to be of noble Arab element, "but his wooly hair, and black flat features, show him to be a Shangalla; the particular name Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El-Aice (the White Nile) ... The name of Shankala, given to the true blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The rivel El-Aice is twice as broad as the Nile and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands, in these dwell the Shilook, who rob in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Neba, and Famuclo, three southern provinces which depend on Sennar". 63)

The Shangalla or the Beni Shangul are Negres of negroid tribes, living in the river valleys in the mountainous western Abyssinian escarpment. They were included within the Fung kingdom throughout its history.

It would seem that the description of the White Nile, which Bruce names El-Aice, and the description of the people who inhabit the islands of this river, is quite a separate sentence, which has nothing to do with the preceding sentence, in which he returns the Fung to a Shangalla origin. This assumption is validated by the above quotation, in which he says that the Fung are the Shangalla converted to Islam, and defines the Shilluk as the troops of the king. But this again contradicts the famous quotation, in which Bruce asserts that in 1504 a Shilluk migration founded Sennar.

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It is interesting to know that Bruce's statement about the Nile was not correct. He imagined that the Blue Nile was the

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61] Arkell, (A), p. 220

62] Ibid, p. 220

63] Ibid, p. 220

real Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course down the Sudan, but made a short-cut from Abyssinia to the Butana plains and to Sennar. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Sennar is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fazugli extend uninterrupted to the Nuba mountains. On this assumption he considered that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Main Nile, and had its source in the Fazugli-Nuba chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he would accordingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes? 114 174 133

Arkell dwelt on the statement of Bruce that the Sennar kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Sid el Qom, and after the sanction of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung. Moreover, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Kwom, the Shilluk word for their sacred stool, to be transformed to Qom, in Sid el Qom etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the alledged Fung killing is false, due to the lack of the essential notion of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king. 114 173 174

Crawford, though he does not suggest a Shilluk origin of the Fung, says that there were certain Shilluk associations. He further stated: "I suggest that the Shilluk association was not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fazughli region and the gebels to the west whose inhabitants were partly at any rate of Shilluk origin. When Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded his kingdom he may have carried with him some of these Shilluk associations ..."64) Crawford then suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Melut, or Jebel Ahmed Agha, or Renk. He is compelled to such an explanation because 114 174

1) he finds that the inhabitants of the Fazugli region are "Negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and in the southeast is the land of the Hamitic Gallas". 65)
2) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) is here quite conclusive". 66)

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Fazugli area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which shrank to the present picture of pockets in the river valleys which cut deep in the western escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau,

64) Crawford, p. 156

65) ibid, p. 157

66) ibid, p. 157.

114 and in the hilly offsheets of the Abyssinian highlands represented
174 by the Dar Fung mountains. This shrinkage was due to the overlasting extension of the Hamitic and other Caucasic racial elements towards the south. Secondly, the evidences of similar place names do not mean a Shilluk migration alone, because though the Nilotic percentage in these tribes' languages did reach about 65%, "further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction ... the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%". 67

If the Burun -a tribal group in the Dar Fung area- are included within the Nilotic language group, 68) and if there is a probability that the Dar Fung tribes are similar in their physical attributes to the substratum of the northern Shilluk province, then there is no wonder to see strong resemblances between both areas, and no wonder that many authorities erred in trying to clarify this resemblance by a one-sided Shilluk influence extended to Dar Fung.

On the same ground we can refute Westermann's assumption that "it is possible that this Shilluk population (the Berta and other Dar Fung tribes) in Sennar (probably he means the Fung kingdom) came to political influence and took part in the government of the state". 69) In reality there is need to assume a Shilluk migration, or invasion in this mountainous Dar Fung region, because the Shilluk are a riverain tribe, and on account of a common substratum, physical, cultural and linguistic in both areas.

6) Conclusion:

174 From the foregoing survey it is now clear that there
648 existed a relationship between the Fung and the Shilluk, but it is not a relationship of common origin.

The statement of Bruce about the invasion of the Gezira
114 by the Shilluk is not supported by dates nor by tradition of either
174 the Shilluk or the Fung. The only support comes from the Hamag elders of Jebel Gule, 70) but Mr. Chataway answers this question quite rightly. He states that "The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'abid'. It was then too late to provide a satisfactory nisba for the Hamag, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight". 71)

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67) Seligman, p. 422
68) Butt includes the Burun in the Nilotic language group, and treats them as such in his book.
69) Westermann, p. LVI.
70) See note No 59)
71) Chataway, p. 117.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and lest their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon
643 being a violation of custom. Tremaux writes that " .., une épée, seul instrument légal en pareil cas (tue un roi)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung,
[411] because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.

Now the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly
114 from Ashmet Sid el Qom, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man
643 is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's statements, we do not know exactly whether Ashmet Sid el Qom spoke about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Awad and Mr. Chataway are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to
643 try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamones cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alledged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the
114 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in
171 alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be
174 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilisations
643 that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as
174 the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the elder substratum of the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremaux, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 266
75) Seligman, p. 425
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 426.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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173 and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[1] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwal and built his own village at Dedigo.[2] Since his son Dak made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuñ*[3].

Exactly who these *Fuñ* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Demoth[4] and driven over the river into the Maban country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Fung Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuñ*

[114 174] 1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1530. Hofmayr (*Die Schilluk*) however thinks that Ocalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600 - 1630.

2. In the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Stool of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stool *Kwom* is still in the Fuñ country.

[712] 4. A village some 25 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

881 Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walh Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[563] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

535 At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
764 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets. At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walh Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

"I have a grey bull, a great bull,
I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
A bell for the bull that lives in
My fathers byre."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food, [644] and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reth* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are [372] ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reth*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice. [114] Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munro in his account of the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reth* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reth* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up residence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

643 776 The *reth's* stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reth* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reth* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reth* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 to the mound of Fashoda, which is called Aturwic, and with it the shield and spears of Nyikang.

The *reth* was now in seclusion. No one but his most personal attendants might visit him. We were told that he would be stripped, bathed, and clothed in new robes during that afternoon. It was neither seemly nor possible to enquire too deeply into this part of the investiture, for it is conducted in strict secrecy. There is evidence that this ritual bathing takes place within the temporary camp Adul, because the smaller of the two huts is known as the "bathing room." Shilluk say that the *reth* is bathed alternately with hot and cold water, so that he shall not be subjected to extremes of temperature. It is a symbolic rite emphasizing his people's desire that he shall rule them with even temper throughout his reign. The fact is mentioned by [114] Munro in his account of Fafiti's installation (Note 18), and informants confirmed the tradition at the installation of *reth* Anei.

During the heat of the day the main crowds dispersed to their homes, but there were still large numbers of Shilluk sitting in and around Fashoda that evening. Most of these were relatives and friends of the inhabitants of the capital, who provided them with [273] refreshment, since the ban on drinking beer was lifted after the *reth's* retirement. The Ororo and attendants of the *reth* were putting up wind-screens round the *reth's* camp, under which they would sleep [669] that night to guard him from possible attack. The danger to the *reth's* life was not yet over, a fact which repeatedly appeared from the care and attention of his guardians. The Shilluk describe this period of the ceremonies as "the *reth's* camp *outside* Fashoda", and it was evident that he had not, in the eyes of the Shilluk, entered his capital. His final acceptance by Nyikang and by the Shilluk people still remained in doubt, though one of the most dangerous periods of his initiation from election to final installation had been successfully passed.

The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 713

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24 p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*. [114]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twot* is the word used for the *reth's* messengers.

12. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyakuer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. Our impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

15. Cerfuc, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfuc is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 200 yards N.E. of Cerfuc.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funy" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. P. Munro, "The installation of the *reth* of the Chol". *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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APPENDIX III.

(W.P.G.T.)

List of Clans Participating in the Initiation Ceremonies.

References are made to the list of Shilluk clans in Westermann. *The Shilluk People* pp. 128-134. 614 643

Kwa Mal. The clan which claims the privilege of sowing cowrie shells in the path of the *reth* on his journey from Debalo to Arepejur. Westermann lists them as 2 and 2a, but assigns to them the functions which we believe are performed by Kwa Nyikwom.

Kwa Nyikang. The clan which provides the ceremonial blacksmiths for the royal spears. Westermann lists them as No. 8, but assigns to them a different function. The duties of Westermann's No. 60, Kwa Anut, seem similar (the making of fire by friction).

Kwa Okelo. The clan charged with producing the small girl, *nyakwr*, for the ceremonial marriage. Westermann lists them as No. 24, not No. 15.

Kwa Nyikir. The clan responsible for the management of the funeral dance; called by Westermann Kwa Nyikai and listed as No. 65.

Kwa Nyikwom. The high priests of Nyikang at Akurwa, who carry Nyikang to Fashoda, and tend his shrine. They drive off intruders with whips on the way to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann, though his No. 2, "Kwa Lek" has similar functions.

Kwa Ojul. The clan which produces the heifer for the journey from Debalo to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann.

Kwa Wung. The clan responsible for beating the drum which applauds approved speeches on the last day of the installation ceremonies. Westermann lists Kwa Wan as No. 44.

Note. We find that this list of clans given by Westermann betrays marks of haste. He assigns one home for most clans. While the clans are generally to be found in the places he mentions, several other lineages of the same clan are frequently found elsewhere [114]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorleiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debalo. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golbainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

114 643 669 541

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak, while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

[175] [783]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life. 643

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there. 114 778 775 824

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocero,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up. 301 643

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1948. 114 643 644

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of 643 644 778

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak and FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 114 [643]

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the last *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643

(5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Aburwa to Fashoda;

[113]

[1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Rath of the Chol, Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Rath of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Rath of the Shilluk, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4. *jago* Atarwei (Padit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Otwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[7]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[8]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pir mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apec, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Duk's absence in hospital.[9]

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Duk, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Goi Dhiang and Goi Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jang kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[10]

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Duk. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

[7] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[8] The significance of this act (*ahuth*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[9] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[10] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwu* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.] 114

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pan duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth. 643

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhok who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship. [644] [562]

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango and Both in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving ivories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abomi Nyikango). [765]

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathaw which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyuth and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again. [233]

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Duk his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Duk the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I. No 3.

INSTALLATION

OF THE

RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS)

BY P. MUNRO.

In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons: first it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman[1] and Westermann[2], and secondly the constant ebb and flow of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with the account of the same as given by Seligman p. 226 are, in my opinion, probably due to the fact that any enquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I have divided this article into two sections: *a*) Necessary preliminary remarks; *b*) The actual narrative.

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[1] Seligman Chs. G., *General Science*, 4th *Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 226 et seq.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*.

[p.145]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him: «Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the «temporary hut» during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
[34] there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the «battle» was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

[78] «Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

«The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
[53] out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
[422] the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
[582] up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases.»

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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[114] [1] Seligman (p. 208) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called [643] the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this [643] same year, too, the British Government deposed the king, [648] Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was [349] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who • [114] wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[16 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless sava-
19] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family
[592 (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should [643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the [793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is [787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it [831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. [669] Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113] [1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyaweilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
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THE DIVINE KINGSHIP OF THE SHILLUK OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN

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1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE DIVINE KINGSHIP OF THE SHILLUK OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN

BY

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD
Professor of Social Anthropology and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford

THE FRAZER LECTURE 1948

[p. iii]

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1948

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge
(Brooke Crutchley, University Printer)
and published by the Cambridge University Press
(Cambridge, and Bentley House, London)

Agents for U.S.A., Canada, and India: Macmillan

[p. iv]

1:Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

INTRODUCTION

THE central theme of *The Golden Bough* was the divine kingship, and it has seemed to me appropriate that a lecture established in its author's honour and now dedicated to his memory should be on that subject. I propose, therefore, to examine one of the examples of divine kingship cited by Sir James Frazer, that of the Shilluk of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and to discuss it as a problem of social structure. 121

It was recorded as early as 1905 that it was a Shilluk custom to kill their kings[1] and much information about the Shilluk kingship in general has since been collected. Professor and Mrs Seligman studied the institution in 1909–10 and it was they who brought it to the notice of Sir James Frazer and into the main stream of ethnological theory. Apart from the writings of the Seligmans and a number of articles by other hands there are two monographs on the Shilluk, *The* 114 121

[1] Banholzer, P. and Giffen, J. K., *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (edited by Count Gleichen, 1905), ch. VIII, p. 199.

119 *Shilluk People* by Professor Diedrich Westermann,
121 who conducted linguistic research among the Shilluk in 1910, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr's *Die Schilluk*, largely based on the observations of Father Banholzer and other of his fellow Catholic missionaries, which date from the beginning of the century. Father Hofmayr himself worked among the Shilluk from 1906 to 1916. There has, indeed, long been a considerable body of knowledge about the Shilluk and I would not have considered it profitable to discuss the Shilluk kingship afresh were it not that new light has recently been shed on their social structure, and more particularly on the place of the kingship in it, by officers of the Sudan Political Service. It is significant that two of them studied anthropology before joining the Sudan Service, Mr P. P. Howell at Cambridge, from where he had carried out some research among the Shilluk before joining the Service, and Mr W. P. G. Thomson at Oxford. It is from this literature, and especially from the more recent accounts, that I have drawn the material for my lecture, for though the Shilluk live in a part of the world with which I am very familiar, my contact with them has been slight.

101 The Shilluk are the most northern of the Nilotic
175 peoples and have been for centuries in contact

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [75 [101]] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 361 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads 161 on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from 131 near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
131] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

621
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a popula- 631]
tion of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

621
613 form a separate social community with its own
609 corporate life. This lineage is generally dominant in numbers as well as in virtue of the prestige derived from its traditional association with the
[622] settlement site. The chief of the settlement is chosen from it and by its members, though the stranger lineages have some say in the election, which must be confirmed by the king (*reth*) of the Shilluk. Even when a stranger lineage, sometimes a branch of the royal clan (*kwareth*), becomes more numerous in a settlement than its dominant lineage and dispossesses its members of the chieftainship they still retain some prestige as owners of the soil. Unity in a settlement and the authority of its chief are said to depend on its integration around a powerful dominant lineage. I must, therefore, say something here about Shilluk lineages.

613 There has been, and still is, some obscurity about Shilluk descent groups. There are said to be in Shillukland about 100 groups designated by the word *kwa* (descendants) followed by the name of the ancestor of the group. These are often described in the literature as exogamous clans but many of them might perhaps be better spoken of as lineages. They have a typical lineage structure with its characteristic branching off in response to the formation

of new territorial units. Colonies of the same 613
lineage are found in several settlements, so that in
any settlement several different descent groups are [621]
represented, one of them, as I have already explained, being always dominant in it and identified
with the settlement politically. Although the dispersed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and [614]
sometimes acknowledge their common descent in
other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his
localized lineage, reference being usually to the
ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement.
It is interesting to note a further common feature 613
of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who 611
has settled with his wife's people trace their descent 621
through the wife to the lineage in whose home they
live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic
peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages
are grafted into the genealogical structure of the
dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until
we know more than we do at present about the
distribution of lineages, about their genealogical
structure, and about the part they play in inter-
settlement relations it will not be possible to estimate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common 631
polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

631 segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-
[721] Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous
631 settlements to combine for war against other settle-
619 ments or under the leadership of an outstanding
personality, but such combinations were not
permanent, or even consistent enough for us to
[177] speak of them as political groups. The Turkish
648] Administration tried to give greater consistency to
them so that they could be used as administrative
units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has
done the same and calls them divisions and appoints
a chief for each. Previously they appear to have
been little more than districts or localities, and the
only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of
settlements were those of Ger, northern Shillukland, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than an administrative character, and those of Muomo and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern and southern marches of Shillukland, whose functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly, Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of
631 the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [162] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been
644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line-
[613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang*
565 *nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince
644 during his lifetime, and after his death their de-
613 scendants continued to live near the prince's
621 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general
[101] category of commoners, *colo*, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

The development of the Shilluk kingship has thus produced, though not in a very pronounced or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin). 565 644

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben 643 114 642

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chilloukes', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

643 kam, und Herr sogar des Eigentums seiner Unter-
114 tann'.[1] These statements would seem to require
642 some modification. As Mr Pumphrey has pointed
[177] out it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments.[2] Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.

643 It is true that the more recent authorities imply
114 rather than explicitly state what in their opinion
692 is the position of the king. Mr Howell and Mr Thomson speak of 'the theoretical omnipotence' of the king and of a 'theoretically omnipotent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 150–1.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 18–19.

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old 643
days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale 114
fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, 692
feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We 643
are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifi- 114
able' war on another or refused persistently to 721
listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from 701
the adjacent settlements and with this force and his 692
own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage 114
resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, there- 643
fore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes 692
backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

114 paid to the king alone.[1] A different picture of the
643 king's part in the settlement of disputes is painted
692 by Mr Oyler of the American Mission, who witnessed the settlement of a feud, which had been going on in a district for more than three years, by the joint intervention of the king and the Government. From his account it is evident that the king could not have imposed a settlement had the disputants not been ready to accept one, that the part played in it by the king was that of peacemaker and not of judge, and that his participation can better be described as sacerdotal than as governmental.[2] The king of the Shilluk reigns but does not govern.

643 The king's sacerdotal role in the settlement of
793 feuds gives us a clue to what is confirmed by a great weight of further evidence: his sacral position in Shilluk society. Our authorities, indeed, speak of the king as the 'Hoherpriester des Landes',[3] of 'the royal and priestly line' and of its 'priestly function',[4] and of the king as 'the high priest of the tribal religion'.[5] Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 162.
[2] 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N. and* 1 (1920), pp. 296–9.
[3] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 152.
[4] Banholzer and Giffen, *op. cit.* p. 197.
[5] Pumphrey, *op. cit.* p. 19.

He[1] makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 793
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [780]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 631
and their association with lineages is, as we have [773]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622
778

[1] [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

particular, ceremonial services at the king's investiture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and those of past kings. These shrines are widely distributed throughout the country so that every section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

We can only understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

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Nyikang who is the medium betwee man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way o participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyi ang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The articipation of Nyikang in the king raises the kin hip to a plane above all sectional interests, whet er local or of descent. All the Shilluk share i the kingship, [185] however their loyalties may pull hem apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common t all the people: success in war against foreigners d the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, ar of those wild beasts which are of service to n n. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everyth ng they value most in their national and private li has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thon on tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*pin bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shil ks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the inve iture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. xliii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

643 Because of the mystical values associated with
783 the kingship and centred in the person of the king he must keep himself in a state of ritual purity, by performing certain actions and observing certain prescriptions, and in a state of physical perfection. Our authorities say that the Shilluk believe that should the king become physically weak the whole people might suffer, and, further, that if a king becomes sick or senile he should be killed to avoid some grave national misfortune, such as defeat in war, epidemic, or famine. The king must be killed to save the kingship and with it the whole Shilluk people.

643 This would seem to be the reasoning behind
783 Shilluk statements that the king may be strangled,
114 or suffocated, or walled up in a hut and left to die
[766] there, if he fails to satisfy his wives or shows signs of illness or senility. In view of the great importance Sir James Frazer and others have attached to these statements I must confess that I consider them of interest more as an indication of the mystical nature of the kingship than as evidence that the kings were, in fact, ever killed in the ways mentioned or for the reasons given. It is true that Professor and Mrs Seligman state categorically that 'there is not the least doubt that kings of the Shilluk were killed with due ceremony when they began to show

signs of old age or ill health',[1] but I have failed to find convincing evidence that any Shilluk king was put to death in either circumstance, although some of the kings must have qualified long before they died for execution on the grounds alleged; and I am persuaded that the story of kings being walled up in a hut is a confusion arising from the usual walling up of the remains of a dead king, the bones being buried after decomposition of the flesh. In the absence of other than traditional evidence of royal executions in Shilluk history and in view of the contradictory accounts cited I conclude that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction. It possibly arises from the dual personality of the king, who is both himself and Nyikang, both an individual and an institution, which accounts also for the linguistic convention that a king does not die but disappears just as Nyikang is said not to have died but to have disappeared, in his case in a storm. I will return to this question of regicide after I have reviewed the procedures of election and investiture of kings to show what light they shed on the nature of the kingship.

[1] *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 221; also *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90-2. Howell and Thomson say (*op. cit.* p. 19) that ceremonial strangulation is traditional for all members of the royal clan.

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 The phases of the investiture of a new king were
114 excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for
166 some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of, and the mortuary
[767] ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and
[614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred. 643 266 [614]

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Dhiang, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre, 182 631 643

182 Fashoda, which is almost where the halves meet
631 and is the focal point in the ceremonies of in-
643 vestiture.

631 I wish to emphasize that the procedure of
643 election ensures that the prince selected to be king
666 must have the backing of the whole country. Mr Thomson tells us that 'the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang'[1] and cannot take place unless they agree, and it is clear that agreement does not depend on the personal feelings of the two men but that they are spokesmen for the halves of the country they represent. The other members of what Mr Howell and Mr Thomson call the 'electoral college' and which they say 'is a very conscious survival of the tradi- ditional structure of the Shilluk tribe'[2] have 'only to only to listen to the decision'[3] of these two men. The ot The other members are the two influential chiefs chiefs of the northern and southern marches, Muomo and Tonga, nine chiefs of settlements who are descended from the original chiefs among whom Nyikang divided Shillukland when he conquered and settled his followers in it, and three important

[1] W. P. G. Thomson, 'Further Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk, 1945' (manuscript).
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 29.
[3] Thomson, *op. cit.*

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have 631
become dominant in powerful settlements in the 643
country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all 666
parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

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Without the collective participation of the halves 643
of the country the investiture of a king, which takes 631
place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, [614]
the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans [293] [778]
are responsible for performing various parts of the

182 ceremonial and for providing the various objects
631 required in its enactment: silver and cloth from the
643 Arabs of the north (presumably obtained by raiding
[293] in the old days), ostrich feathers for the effigies of
[778] Nyikang and his son, skins of the rare Mrs Gray antelope from Fanyikang island for the ceremonial robes of the king and the other more important participants in the ceremony, sacred spears, royal drums, fibre of the dom palm for ceremonial robes, cowrie shells, new huts, beasts for sacrifice, and so forth.

643 I will recount briefly the chief phases by which
778 the kingship envelops the king-elect. The effigy of Nyikang, which is kept in the principal of his provincial shrines, at Akurwa in the most northerly district of Shillukland, is brought out by his priests, to whom the king-elect has to make considerable gifts for their service in this matter, and together with the effigy of his son Dak is taken to beat the northern bounds of the kingdom and then southwards, supported by an army of the north, to fight the king-elect for possession of the capital. As the effigies pass through each district the people gather to pay their respects to Nyikang and to escort him to the next district, for it appears that during the interregnum the effigy is believed to contain the

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spirit of Nyikang, to be Nyikang in fact. Nyikang's 643
army of the north meets in mock combat an army 778
of the south, supporting the king-elect, at the Arepejur watercourse just outside the royal capital. In the words of Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, this meeting in battle of the two armies on the Arepejur, the boundary between north and south, 'symbolizes the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points.'[1] The army of the king-elect is defeated and he is captured by Nyikang and taken by him to the capital. The kingship captures the king. There Nyikang is placed on the royal stool. After a while he is taken off it and the king- [775]
elect sits on it in his stead and the spirit of Nyikang enters into him, causing him to tremble, and he becomes king, that is he becomes possessed by Nyikang. The concluding ritual acts follow. The new king has married a girl, traditionally provided by a certain clan, and this girl has an important role in the ceremonies of investiture. After the king's enthronement Nyikang seizes the girl and refuses to surrender her to the king on the ground that she was married with cattle from the royal herd, which is Nyikang's herd, and is therefore Nyikang's wife.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 48.

643 On this issue Nyikang and the king summon their
778 supporters to a second mock battle, in which the king captures the girl. Nyikang thereupon pays the king a visit to make his peace with him. On the following morning the king receives the homage and exhortations of the chiefs and undertakes to be a good king. Nyikang does not again contest the king's authority and some weeks later the effigies are sent back to the shrine at Akurwa.

643 Even so brief a sketch as I have given enables us
775 to perceive the basic symbolism of the events of investiture. Nyikang is always king of the Shilluk and when a king dies his spirit is conceived of as departing in some manner from the king's body to take up its abode in the new effigy specially made for its accommodation at the shrine of Akurwa. By entering anew into the body of a prince Nyikang once again rules in his capital. The most adequate interpretation of the succession of rites of investiture would therefore seem to be that when the effigy and the king fight for possession of the capital the army of the effigy is victorious because Nyikang is in the effigy, but when they fight again over the king's bride the army of the king is victorious because Nyikang is now in the king. Power has passed from the Nyikang of the

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa. 693 775

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The kingship belongs to all the people and not to the royal clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an

693 694 619 [173] [174]

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in
[631] the second half of the nineteenth century was connected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.

Consistently supported rival candidates.

consistently supported rival candidates. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the practice of the present day, by which it is more or less understood that the surviving lines of kings take it in turn to provide the king,[1] is new. A collateral royal line does not to-day contest an election on the understanding that they have next turn. The custom is for the reigning king to take under his wing a scion of a rival line and by so doing to indicate him as his successor, though he cannot nominate him and his choice may not be followed by the people. When this prince becomes king he takes under his wing a son of his protector. The reigning king insures by this convention against both rebellion by a rival line and his own line being excluded from the kingship in the future. 643 114

There can be no doubt that in recent times there has been an alternation on the throne of branches of the royal house, nor that the alternation is related to the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We are told that if the ceremonial chiefs of the north and south fail to reach agreement in the election of a new king the chiefs of the northern settlements follow their representative and the 643 631 669

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. xlvi; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 145; Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 27.

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
669 representative and the issue is fought out. It would seem probable that when there is disagreement it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
174 about the merits of the candidates but of local
631 loyalties in which different members of the royal
643 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
644 land. Whether disputed succession in the past was a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact that in earlier times the king ruled from the settlement in which he was brought up or moved from one settlement to another and did not have a fixed residence at the central and neutral point of Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the association of princes with settlements and districts is clearly related to the custom by which they are brought up away from the capital. It is probable that the backing given by north and south to candidates for the kingship in past times arose from the fact that some princes were brought up in the north and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–126. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

693 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The
693 belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
669 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by
173 recent Shilluk history any more than the belief that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

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[114]

has been suggested,[1] but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it. This is the conclusion I have drawn from Father Hofmayr's involved chronicle of the Shilluk kings.[2] It must here be remarked that Shilluk rebellions have not been made against the kingship. On the contrary, they were made to preserve the values embodied in the kingship which were being weakened, or it was believed so, by the individual who held office. They were not revolutions but rebellions against the king in the name of the kingship.

CONCLUSION

The divine kingship, to one, perhaps the best known, of the examples of which I have devoted this lecture, has been extensively written about by ethnologists, particularly in reference to its occur- 121 693

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 64; Prof. and Mrs Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–1. Howell and Thomson (*op. cit.* p. 11 *et passim*) are more reserved.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136.

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121 rence in Africa.[1] I cannot discuss their conclusions
643 here though I feel that I must say about them that they are not, for me at any rate, well founded. In this lecture I thought that I could make a more valuable contribution by a detailed discussion of a particular instance than by what would necessarily have been a very general and superficial review of the whole field, especially as the case selected for discussion has been investigated by a number of gifted observers over half a century and still permits further and more systematic research.

In discussing the Shilluk kingship I have not, as you will have noted, followed Sir James Frazer's method of interpretation. In my view kingship everywhere and at all times has been in some degree a sacred office. *Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote*. This is because a king symbolizes a whole society and must not be identified with any part of it. He must be in the society and yet stand outside it and this is only possible if his office is raised to a mystical plane. It is the kingship and not the king who is divine.

But though I would insist that a sufficient explana-

[1] Leo Frobenius, *Atlas Africanus*, Heft 2, Blatt 7, "Der König ein Gott"; C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa* (the Frazer Lecture for 1933), 1934; Tor Irstam, *The King of Ganda. Studies in the Institutions of Sacral Kingship in Africa* (1944).

tion of the sacral kingship can only be derived from a detailed and painstaking comparative study of a wide range of monarchical institutions, which implies a yet wider comparative study of types of political structure, I do not wish to maintain that because all kingship has some of the features of the divine kingship the divine kingship is not in respect of other features a distinct type of institution. It is to the credit of Sir James Frazer to have shown that it is; and I would suggest that it is an institution typical of, though doubtless not restricted to, societies with pronounced lineage systems in which the political segments are parts of a loosely organized structure without governmental functions. In societies of this kind the political organization takes a ritual or symbolic form which in polities with a higher degree of organization gives way, though never entirely, to centralized administration.

I would further suggest that the acceptance of regicide in one form or another as customary can be explained in the same structural terms. The moral density is great enough for the segments to be represented by a common symbol in the kingship but not great enough to eliminate the powerful tendencies towards fission in the structure they

121 compose. These tendencies are expressed in relation
643 to the symbol, and either the kingship itself, or the king himself, circulates through the competitive segments, as among the Anuak and in past times also in Shillukland, or the segments struggle for royal representation in the capital. In either case their particularist sentiments operate through dynastic rivalries. The kingship, that is Nyikang, is changeless and acknowledged as a supreme value by all the Shilluk. In that permanence and in that acknowledgement the unity of the nation is manifested. In the rebellions against the kings and in the regicides the segmentary structure with its opposed local loyalties is equally present to the view of the observer. The kingship tends in such societies to become identified, by the attachment of the king's person to one locality, with sectional interests and when this happens other sections assert their rights, and by their action the common interest of all the Shilluk, in the kingship at the expense of the king's person. The kingship embodies a contradiction between dogma and social facts, in a sense between office and person, which is produced by a combination of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in the national structure and this contradiction is solved by customary regicide.

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PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN

By

C. G. SELIGMAN, M.D., F.R.S.
Professor of Ethnology in the University of London

and

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

With an Introduction by

SIR HAROLD M. MACMICHAEL, D.S.O., K.C.M.G.
Civil Secretary, Sudan Government

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LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
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1932

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Ryang, the Lotuko rain-maker (left), and companion

[facing p. 222]

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It should have been mentioned in the Foreword that, for the reason stated on page 151, relationship terms are generally given in the possessive (first person singular).

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FOREWORD

IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

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[2] keys before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: rules of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people [119] investigated. In this manner Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study archæological processes, but specimens of any objects of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Wherever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to 128 illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

119 Our first expedition, in 1909–10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911–12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

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the Kababish of Kordofan and the Beja of the Red Sea Province. It was not until 1911 that we were able to resume our work, the winter of 1911–2 being spent mainly among the tribes south and east of the Dinka, i.e. among the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes. Severe illness during the next few years negatived further work in the tropics, but the survey was taken up and extended by our friend and pupil, Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard. In three expeditions he worked especially among the tribes of the south-west Bahr el Ghazal and the Azande, later extending his studies to that most difficult people the Nuer. Professor Evans-Pritchard has already begun to publish his results, largely in *Sudan Notes and Records*, but besides being able to avail ourselves of these for our West Bank chapters we have, owing to his remarkable generosity, had at our full disposal his photographs, his Bahr el Ghazal and Nuer notes, and the almost finished manuscript of his Azande monograph, a study which will undoubtedly rank as one of the most exhaustive and authoritative of anthropological works. We desire to take this opportunity of emphasizing how slight is our first-hand knowledge of Azande and Nuer, and how greatly we are indebted to him; we would also point out that part of the chapter dealing with the Fung Province is based on his material. But although we have had the benefit of his constant help and advice, and not only in regard to the above-mentioned peoples, Professor Evans-Pritchard must in no way be held responsible for our presentation of the facts or our conclusions concerning them. The same holds with regard to two others who have helped us in the most generous and unselfish manner, freely putting at our disposal their great experience and the contents of their notebooks. We refer to the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw and to Mr. G. O. Whitehead. The former has lived for many years among the Dinka, the latter is our leading authority on the Bari and the Bari-speaking tribes; from both we have received help of inestimable value.

In connection with the Bari we must also express our gratitude to an old friend, Mr. Ernest Haddon, of the Uganda Civil Service, who a quarter of a century ago when the Bari country formed part of Uganda presided over the destinies of the tribe and compiled an MS., later put at our disposal, from which we have not hesitated to quote.

We have, indeed, everywhere been most fortunate in the assistance rendered to us. Two successive Governors, General Sir Reginald Wingate and Major-General Sir Lee Stack, stimulated our work by

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their manifest interest. Our indebtedness to the Department of Education, to which we were attached, is very great: Sir James Currie's part we have already mentioned; his successor, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, was our constant guide and friend, ever ready with advice and help, indeed it was at his suggestion that we were accompanied on our last expedition by Mr. S. H. Hillelson, to whom we must also express our gratitude. Mr. J. G. Matthew, until recently Secretary for Education and Health, has not only assisted us as Principal of the Gordon College, but was of the utmost service in 1911 when in administrative charge of the Khor Baraka area in the Red Sea Province. The present Civil Secretary, Sir Harold MacMichael, helped us greatly on our second expedition, he was our companion for part of it, and personally introduced us to the Kababish; we also feel that we owe him a debt of gratitude for his constantly sympathetic attitude towards anthropological research, exemplified by the introduction which, in spite of the many calls on his time, he has written to this volume.

These are some of the men who helped us most, but we received such ready aid from so many that certain names must be mentioned, even if in doing so we seem to ignore others to whom we are almost equally indebted. In Khartoum the late Sir Andrew Balfour was an old and valued friend, with whom it was a pleasure to discuss pathological problems; his successor, Major R. G. Archibald, showed us much kindness. In the Provinces, while freely acknowledging the ready help afforded us by every Governor and District Commissioner with whom we came in contact, we would especially mention Colonel R. V. Savile, Mr. K. C. P. Street, Mr. V. R. Woodhead, Major R. G. C. Brock, Mr. L. F. Nalder, and Mr. J. D. P. Chataway. Dr. E. P. Pratt has gone to much trouble to provide us with physical data from Darfung, while the Reverend J. A. Heany and Colonel H. A. Lilley have given us valuable information concerning the Anuak and Lango respectively; the Rev. D. N. MacDiarmid has read our Nuba chapter, and the Rev. Fathers Crazzolara and Molinaro have answered questions concerning Acholi and Lotuko. To Mr. J. H. Driberg, the senior editor of this Series, we are particularly indebted: not only is he an old friend with whom we have for years been accustomed to discuss African problems, but he is the only man who has any knowledge of the tribes inhabiting the remote south-eastern border of the Sudan, that area of tribal confusion whose marches are equally those of

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Abyssinia, Kenya, and Uganda. It follows that to him we owe directly or indirectly, much that we have written in Chapter X.

Even this extended list is not exhaustive: many others have helped us in varying degrees, and we can only hope that we have made adequate acknowledgements in the text.

In this country we have received advice and help from Lord Raglan and from Dr. A. N. Tucker, while for the tribal map[1] and the beautifully drawn text-figures (excepting only Figs. 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, and 27) we are sincerely grateful to our friend Sir Montague Montague-Pollock, who has spent endless time in carrying out our suggestions. To Miss P. H. Puckle we are indebted not only for the index, but for constant aid throughout the preparation of our volume. It is also a pleasant duty to express our gratitude to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for permission to reproduce photographs and portions of text which we have from time to time during the last twenty years contributed to the *Journal* and to *Man*, to the editors of *The Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, and to Messrs. Clark, of Aberdeen, for allowing us to utilize much of three articles (Dinka, Shilluk, Nuba) contributed to their great *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The Editorial Committee of *Sudan Notes and Records* has permitted us to reprint (with emendations) a contribution of our own dealing with the Lotuko, as well as Mr. Munro's account of the installation of the Shilluk king in 1918, and we take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance we have derived from many of the articles that have appeared between its covers.

Finally we desire to thank the Rockefeller Research Fund, administered by the London School of Economics (University of London), for help which not only facilitated bibliographical and clerical work in this country but was of the greatest assistance to Professor Evans-Pritchard in the field.

[1] Considerable use has been made of the *Tribal Map* published by the Sudan Government, (Khartoum, 1931); it must, however, be understood that tribal areas are only approximate. The sketch map constituting Fig. 1 also derives from a government publication.

C. G. S.
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Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

[N] The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Tawfikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat green country, [232] dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides [233] of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is [231] harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and [243] scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 11,000 head of cattle [161] and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,000,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of [171] the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have [174] no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[119] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Nilnegerstammes*, Wien, 1925.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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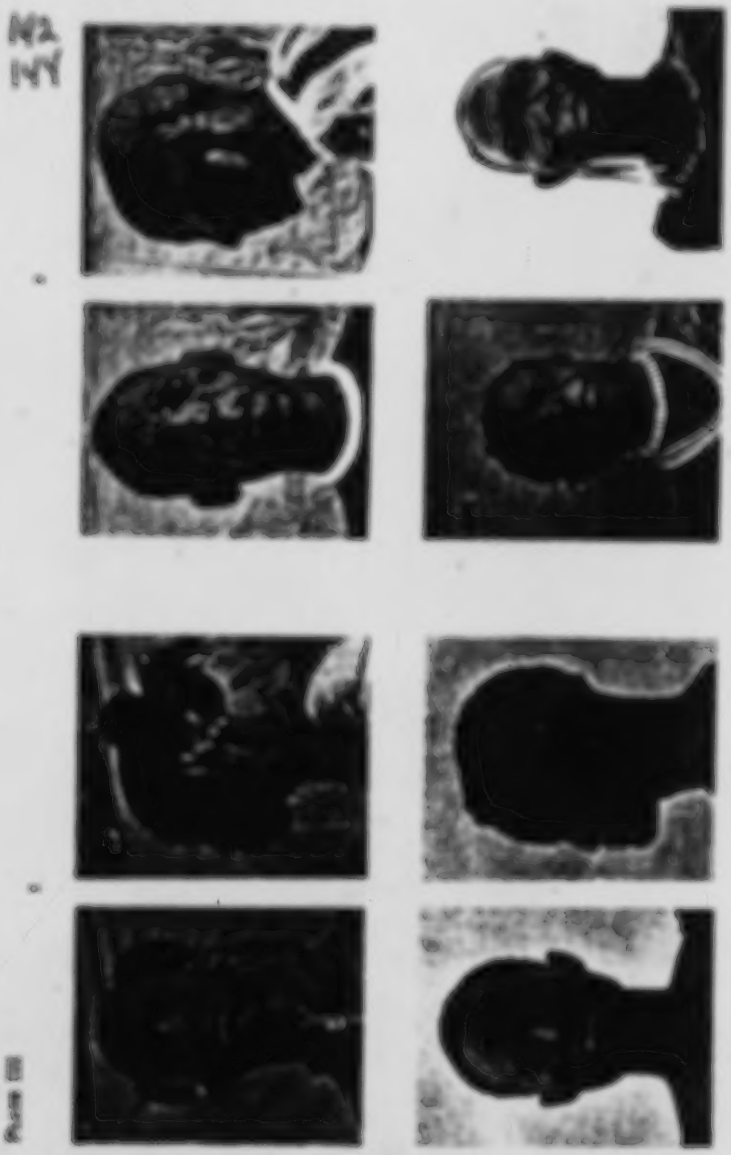

Plate III

Shilluk types. No. 1, Omega; 2, Lokomodo; 3, "Reginald"; 4, Omar (Kennedy Smith Collect.)

No. 1 of 6

2.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us
142 to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have
144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in
[558] cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[462] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's notes (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 165) and some mysterious river people (op. cit., 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

173 539 114

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Ardil, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the weed, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the weed will break away.' And Nyikang spared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the weed broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ondo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 15 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

[221]

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the constricting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

226 224

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleb* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

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[316 139]

501

[57]

Regulation of Public Life

631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Plate IV

[192,
241]

Commoning types of Shilluk

341

Shilluk villages from Nile

[Over p. 40

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631 on page 45. Gur, the northern division, has Golbati as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tong or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [719] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adiel or Dibin, and Pafit, while Gur is divided into Dishwok, Dimoth, Nun, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangwiang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most southerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the more important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 592 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping quarters of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with
Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogo,
corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
fam, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*).
631 A number of *fam*, each with its own grazing ground (*wad*), form a
fado (*dimrill*), a number of *fado* going to form each of the ten provinces
of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists
of only two clans, the Golobogo and Pamiri, both traditionally
attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two
groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds
more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated
Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads,
has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives
and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any
Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages".
Arwadwi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was
said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a
114 number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the
descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai,
which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family
of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85-6) who is
"related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families
founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi,
we cannot say, but it may well be so.

789 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
825 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr
consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
793 example:—
825

"The ostrich and the crow and DDeng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127-34. [2] Op. cit., 1:237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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713 825 son of Dengi came in the time of Dowar . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurejo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adidalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwala* sickness."[1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwo* (tamarind), and *nalo* (hearth-stone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 713 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, *i.e.* all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ginago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

114 711 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178-9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 156.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk myth in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 155), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Hussey of a *kwo* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Hussey, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwo* have no totem."

2 Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—so be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Lwo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pajuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paulo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paulo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paulo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasise that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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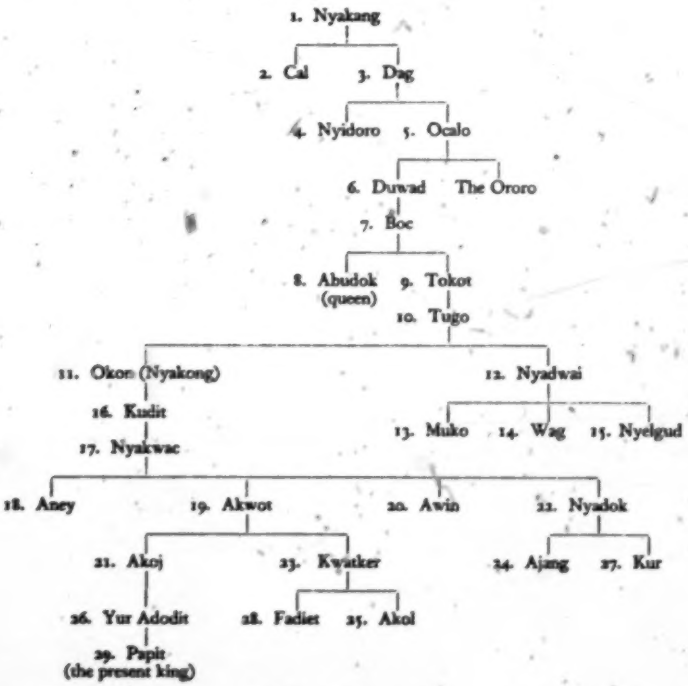
643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 114 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] [1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from 643
which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it 173
may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very [648]
good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised 631
through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which 635
the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to 643
be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old 643
days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps 644
up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples
[65] in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ogo*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593] woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
[582] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836] Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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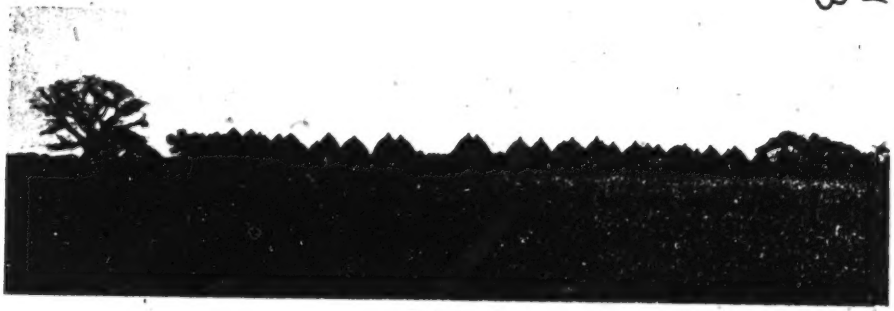
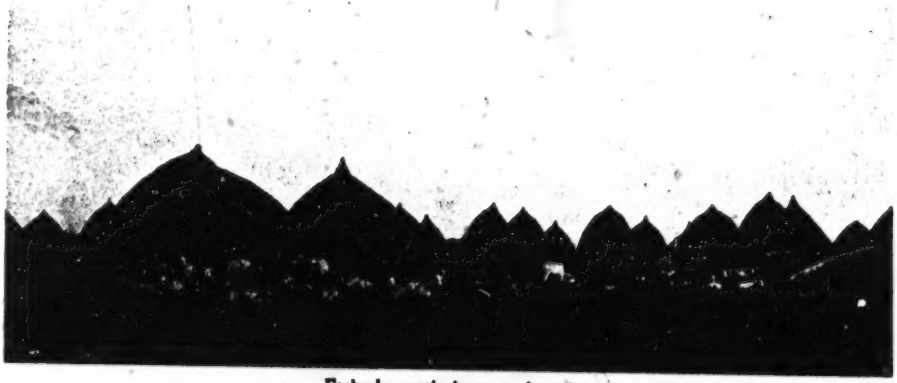


Fashoda



Fashoda, cattle byres and cattle

View p. 48

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VI

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Fashoda, Aturwic

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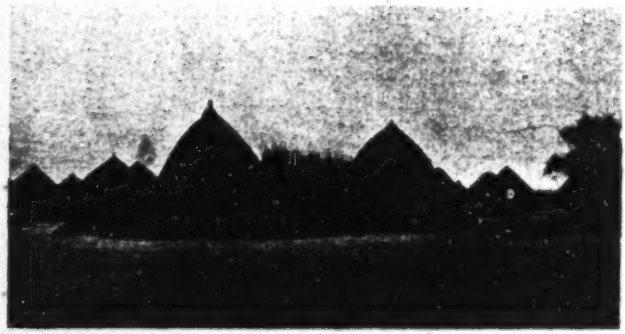

Akurua, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
565 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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565 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, [563] while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

601 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This [582] distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, wia .	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *wa*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *wa* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *waja* and *ma* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ora*) *wa*.
Maiya . .	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wot (pl. *wöde*)	Son.
Nyara . .	Children.
Uwa . .	Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.
Nyiwa . .	Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.
Umia . .	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother as a polite form of address.
Nyimia . .	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Ma . .	Mother's sister.
Uma . .	Son of *ma*.
Nyima . .	Daughter of *ma*.
Na . .	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Una . .	Son of *na*.
Nyina . .	Daughter of *na*.
Waja . .	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Uwaja . .	Father's sister's son.
Nywaja . .	Father's sister's daughter.
Mia . .	Father's brother's wife.
Oka . .	Sister's son.
Nyaka . .	Sister's daughter.
Kwa . .	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wanga . .	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Kware . .	Son's children, daughter's children.
Ora . .	(m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa*. (w.s.) Husband's *umia* and husband's *uma*.
Yura . .	The *uwa* of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *cimada* is more correct.
Niaka[1] . .	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

[1] This word must not be confused with *nyaka* "sister's daughter". To the Shilluk the words were so different that they could not understand why we confused them. We have made a difference in spelling, but the difference—extremely difficult for the untrained ear to detect—may either be tonic or in the initial consonant, as there are three different *n* sounds in Shilluk. [194]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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601 Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ba* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ba* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reth*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ba wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ba* or *ci na* for the wife of the *na*, *cimada* (from *mat*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *ora* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *ora jalnywaja*, lit. " relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter ".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls [611] " father's son ". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* " father ", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, " grandfather ", while all those of the same generation are *uwa*, " father's sons ". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be " sons " ; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wöde* (sons) ; the brother's sons are *umade*, " sons of the *mat*." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *oka*, the sister's daughters *nyaka* ; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *uwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify clan or ancestor. [603] Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *uwa* are *una* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded to some extent as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother ; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *uma*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fenikang in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mek* for aunt,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here. 601 [114]

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *uwa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *una*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *uwa* are his *na*; from the point of function, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *na*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ora*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyiwa*, *nyimia*, *nyima*, or *nywaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *ora* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nywaja*. A man calls *ora* the "parents-in-law" of all his *uwa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *uwa*. When *ora* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *uwa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ora*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ora* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother. [614]

When a woman speaks, the term *ora* has a much less wide significance. Her *ora* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ora* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Yura.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *uwa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 290.
[2] The wife's brother's wife may merely be regarded as one of the wife's people and so an *ora*; but it must be noted that among some other African peoples the wife's brother's wife is potentially a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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601 only used by women to men, but it may also be used reciprocally. It is a peculiar term; at first sight it might be looked upon as derived from the same root as *ora*, but the meaning is entirely different, so this is improbable. *Ora* respect one another, and a breach of etiquette between them is a serious matter, but between *yura* there is no restraint and a woman may be the paramour of her *yura*, her husband's *uwa*. Also *uwa* may inherit each other's wives, so that *yura* may become legitimate spouses. The bearing of these facts on mother-in-law avoidance will be referred to later.

It may be said that the terms used by a man depend on his physiological connection with his mother and her legal bond to her husband, and hence to his father and his father's clan. The terms applied to all these people follow a logical system based on the fact that relationship to the mother is a biological one, while that to the father is sociological. The father is head of the household and is normally the physiological father, but if he should not be so it would make no difference, the mutual relationship would be the same and it would not affect inheritance. Further, a man belongs to his father's clan and all his father's clansmen are his own clansmen, thus among the cousins there is a great difference according to whether they are clansmen or not. Later, by marriage, a man sets up new relationships to his wife's relatives. All of these, except his wife's sister and the *yura*, are his *ora*, people to whom he must show respect, avoiding any behaviour that might lead to quarrels; he will never become familiar with any of them. His intimate friends will be chosen from among his clansmen. The relationship to the *yura* is dependent on that between *uwa* (clan-brothers), who stand in such close relationship that they have access to each others' wives.

An unmarried woman uses kinship terms in the same way as a man, but certain terms are used in an anomalous manner by a married woman. She calls her husband's sister *waja*, and her husband's father and mother *kwa* and *wanga* respectively. Two points are apparent in the anomalous use of these words. Thereby all persons are addressed by a term which ordinarily is applied to someone of an older generation; further, instead of being addressed as relatives by marriage they are addressed as own relatives. Thus towards three persons a woman uses terms that might have been used by her husband, but in each case these relatives are considered to belong to one generation higher than they really do. Opportunity did not arise to discuss this point with the Shilluk women; a simple explanation might

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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

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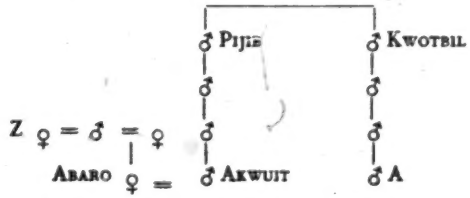
606 Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where—

> "not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this taboo came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half-brother of Kwotbil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club."



A called Akwuit *uwa* and avoided Z.

Although this behaviour seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide signficance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the "fathers", as well as all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behaviour did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that

[587]

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potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should 606
he try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously 587
avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance.

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a 606
man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would [576]
be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations.

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his "nakedness".

The wife's brother's wife is called *ora* and treated with the respect 606
due to a mother-in-law. How far she is regarded as a potential mother-in-law it would be difficult to say; there would be no objection 607
to marrying her daughter if the first wife died childless, but it did not appear to be customary. When told that among another people (the Ba Thonga) if a wife died childless the widower might claim his wife's brother's wife, or take her daughter in her stead, the custom was approved, though foreign to the Shilluk usage.[1]

Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage, 606

[1] Classing the wife's brother's wife with the mother-in-law is common in the Sudan: we found no reason for this, but think that given by the Nuer to Professor Evans-Pritchard may probably hold for other tribes (see p. 219). Should the wife's mother die, then her status may be held by the wife's brother's wife.

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606 provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a goat, but even then he may only enter the house of the mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head averted and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

602 A man observes ceremonial avoidance of the wives of certain of his own kinsmen. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his *uma* and *umia*, *uwaja* and *una*, *oka* and *kwa*, he cannot visit them as freely as he can the house of his *uwa*, because he must avoid the wives of all these relatives (while with the wives of his *uwa* he may be on quite familiar terms). When he meets any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with averted head.

604 A man may salute the wife of his *na* but must not sit in the hut with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her mat or skin it would cause death either to himself, his *na*, or the wife of his *na*. A man can never inherit the widow of his *na* as can be done among some other Sudan tribes, e.g. the Bari.

606 We now pass to the male *ora* whom a man must avoid. A man avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a time, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance 607 decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance [604] between a man and his wife's mother's brother (her *na*); they may never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the 602 wife's *na* ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the *na*, the *una* of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I not an *ora jalnywaja*? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been *na* to this girl and Fakwang as her *una* had inherited the privilege of the *na*, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's *ora* and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his *uwa* (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

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man and his *ora jalnywaja* might exchange presents of sheep, the gifts always being presented through a third party. 602

The husband of the sister, either the *nyimia* or the *nyiwa*, is treated in the same way as the husband of the *nyiwaja* and privileges can be claimed from him; the husband of the *nina* is also respected. Thus, though *ora* is a reciprocal term, the respect and deference shown is not mutual. The *ora* to whom deference is paid are the wife's male and female relatives. The most important of these are the mother, the father, the *na* and the *una*, the *uma* and the *umia* of the wife, all of whom are treated with ceremonial avoidance; the *uwa*, though respected, are not avoided. The *ora* from whom a man claims privileges are the husbands of sisters and cousins, especially the husbands of the *nyimia*, *nyima*, and *nywaja* from whose bride-wealth he has received cattle.

There is no avoidance between women; a woman does not avoid her husband's mother. 606

A man must kill a bull at the death feast of an *ora*, the father, mother or brother of his wife, and if he lives near his wife's family he kills a sheep on the day of the death. He must not see the corpse or assist at the burial. 607 764

From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ora* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ora* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ora* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *waja*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *waja* towards her brother's daughter, though those to his son are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *na*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ora*. 602

There seem to be four aspects of the *ora* relationship :—

(1) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(2) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

(3) The attitude a man observes towards the husbands of his own female relatives. Relationships (2) and (3) are reciprocal but the behaviour pattern is not identical.

(4) A woman's attitude towards the relatives of her husband.

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602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

(1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom
606 in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among
[291] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of
606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that
835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term
606 *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as
607 *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father
607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
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complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth. 606 607 583 [604]

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them. 607 583

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others. 607 835

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously. 607 [595] 602 835

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The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *uwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

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related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nya dey cuan*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

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581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to 584 the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

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storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony. 585

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings. 585 604

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them. 851 [844] [273]

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:— 583

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diek num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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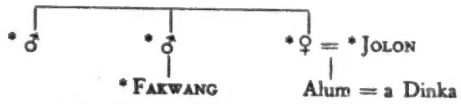
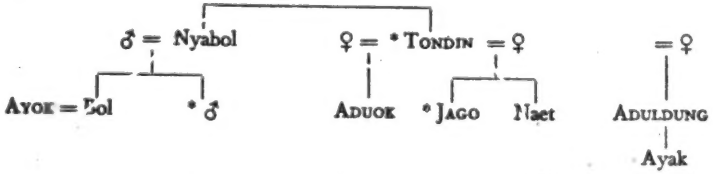
583 Seventeen cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one Jolon on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the *na* of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven Jolon took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. Jolon had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, ten went directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



* Indicates persons who received cattle.

The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (twin), were distributed as follows: two cows went to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's *na*) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's *una*) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his *waja*.



When Naet marries all the cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no *na*. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or hopes to, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the youngest brother, Aduok (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his eldest brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

It will be seen from these examples that though the term *na* can [604] be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the *na* are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any *uwa* of the mother.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uwa* who are her clansmen. 583

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 584

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his *uwa*, and the *ajuago* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 276). [842]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 582 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligmar. & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He [595]
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth [1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1] 553

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Ñabol. 845

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one. 593 605

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means. 604 [428] [431]

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [583]

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be [881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal [565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here [683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young 881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man [305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, 881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. [561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304 on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262 which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833 dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853] though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past [888] the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857] he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, [231] or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 593 but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264 and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415] over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.); OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz.:—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yimiti*

[1] These points may be summarily illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; to the Dinka *jok* are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *juok nim* who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 185–208.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, [539]
> and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773]
as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector [539]
> (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the [775]
opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached
771 to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—
196

> " He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an
[538] enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five
[173] epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the " spirit of Nyakang ", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says " Nyakang ", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows :—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children [1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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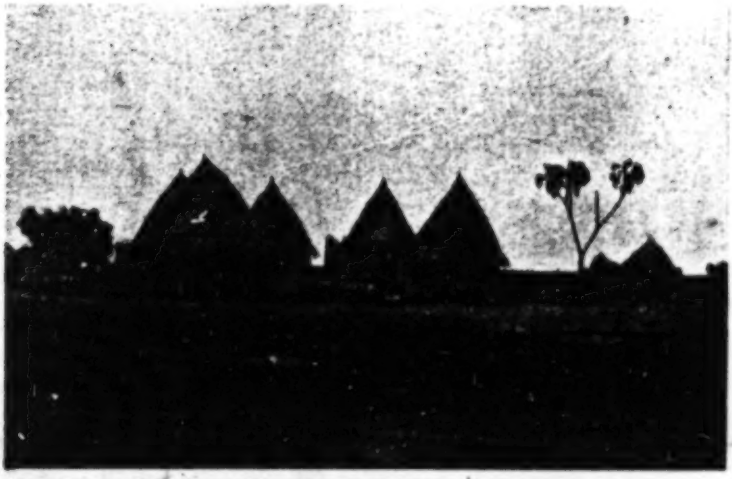
PLATE VII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1922

(face p. 76

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114] of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
[237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kojo respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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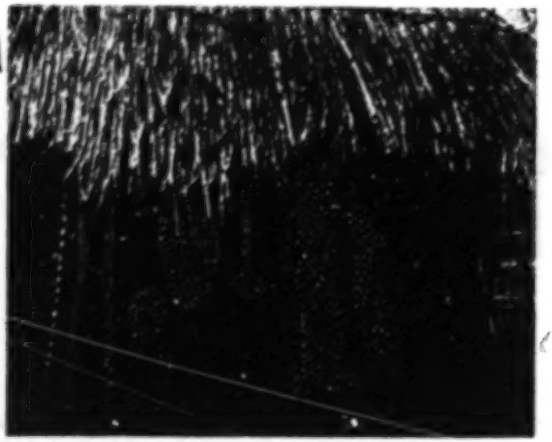
778

PLATE VIII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910, Kwayo (Dwand)

[532]



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang, wall-paintings

[facing p. 80

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[774] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

782 The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782
796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should [643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the [793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is [787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it [831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
796 *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and
782 also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and
782 spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December, 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made
796 after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete :—

[114] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

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782 796 [634]

performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of the Golobogu clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Buru owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Buru, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would provide the bull.

782 793 796

[643]

At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came
793 out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of
the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were
796 frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the
[293] dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *ludi* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pameiti clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[171
773] [1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis. 776 775 825

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2] 776 778 824

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (*ajuago*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her 776 775 825

[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwai, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwai, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwai, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyadwai being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE IX

778
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Duns-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fenikang, shrine to Deng

[See p. 88

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
775 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
825 fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular develop-
825 ment, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the
[753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into
[781] the river.
[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
784 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is,
[778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron
[782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream
[787] and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 778 764 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 643 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place [644] at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or 643
standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is [173]
no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been 643
assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the 565
fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well- [173]
informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. [886]
The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this [173]
there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt 173
that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or 643
possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into [662] which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought 643 to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the 787 wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One 643 of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night 796 and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *kareth* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month
796 (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*.
[787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2] 643 796

At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *ororo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ororo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ororo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwer*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *ororo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ororo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously more ceremonial in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Aker informed us that the victim would be lying unbound when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great ones"—including certainly the *jang dwong*—assembled near the shrine and each spat into a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place. [782]

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwer*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she at one time was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *dak kar* of the Acholi is a matter for future investigators. [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 796 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain [775] some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For [171] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it [781] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Papit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Munro by an Egyptian officer—not apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Munro's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

> *ure kwaje mayegen*
> "The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
> *ure kwaje tiengen*
> "The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 232. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawong's place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
643 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[781] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

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The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago*—literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

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Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

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Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye—largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

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"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits
775 of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[783] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Bor (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this 756
matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other

[347]

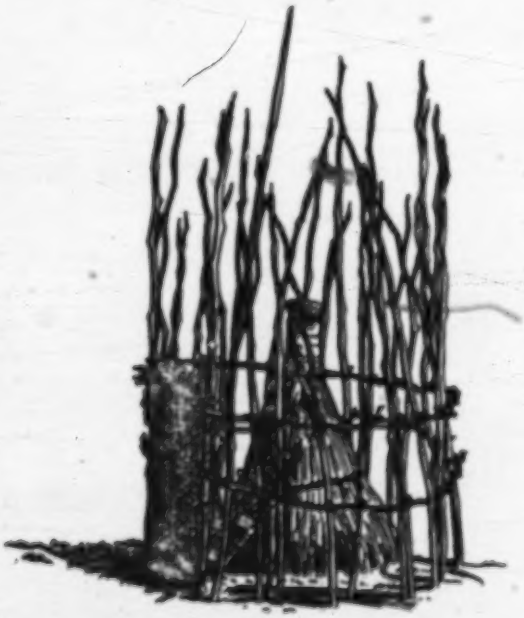

FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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ANUAK FJ4

PLATE X

S
342
764

Shilluk homestead, grave in foreground

A
142
291
301
302
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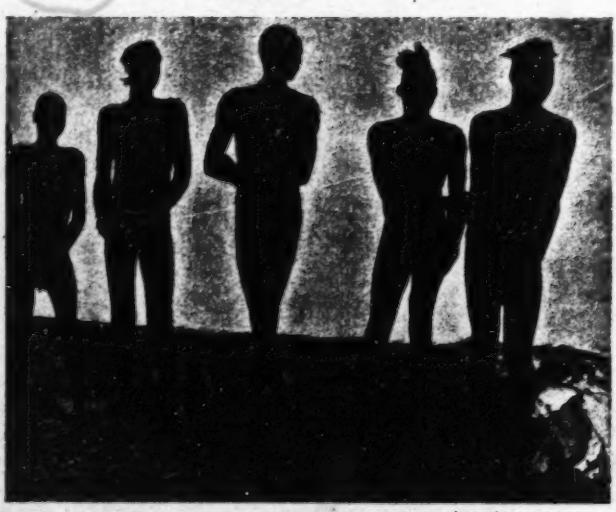

Anuak

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .

"A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession."[1]

We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river. [765] No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

764 Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for 765 a further ceremony.

Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ."[2]

[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112–13. [2] Westermann, loc. cit.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 *Kwanyireth* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyireth*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *bareth*, are buried by the *ororo*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there. 764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door 789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

600 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 37.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 492), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sueh river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., 31. [2] Loc. cit.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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THE SHILLUK PEOPLE

THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE

BY DIEDRICH WESTERMANN

WITH EIGHT PLATES
AND A SKETCH MAP

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF
THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF N. A.

DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN) BERLIN

[title page, p. iii]

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NOTE OF APPRECIATION.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N. A. desires to express to the Trustees of the Arthington Fund its profound appreciation for financial help which made it possible to carry on linguistic investigations in Southern Sudan and then to give publicity to their findings by the publication of this book.

[p. v]

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PREFACE.

121 In the summer of 1910 the Prussian Board of Education provided me with the means to undertake a journey to the Northern Sudan. My object was to
122 make linguistic studies. During my stay in the Sudan the material for this work was collected. My studies in the Shilluk language and people are due to a request made to me by the Reverend C. R. Watson D. D., of Philadelphia Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Mr. Watson, having heard of my intended journey to Egypt and the Sudan, asked me to visit the United Presbyterian Church's Mission on the Sobat, and to study the language of that district which lies within the sphere of their activity. By supplying the necessary funds for this part of the journey and for my stay in the Sudan, I was enabled to carry out this proposition, which was at the same time of importance for my linguistic studies.

114 I left for the Sudan at the beginning of August 1910, where I staid in Khartum and on the Sobat till the middle of November.

000 The results of my work obtained during this comparatively short time would not have been possible had it not been for the extremely active and kind support rendered me everywhere in the Sudan by the American missionaries. Not only was I able to profit by their kind hospitality, but they also most generously placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of the country, people and language. I owe my practical introduction to the language to Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, medical missionary at Khartum, in whose house I was privileged to stay for over a month. In addition to the contributions signed by him he also supplied me with several native texts from his collection which will be found incorporated in this book.

The missionaries on Doleib Hill, Mr. C. B. Guthrie and the Reverend D. S. Oyler also helped me on all possible occasions; above all they introduced me to the Shilluks and put me into touch with those natives who were necessary and useful to me in my researches. Both these gentlemen and the Reverend E. McCreery and Mr. R. W. Tidrick have supplied me with very valuable information in answer to questions addressed to them since my return to Germany, some of which appears as signed contributions. Part of it has been included in the introduction. During the winter of 1911 I had the pleasure of receiving the Reverend McCreery while he was in Berlin, and thus had an opportunity of discussing grammatical questions with him.

I must express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in their

[p. vi is blank]

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ODO cooperation and by placing the necessary funds at my disposal, which enabled me to complete this work.

[122] I am indebted to the Arthington Trustees, who by their financial support made the printing of this book possible.

My gratitude is also due to Mr. L. Hamilton of the Oriental College, Berlin, who has read and corrected the English text.

The Reverend C. R. Watson was kind enough to read and correct that part of the work which relates to Folklore.

Berlin, August 1912. DIEDRICH WESTERMANN.

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MAP.

Sketch map of Tribes of the Shilluk Cluster indicating their principal migrations as shown by traditions and language, compiled and drawn by Bernhard Struck LXIII

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ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective
adv. = adverb
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Authors Quoted"
interr. = interrogative
n. = noun, also verbal noun
prep. = preposition
rel. = relative
v. = verb
v. a. = verb active
v. n. = verb neuter
verb. n. = verbal noun

ff. = and the following
* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. *àdʃrỳ-àdʃr* means: *àdʃrỳ* is the singular, *àdʃr* the plural
< means: is derived from
> means: changes into.

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

197

Al. = Aluru
Any. = Anywak
Ba. = Bari
Bo. = Bongo
Di. = Dinka
E. = Ewe
Ef. = Efik
G. = Gã
Ga. = Gang
Ju. = Jur
La. = Lango
Nu. = Nuba
Nr. = Nuer
N. = Nupe
Shi. = Shilluk
T. = Tši
Y. = Yoruba
V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (Nyifwa).

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INTRODUCTION

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I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔchālō*, "a Shilluk", plural *wɔte chāl*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fōtè chāl* "country of the Shilluks." The word *chāl* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *ɔkāng*, "descendants of *kāng*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ɔchālō*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyob. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tūng*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Maaran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Maaran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Beikar.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mwomo*, *Tūng*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba.

131 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended farther northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Duaim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

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the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: haglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

ANIMALS

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rubifrons, reen antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

[1] Khor (Arab) — water courses drying up in the rainless season.

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136 ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60 000 souls,[1] who live in a little more
162 than 1200 villages, and 10 000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three
[621] to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the
361 Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In
162 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so
361 densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of
311 the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high;
114 the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

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are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

[1] five feet ten inches.

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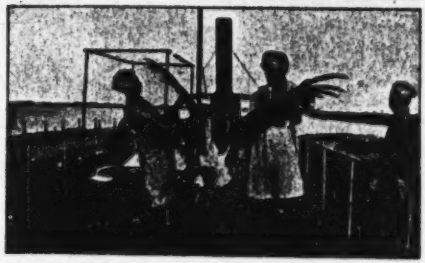

1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

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is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattoo-ings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes give the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

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young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hang over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one forelog and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the older women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

[301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

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292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the
[304] knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

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stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standing for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [469] [521]

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to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

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To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361 HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

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[556]

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

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with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food. 233 [192] [782] [435]

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers. 234 [462] [415] [171] [237]

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren. 343 233

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by 221 233 [462]

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221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bidi*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the large coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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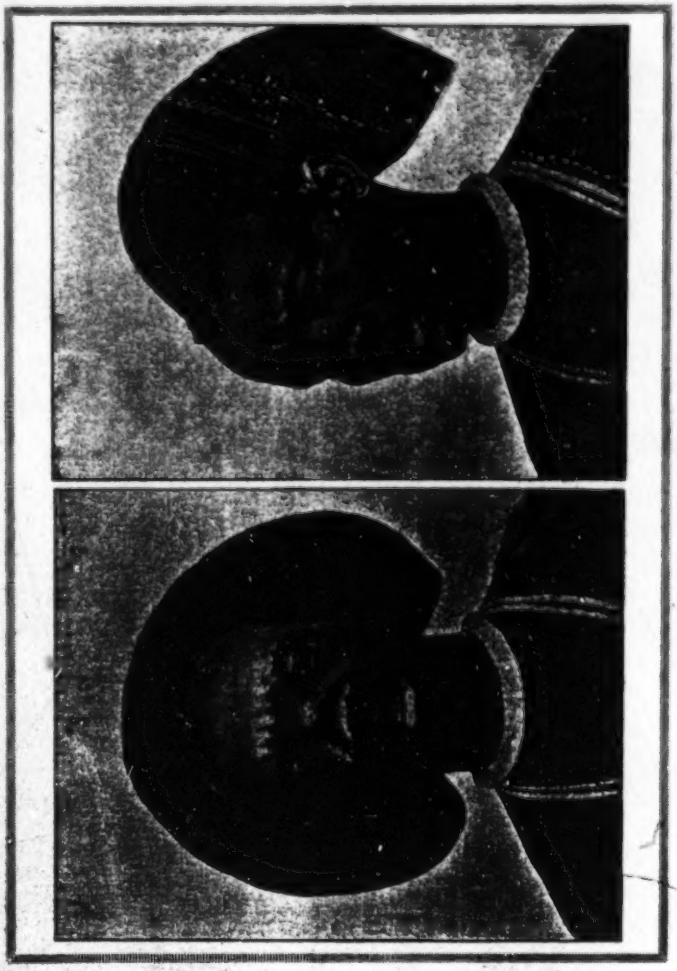

A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

[facing p. xxxii]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the aubach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[182]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called pun and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and headed with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The pun is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wetting these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

323 POTTERY [462] [445] [276 53] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, bowls for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-bowls are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong guard with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[493] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: dgong, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

FOOD

The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(fuga)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, durha, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as doleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by soaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never eaten, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece wasted, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Then it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

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III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. 582

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active role, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

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BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Aiga* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Nemnilg* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the reach of which they try to acquire cattle. — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves captured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were captured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 133.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merissa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious notions are connected with it, I do not know.

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1. 2. Boys and Maidens Dancing; the Maidens in cow skins
3. View of Sobat River with Dabeb Hill in the distance

[Facing p. xxxvi (A)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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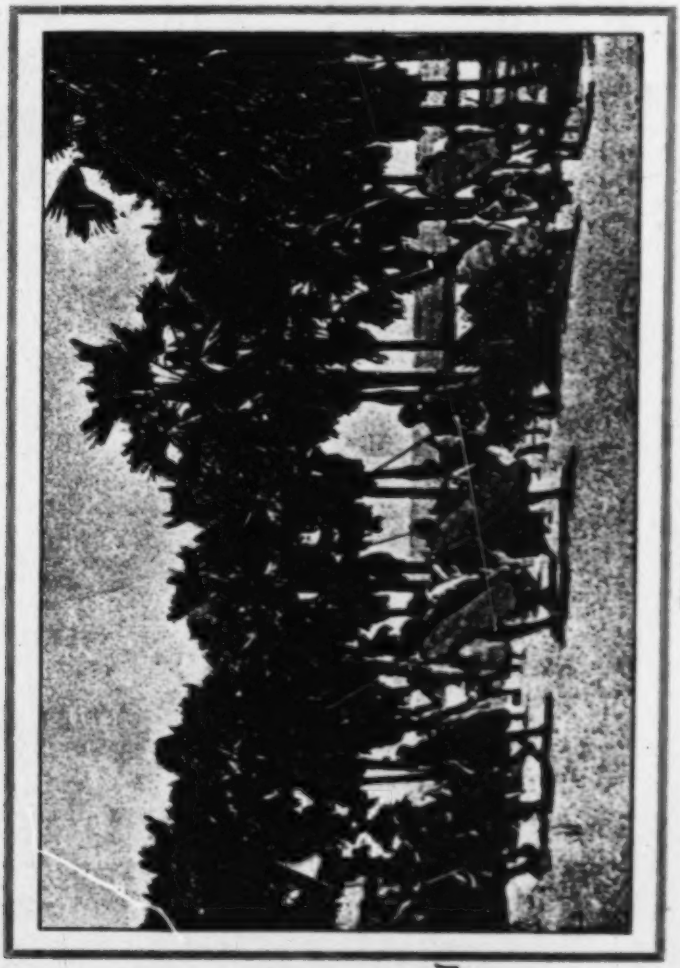

Shilluk war dance at Dolaib Hill

[Facing p. xxxvi (B)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 587 763 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 [361] 237 825 75 [20] 535 [574] Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merissa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

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[Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the clans had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that soul-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manoeuvers were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and then the horn sounded the

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'retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.
This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves.

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ñíkàŋ)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(ájwɔ̀gó)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lìŋ* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwɔ̀ɔ̀k* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

1. Village scene 2. "Queen of Sydney"
3. Typical group of Shilluks; ladies covered with ashes; at the left a Shilluk flag 4. A Shilluk giant

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[Facing p. xl]

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776 [765] [576] [753]

latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *ey jwok* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yi kil jwok* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi nip jwok* "you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the cause of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114]

[In older literature the name Kolgo appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 SUDANLAND THE ORIGIN OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ginat ashak*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kolo*; *Kolo* begat *Omorg*, who begat *Wat Mji* ("son of *Mji*"); *Wat Mji* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name Wbo Odiji, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Nobiny* and *Oiwair*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Ongi*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) *Ad Dui*, *Ari Umker*, and *Bunyang*. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, *Ja* or *Bunny*. Okwa married

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773 a third wife, whose oldest child, a son, was called Duwat *(Dwagt)*. The name *Dimg* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ñíkkíŋ*, but the final *g* is often omitted: *Ñíkkí*; the form *Ñákkí* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakam, Nyokom. *Ñíkkíŋ* is a composition from *ní*, *na* "son" and *Kíŋ*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ñíkkíŋ* means: "son of *Kíŋ*." The name *Kíŋ* occurs also in *Okíŋ*, which is composed from *O* and *Kíŋ* and means "descendant of *Kíŋ*; *Okíŋ* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kíŋ* the traditions, as far as they are kown, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rí* "king".]

776 Nyakayo *(Nákkyg)*, the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This 775 is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Nákkyg*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being lacerated by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Duwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Omgi*, his brother, and his half-brother *Ju* (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Dwagt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

[1] "napping wings and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. E. S.

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773 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

773 775 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

776 HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED. Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kɛ́t rīl* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ñibōdo)*, *Otɛ́ŋ*, Nyelwal, *Oshāro*, *Ofiyo*, *Dādiyo*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

[532] [782]

776 796 In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[787] [643]

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tawfikia and Kodok.

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SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Ñikań ałet!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Ñikań anan!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Ñikań a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Ñikań a Ñelual*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ajuŋ̃ŋ̃ŋ* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the forms of certain animals, as ichneumons, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, terror fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 782

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the nearest descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rïr*, which is the plural of *rïł* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rïr*". 643 [778]

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the sublime model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

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773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obbyo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *djwdyó*, and what is connected with him; *djwdyó* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *juok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yuŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajoŋgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

ECSTASY 781

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149.

MYTHOLOGY 773

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirit[1] and the sun-god[1].

SOUL, SPIRIT 774

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *ajaŋ*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ajaŋ* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyiŋ*; the word is derived from *ŋaŋ* to kill; *anyiŋ* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anyiŋ* is feared.

ABODE OF THE DECEASED 775

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *ji pā jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known.

ISLAM 777
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Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets besides their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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[648]

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of *Nyikang*, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the son of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Kor. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Tij*; at the death of the king from the house of *Tij* it will be the turn of the house of *Nakik*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Kor, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1] "king" is in Shilluk *rēĵ* or *rēĵ*; in older literature the word "readie" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called reik, which is a contraction of the Arab reikh.

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right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bambaiser and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on those occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by *different* factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in *different* places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, beats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [65]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the *thief* escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the *thief* refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his *chief*, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 671 673 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ŋgai ovyk* ("man of crime") or *adjoy*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjoy*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjoy* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjoy* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 569 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a *chief*; these are also called *adjoy*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

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The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the new-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 165 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly men and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendancy from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kiec* cfg "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 133. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chiliq* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotuk flower along the Sobat River

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[Facing p. xxxvii (A)]

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1. Group of Native Men 2. Group of Boys
3. Girls Sewing School at Dolaib Hill

[Facing p. XLVIII (B)]

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565 174 So the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word *Ôlâng*, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with *Ñîâng*, and means a descendant of *Kîâng*, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dwâ*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagir; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 dwellings; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain role in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Nadwai*. RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

648 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them. RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the wells at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fa ganâ* "village of cattle"). RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

174 South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

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origin and a common home. The southern mass of the Shilluk speaking people, the Gang, pretend to have come from north (vide Schweinfurth, Emin Pascha; Berlin 1898, page 155), and, as will be seen below, the White Nile Shilluks have migrated into their present seats from south; so the original habitat of the whole people will have been in the country situated about the middle of their present seats, that is, along the shores of Bahr el Jebel. Here one division of the Shilluks, the Bari (*Bpi*, also written Beir), are still living. The rest of the Shilluks were forced to emigration probably by the arrival of more powerful and warlike tribes coming from east, viz. the Bari and Latuka, who up to the present time inhabit this country. The Shilluks, being thus expelled from their seats, emigrated in three directions: south, north-east, and north-west. The division wandering southwards are now known as Gang or Acholi, Shuli (on the identity of the names Acholi, Shuli, and *Chily* vide page 31); the north-eastern branch are the Anywaka (Anuaks). These two branches, viz. the Gang and the Anywak, have practically almost no differences in their dialect; they may be said to speak the same dialect, which differs from the rest of Shilluk dialects by the relative primitiveness of its sounds; to give one example, they have generally preserved *ch* and *p*, where other dialects have adopted the younger corresponding sounds *ch* and *f*. So these two may be regarded as direct branches of the original stock, who both must have branched off about the same time. That Gang and Anywak have been separated from the north-western section at an earlier period than that in which the latter was again divided into different sub-groups (vide below), is evident from the fact that all these north-western sub-groups still know of their common origin, whereas I have never met with a tradition pointing to relationship with the Anywaka and Gang.

The Anywaka have again been divided into three sections, whose residences vide page 30. From the Gang a number of smaller divisions have branched off into north-west, south and south-east: the Lor, (Abore), *Jukiko* (*Jujiko*, *Jopaling*), Lango, *Jo-Lug* (*Nyiwa Kavirondo*), Wagaya.

The third division first wandered north-westward, crossing the Bahr el Jebel, and subsequently probably resided in a place situated about the 10° eastern long. and 7° northern lat. That they have settled and lived in this region for a considerable time, is practically proved by the fact that on older maps a number of villages are situated here whose names begin in *Fa*, *Fa*; e. g. Fadi in the Dinka district *Bjiji*; Fayet, Fawar, Fayak, in the Dinka district Kich, and Fagak, in the Dinka district Twi (Twich). *Fa*, *Fa* is a word of the Shilluk language meaning village, house (Many villages in the Shilluk country have this name prefix *pa*, *fa*, vide 8); it is also frequent in the *Jur* country: Fanie, Fabuchak,

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Fashoo, and in the Acholi country: Fazykuara, Fundikir, Faggoir, Fadjolli, Fadibek (from Schweinfurth, Emin Pascha). This district is now inhabited by Dinkas, and their occupation of the country no doubt forced the Shilluks to emigrate once more. From here they went in north-eastern direction and thus came into their present seats on the White Nile and Sobat. *These last wanderings were carried on under the leadership of Nyikang;* they form the object of the traditions on pages 158 ff. Another part of this north-western section went westwards and formed the Bur (= Beel, vide 87) and Belanda or rather *Bge*, vide page 44. The third part of this branch are the *Jure* and the Dumbos. *Jur* is a nickname given to the people by the Dinkas, it means "uncivilised tribe", "barbarous". They call themselves *Luo*, a name which occurs again among several northern Shilluk tribes, vide 89; by the Bongos they are called Bur (vide above), thus showing in their very names the near relationship they have with other Shilluk divisions. — The *Jure* have no cattle, they are renowned as iron smelters.

According to Schweinfurth (page 63) the *Jure* themselves say that they are a part of the Shilluk people who (on account of over-population) emigrated from north (i. e. The White Nile region) into their present habitat, and that they call the name of their ancestor Odwala = *Gokiliy*. But on the other hand, Hofmayer states that the White Nile Shilluks call the *Jure Odiang*, that is descendants of *Diang*. Now *Diang* is a brother of *Nyikang*, whom the latter left. All the Shilluk traditions are unique in the assertion that *Nyikang did not go* northwards together with Diang. So this would mean that the *Jure* never wandered into the White Nile country, but went their way directly westward into their present seats.

[The suggestion on the migration of the north-western section, viz. that of the White Nile Shilluks, *Jure*, Dumbos, Belandas and Bura, as it has been outlined above, is in a remarkable way supported by traditions of the White Nile Shilluks, which Hofmayer gives; according to these the origin of the nation was in the far east (i. e. east of the Bahr el Jebel). *Nyikang* led his people *from the east towards north-west. After a long* march they *crossed the Nile* (i. e. the Bahr el Jebel) and came into that region which is now called Bahr el Ghazal. From here the Belanda went westwards, the rest, after some time, travelling further northwards.]

THE RULING ELEMENT AMONG THE SHILLUKS

While nothing is known concerning the time of the earlier Shilluk migrations, we are able to fix the approximate date of the wanderings which resulted in the final settlement of the "Proper Shilluks" on the White Nile and Sobat. Mr. B. Struck, by taking into consideration all the available (written or unwritten) chronicles of African dynasties, has made a calculation on the average duration

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174 of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years thus reached at is between 13 and 14 for each king. Now from the reign of Nyikang, who was the first Shilluk king, till to-day the Shilluks have had 28 to 30 kings; 29 multiplied with 13½ leads back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About this time, then, the Shilluk kingdom was founded, or, in other words, during this period a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks, and made itself the ruling factor among the latter. The first of these leaders and rulers was Nyikang, or possibly Nyikang is only a personification — the heroic eponymus — of the foreign element in the Shilluk population. From those early days up to the present never a "Shilluk", i. e. a member of the original population, has been king, solely the "descendants of Nyikang" forming the royal family, from which the king is elected.
174 Even to-day the descendants of Nyikang do not intermarry with the "Shilluks",
566 they live in districts and villages of their own and enjoy certain privileges, thus forming the aristocracy of the nation. Second in rank are those Shilluks which migrated into the country together with Nyikang as his "followers" or "servants." They also possess several social privileges and state functions. The lowest class of Shilluks are the natives found in the country, when Nyikang and his adherents arrived. They may be designated as the "common people", the "subjects" in the state community. The second and third categories, and also the first, have no doubt been mixed by intermarriage. From the earlier centuries of the Shilluk dynasty but scanty historical data are known. The only reports we have are the list of kings (vide page 135), and a considerable store of traditions, dealing with prominent acts of single kings and important events which occurred during their reign. Some of these native records are printed on pages 141 ff.

RELATIONS WITH THE FUNJ

The first time the Shilluks enter history is about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is at the same time when they took possession of their present seats. Beginning at this period they have, during almost two centuries, played an essential part in the history of the *Funj* people. The question of the origin of the Funj is as yet unsettled. In order to introduce the reader into the problem, I shall give a short survey of this remarkable people and their history.

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The most common form of the name is Funj or Funj, and Fung. Funj is in phonetic writing probably *Fun*, ending in a palatal n, and Fung = *Fun*, ending in a velar n. Of these two forms I suppose Funj = *Fun* to be the older one. Foreigners who are not used to a palatal n standing at the end of a word, find its pronunciation difficult, and frequently substitute ŋ for n, a mispronunciation which I myself have often heard in the Sudan. This Funj, Funj is probably identical with the Shilluk word *bunu* "stranger"; in Shilluk as well as in Nubian b and f are interchanged; in Fur the word for "stranger" sounds *fun*, and in

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the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bunj, Nuer funj and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "funge", and the plural "funji". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* g being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and j that of the plural. The meaning of the word "funge" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Pterophanes of the ancients, and moreover compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.)

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The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smelting and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Funj, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, Jebels Gumiya and Ruta; on the east, Jebel Agadi and the Fazogli district. Southwards, it extends to the Abyssinian frontier, and including the district of Kelli and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Funj were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of Abyssinia, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Funj must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. Sir James Bruce, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts the identity of the Shilluks and Funj. In his Travels into Abyssinia he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wad Agadi, the

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174 101 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole Gezira. "*This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook*".[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" .... but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to [114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his mindsings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shillooks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tagla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar begins in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Funj, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Funj tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name

[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

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of Fung. King Baadi Abu Dign, who reigned from 1635—1671, *attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves.* The Shilluks at that time inhabited the country on both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa. Thence he invaded the mountains of Tagale and destroyed Kordofan, where he again took a large number of slaves. On his return to Sennar he built a number of villages in that district for his prisoners. The prisoners named these villages after those they had left, hence the number of villages now near Sennar with names similar tho those in Jebel Nuba, Tagale, and other districts about Kordofan. In time these slaves supplied the kings of Fung with recruits for their armies. — In 1719 a king whose name was *Gaadi Abu Shilluk* ascended the throne.

In the first half of the 18th century the Fungs drove the Darfurians back, which had at that time dominion over the country east of the White Nile as far as the Atbara; the Fungs then again established their own authority on the banks of the White Nile. In 1770 they even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr el Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile, under their great chief Akwei Chakab; by them the Fungs were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region.

According to Cailliaud, a French writer, who was in Sennar about 1820, the "Foungi" came from the Sudan, crossed the White Nile and arrived at "Arbagny" (= Herbagi of Bruce); here a great battle was delivered, in which the Funj were victorious, so that they became lords of the country; "they gave their name to a part of the Sennar kingdom in the Beurouan (= Burun) country, called also Jebel Fungi, *where the soldiers of the rank line*".

R. Hartmann, who visited the country in 1859/60, is of the opinion that the original home of the Funj is in Sennar. "They recruited their (black) soldiers from their military colonies, which were situated at the foot of the Sennar hills, and from Kordofan Nubas." "Between 1499 and 1530 the christian state of Alwa (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks". "*The Shilluks are relations of the Funj*, whose kinsmen allies they were during the conquest of Sennar in the 16th century."

Cailliaud and the A. E. S. as well as Bruce give a list of the Funj kings, which, though differing in several items, is on the whole consistent. Bruce fixes the beginning of the dynasty in the year 1504, Cailliaud in 1484, and A. E. S. in 1493.

Leaving the question of the provenience of the Funj aside, the following can

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Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms

A Shilluk Warrior wielders spears and a club; below knee strips of sheep-skin. Note the bandage on the forearm

[Facing p. LVII]

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be regarded as sure: 1. The kingdom of Funj was founded in the beginning of the 16th, or at the end of the 15th century. 2. the political influence of the Funj expanded at times westward beyond the White Nile, as far as Darfur and Kordofan; consequently the Shilluks must also have been under the dominion of the Funj, as their country is situated on the way to Kordofan. 3. All writers confirm that the Funj have repeatedly transplanted great numbers of Shilluk and Kordofan prisoners into the Funj country, where they were settled, formed large colonies of their own, and finally submerged in the "Funj" nation. It was these large numbers of new settlers who formed the bulk of the Funj nation and enabled them to carry on their great conquests. 4. But it is not at all improbable that portions of the Shilluk people should have emigrated into Sennar of their own will; the coincidence of the arrival of the Shilluks in the White Nile region and the foundation of the Funj kingdom is remarkable; both events took place about the beginning of the 16th century; at that time the Shilluks inhabited both shores of the White Nile as far north as Kawa; consequently they lived in close contact with the people of Sennar, and it seems not unlikely that parts of them should have pushed forward into Sennar, the more so as they had only just arrived in the country and were not yet finally settled; such an emigration would also explain their now being limited to a relatively small district compared with the former much larger size of the Shilluk country. 5. The Shilluks themselves tell in their traditions of repeated and severe fights against the people of Sennar; they call the place where these wars were fought, Chol, and say it is close to Renkou on the Blue Nile, that is *west of Jebel Geiu*, where the old capital of the Funj was situated. 6. Cailliaud in his book "Voyage à Méroé, mentions 30 villages beginning in *Fa*, in the Berun and Funnij country on both sides of the Blue Nile; as shown above, *Fa* is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, being an abbreviation of *fa*, pl "village". It seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks who emigrated into those regions. 7. The Shilluks living in Sennar called the aboriginal inhabitants "*bwat ne fuor*" (or Funj, Funj) that is "strangers", just as to-day they call every one who is not a Shilluk: *bwat* (or *bwaj*), and finally this becomes the name of the "Funj nation". 8. It is possible that the Shilluk population in Sennar came to political influence and took part in the government of the state. This becomes even highly probable by a very curious custom of Sennar, where he mentions the name Funji by "Ben shiluk" he continues: "Moreover they should not boast of the title "Ben shiluk", because the first name of nobility in this country is that of 'shiluk', indeed they have no other title except this. If a man in Sennar finds himself not sufficiently respected, he will ask as more: 'Do you not know who I am? Do you not know I am a

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[174] [10] slave? Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England would say: Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom? All titles and offices are not conferred, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaudi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the merchant from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their house the regions of the Elati mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows considerable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, namely

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Funj.	Shilluk.
Amij Arab	*Amai* stranger, Arab
Abiáo ant	*Ai* white ant
Amano to eat	*ahimy* to eat
Amá hippo	*ami* crocodile
Ar giraffe	*Ari* gazelle
Jak God	*Jangk* God
Ajiko star	*Ajiky* star
Amio death	*mijo* death
Ajij an to-day	*Anch* on this time
Ibrang square	*Ipi* square
Ian stick	*Ag, Ing* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has not in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Berta, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1780 the kingdom of the Funj really disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hamag (Hamaj), a tribe living south of Rosaires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 11 years of anarchy the Hamag continued supreme, and under Shaikh Hamar they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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fire and sword.

In 1820 the Turkish-Egyptian troops under Ismail Pasha occupied the country and defeated the Funj in the battle of Abu Shoka.

Apart from these expeditions towards the Blue Nile the Shilluks of the White Nile have frequently waged wars against the Dinkas and Nuers, of which their traditions tell. More severely they suffered from never-ending raids by Arabs and Turks, undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle and slaves.

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CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK COUNTRY

a) By the Turks. As early as 1820—1830 the Sudan was conquered by the Turko-Egyptian government, and was considered as part of the Turkish empire; but this hardly affected the political situation of the Shilluk kingdom, the Turkish rule not being strong enough to make its influence felt, except in levying at intervals heavy taxes in cattle and corn, and in making slave raids.

b) By the Baggara Selim. In 1861 the Baggara Selim under Faki Mohammed Khor invaded the Shilluk country and plundered it thoroughly. Mohammed Khor married the daughter of the Shilluk king and practically made himself the ruler of the country. —[1] In the same year Sir Samuel Baker started for his expedition into the Sudan. His description of the Sudan at this period gives a melancholy picture of the results of Egyptian rule. He describes the provinces as utterly ruined and only governed by military force, the revenue unequal to the expenditure, and the country paralysed by excessive taxation; the existing conditions rendered these countries so worthless to the State that their annexation could only be accounted for by the fruits of the slave trade. — On this expedition Baker founded the military post of Tewfikia on the right bank of the White Nile, near the mouth of the Sobat; this place has since then continuously been continued as a station for troops.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S EXPEDITION

On Ismail Pasha coming to the throne in 1863 orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued and on Baker's return journey in 1865, he found an Egyptian camp of 1000 men established at Kodok in the Shilluk country for the purpose. — Khartum was at that time the headquarters of the slave traders, who carried out their traffic under the cloak of legitimate commerce. The traders organised armies of brigands, and formed chains of stations, of about 300 men each, throughout their districts, which they had leased from Government. Raids were made on native tribes, who were obliged to submit, fly the country, or ally themselves to the slave hunters, to be used against other tribes.

CONQUEST BY THE EGYPTIANS 1871

In 1871 the Shilluk country was finally conquered by the Egyptians and became a province of the Turkish empire.

In 1874 Charles Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and at the close of the same year he could report to the Egyptian Government that the slave trade on the White Nile had received a deadly blow.

[1] The following dates have with few exceptions been taken from The A. E. G.

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REBELLION OF THE SHILLUKS 1875

During Gordon's absence in 1875, the Shilluk tribes in the neighbourhood of Kodok rose in rebellion against the oppression of the Government, and, had it not been for the presence of Gessi, an Italian adventurer who had joined Gordon's staff, Kodok would probably have been lost.

DISTURBANCES OF THE MAHDI, BEGINNING IN 1881

A great cause of disturbance in the Sudan was the appearance of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, a native of Dongola; he began his career in 1881. The Shilluks and their country were in many ways affected by these troubles; not only did they with their own troops fight against the Mahdi, but their young men also formed a considerable and valuable part of the Anglo-Egyptian army.

The Mahdists extended their invasions far into the Sudan and took possession also of the Shilluk country. But in 1891 the Shilluks rebelled against their oppressors; an Emir of the Mahdi Zaki, Tamal, was sent thither to quell the rebellion, with a force chiefly consisting of the Gallabat men who had fought bravely against the Abyssinians in 1889. During the whole of 1891 the war against the Shilluks continued, the Mahdists ("Dervishes") on more than one occasion being heavily defeated, and the communications between Omdurman, the residence of the Khalifa, and Bahr el Jebel being completely interrupted. Two steamers had stuck in the mud in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilluks; desperate efforts were now made by the Dervishes to effect their recapture. In August, 1891, the Nuers were used as allies by the Dervishes, and succeeded in killing the king of the Shilluks. Soon afterwards, however, the Nuers turned against their allies and expelled them from the country south of Kodok, whilst the Shilluks inflicted a severe defeat on their enemy near Kodok, in December, 1891, and again in January, 1893. The war was waged with indecisive results till 1894, when the Dervishes finally crushed the Shilluks and murdered their king's wife. After that the Dervishes merely kept a small tax-collecting outpost at Kodok.

On the 10th September, 1898, Kitchener left Omdurman for the south with five gunboats and troops, and having destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Rosk, arrived at Kodok on the 19th, where he found the French expedition under Marchand. He left a garrison at Fort Sobat. This place has been relinquished since as a military post.

On 19th January, 1899, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Egypt, defining the status of the Sudan, and laying down broad principles for its government.

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE KHALIFA 1899

In the same year, on the 24th November, the power of the Khalifa Abdallah, who was the successor of Mohammed Ahmed, was utterly defeated by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Um Debreikat; the Khalifa himself was killed. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish dominion in the Sudan.

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EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS 1898

In summer 1898 an Abyssinian force came down the Sobat. It arrived at Sobat mouth at the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kur Wat Ryedok *(Nejde)* was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadyet Wat Kwat Kur *(Kjo)*, is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a British officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of comity and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at such stations occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 145 members; a boys' school with an enrollment of 210; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage or home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrollment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrollment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrollment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrollment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

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Atbara: A boys' school with an enrolment of 87; also informal services.

Wadi Halfa: A girls' school just opened, and informal services.

Port Sudan, Merowe, Sonkia and Doein: There are native Evangelical Church members at these centres, and informal services are held at the first three places.

The stations occupied by the Church Missionary Society in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: One unmarried English missionary; four native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 68.

Omdurman: A medical English missionary; two unmarried English women missionaries; three native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 51; a hospital and a clinic.

Atbara: An unmarried English women missionary; two native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 38.

In Southern Sudan, among the pagan tribes, each Mission labors in a distinct territory. The American Mission's sphere of work and influence lies along the Sobat River; that of the Church Missionary Society lies along the upper reaches of the White Nile.

The American Mission opened work at Doleib Hill, in 1902 on the Sobat River just six miles from where this river empties into the White Nile. The American force here consists of two industrial missionaries, an ordained missionary and a doctor. A regular Sabbath morning service is held, and those engaged in industrial work, ranging in number from ten to two hundred, attend daily morning service. Evangelistic itinerating is done in adjoining villages. A boys' school has been maintained but w[illegible] some irregularity. Some plan clinic patients have been treated. Agriculture, [illegible] industrial training forms the chief feature of the Mission's work. The population [illegible] this region is from the Shilluk tribe, but Dinka and Nuers are also reached. The Mission is about to open another station farther up the Sobat River in the vicinity of Nasser, and a doctor and an evangelistic missionary have been appointed to this task.

The Church Missionary Society began its work at Malek, on the White Nile, about 1000 miles south of Khartum, in 1906. The British missionary force consists of two ordained men, a lay worker, and a doctor. The work is chiefly among the Tonjo, Bor and island Dinkas.

The following sketch of the early missionary efforts of the American Mission will be of interest. In 1899, the Rev. Andrew Watson, D. D., and the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., were commissioned to visit the Egyptian Sudan and investigate the possibilities for missionary work. This missionary reconnaissance resulted in a recommendation that the American Mission, whose work in Egypt

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extended from Alexandria to Assuan and whose Evangelical Church members and adherents were going into the Sudan in considerable numbers as Government employes, should extend its work to the Sudan. Accordingly, the Rev. J. H. Giffen, D. D., and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin were commissioned as the first missionaries of the proposed Mission. They reached Omdurman in December, 1900. For some time, a rigorous prohibition of the Government forbade all missionary work among the Moslems of Northern Sudan. The work was therefore limited to the Evangelical and other Christian communities. In March, 1902, work was begun at Dolaib Hill, among the black tribes of Southern Sudan. In establishing this mission station practically everything remained to be done. Houses needed to be provided; at first of mud, later of burnt brick, and later still of concrete. Provisions needed to be secured and gardening became a necessity, for no vegetables or fruit were to be had unless grown by the missionaries themselves. Problems of health became acute, as life and work were thus undertaken in a region and a climate where hitherto no white community had established itself. To these difficulties were added those of safety from wild animals, and especially innumerable snakes which infested the place until the land was somewhat cleared by agriculture. There were also the problems of establishing just and sympathetic relations with the people of the neighborhood. The early attitude of suspicion which prevailed is well illustrated by the following incident narrated by the Rev. Dr. Giffen in his interesting book "The Egyptian Sudan."

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"We had been there for some months, and thought we had gained much confidence from the people. We had a friend visiting us and this chief, Aziz, had called in honor of our guest. After some conversation, our friend said to Aziz: 'Now you have a good and righteous Government; it will protect you, and will help you; it will fight your battles if need be. And these missionaries will teach your children, will help you to cultivate your lands, will find a market for your grain, and they have The Book and will teach you of God; you ought now to be quiet and peaceable. Till your lands and care for your herds.'

"After a good deal of deliberation and smoking, Aziz laid his pipe aside and replied: 'Master, you speak well. We had been the Turks (the old Egyptian Government) and they said, "Be submissive to us; we will protect you, we will fight your battles from you, we will teach you of God." But they took our cattle, they destroyed our villages, and carried our women and children into slavery, and they are gone. Then came the Ansar (the Mahdists) and they said: "Come with us, we have a great army; we will care for you and protect you; we will give you plenty to eat, and a good place to live; we have The Book and we will teach you of God". But they slew our men, and right here

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where these missionaries built their homes many of our men fell fighting for their women and children. They took away our cattle, destroyed our villages, carried off our women and children, and they too have gone. Now you come and say: "We will care for you; we will protect you; we will fight for you; we have *The Book*; we will teach you." Master, you speak well; but we will see.'

"This brief, pathetic story, a review of their whole history, reveals everything."

The supreme problem in the new work was, however, the language, for the Shilluk language had never been reduced to writing, neither was any grammar of the language in existence. The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field laboured assiduously to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages. However, the Rev. Ralph Carson and the Rev. Elbert McCreary especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remains for the efforts with which this book is concerned to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language. These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the Trustees of the Arthington Fund, to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan is operated.

Among the successes of missionary work during the brief period of about a decade which has elapsed since this work was begun, may be enumerated the following important achievements: the ministry to the religious life of many Christians, Egyptians, Levantines and Europeans who entered the Sudan in Government service; the establishment of preaching centres and of both educational and medical missionary institutions whose Christian influence is steady and far-reaching; the solution of problems of health, of residence and of agricultural possibilities; the solid foundations laid for the mastery of the language; the winning of the sympathy of the people; and, finally, a hopeful beginning in the winning of some to Christianity and in the awakening of a spirit of inquiry in a much larger circle.

The most serious problem is the rapid advance of Islam into pagan territory through the aggressive efforts of Moslem traders and the persuasive influence of military posts at which are stationed Moslem troops.

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SKETCH MAP

TO ILLUSTRATE "WESTERMANN, THE SHILLUK PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE".

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[Following p. LXIV(8)]

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FIRST PART

GRAMMAR

[p. 1]

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FIRST SECTION: THE SOUNDS.

THE VOWELS.

Enumeration of the Vowels and their Pronunciation.

194 The quality of vowels is marked by signs *below* the letters, the quantity is marked by signs *above* the letters. *Long* vowels are marked by a line, thus: ā = long a. All vowels which have no mark above, are *short*.

a is the pure short "Italian" a, the same sound as in English father, only *short*, while a in father is long. The short pure a does not exist in English, but in French, as ami, and in German katze. Ex.: *kal* fence, *mak* catch!

ɔ is a little narrower than a, but wider than ɛ. The Shilluk a sometimes, especially when pronounced rapidly, has a tendency to turn into ɔ, for instance *da* "child", and *ma* "which", when standing in compound words, are generally spoken *dɔ*, *dg* or even *dɛ*; *mɔ*, *mg*.

ɛ (Bell *ae* low-front), as in English fat, man, perhaps a little more tending towards e, as in English let, well. Ex.: *bg* go! *bg* fish-spear.

e (Bell e mid-front) as in French *été*. This sound is not frequent. Ex.: *atet* tobacconist.

ɨ (Bell eh mid-mixed), a very short, and almost voiceless sound, like e in below, fakes, or like a in idea. It is the so-called 'helping vowel'. The short *e* does not occur at the end of a word, whereas *ɨ* very often finishes a word. In all these cases *e* is written instead of *ɨ*. Thus *e* at the end of a word is always to be read *ɨ*. Only where *ɨ* stands in the middle of a word, it is marked *ɨ*; ex.: *ɨpɨ* killed.

i (Bell i high-front) like i in bit, pity; ex.: *wiji* arrived, *hinen* thus.

í as in beer, keen, be, but shorter; ex.: *abiłpgl* six.

ʊ (Bell u mid-back), a sound between o and ʊ, like u in but; ex.: *pgt* river.

ʊ (Bell o low-back), as in not, folly; ex.: *pg* him, *pgl* court, *dgl* out. If ʊ stands at the end of polysyllabic words, it is pronounced very faintly, so that often merely an *ɨ* is heard. But on close attention one will in most cases hear the ʊ. In analogy with *ɨ*, this ʊ ought to be written ʊ, but as it occurs at the end of words with more than one syllable only (and ʊ never occurs here), I always write ʊ instead of ʊ.

o Like o in note, mote, but shorter and narrower, and without the final sounding of u, which the English o in note has. In French sous, German so, ital. dolore. Ex.: *dog* club.

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ɯ (Bell u high-back), as in English full, put, ex.: *bɯ* to have not.
u like Engl. fool, mood, but *shorter*. French sou. Ex.: *kudʒ* to be silent.

System of the Vowels.

Long Vowels.

All vowels, including *ɛ*, may be long.
ā (Bell a mid-back) engl. father, ital. padre, German Vater.
ą̄ between ā and ē, almost as u in further; ex.: *fąąc* to fall.
ē almoct as a in careful, ai in laird, ei in heir; ex.: *ɛ̄ŋ* people, *ńjɛ̄ŋ* much.
ē̃ as a in save, bale; ex.: *yē̃ŋ* to sweep.
ɛ̄: *yɛ̄t* roads.
ī: *cīja* bowels.
ī (Bell i high-front) as in meal, bear; ex.: *rīāŋ* to run.
ō (Bell o mid-back), as o in mole, note, but narrower, and without the final sound of u, which is peculiar to this English o; ex.: *cīōtí* it is finished.
ɔ̄: *nɔ̄tí* not yet.
ū as oo in fool, cool; ex.: *rūmŋ* to think.

Remarks.

1. The vowels are pronounced with a soft aspiration (the so-called gradual glottid).
2. *i* and *u*, when standing in a closed syllable, that is a syllable ending in a consonant, generally are pronounced almost *i* and *ɯ*.
3. In forming *ɯ* and *i* the mouth is wider opened than in the formation of *u* and *i*; *ɯ* and *i* may therefore be called wide vowels, while *u* and *i* are narrow. (In forming *u* the hind-part of the tongue is raised, in forming *ɯ* it is lowered; likewise in the formation of *i* the forepart of the tongue is raised, and in forming *i* it is lowered.
4. According to their place of formation in the mouth *u*, *ɯ* and *o* are back (or velar) vowels, *i*, *i*, *e*, *ɛ* are front (palatal) vowels.
5. The language has no nasal vowels.
6. *o* and *ɔ*, *e* and *ɛ* are not so strictly distinguished as is done in some other languages.

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Diphthongs.

194 *oi* as *y* in *spy*. *ou* as *ow* in *fowl*. *ai* as *ai* in *oil*.
ou as *o* in *note*, but the *u* sound is more distinct than in the English *o*.
oi almost as *oi* in *night*, but the *i* is heard more distinctly than in English; *oi* and *ou* are almost two-syllabic.

The sounds *ch*, *j*, *ak* and *a*, when following a vowel, generally have a slight *i* sound before them, which combines with the preceding vowel to a diphthong. This *i* sound is, however, not expressed in writing, because 1. it occurs regularly before the said consonants, and 2. some individuals pronounce it so slightly, that in some cases one may doubt, whether it really exists. Thus *pach* "house" is to be pronounced *paich*; *ppak* "beaten": *ppaik*; *baag* "to refuse": *baiag*.

This *i* sound is best heard in those cases, when the preceding vowel is *a*, *e* or *ɛ*.

If, however, a vowel follows the above mentioned consonants, so that the word does not end in a consonant, but becomes two-syllabic, the *i* sound sometimes disappears altogether. The reason for this is, the connection between the first vowel and the second consonant not being so narrow here as in the case in a monosyllabic word. Thus "*ppak*" is pronounced "*ppaik*", but *piji* hardly has any *i* sound. Likewise "*lack*" = "*laick*", but *lija* = *la-ja* without an *i* sound.

Semivowels.

y as *y* in *yes*; it has never the vocalic value as in the English *spy*.
w as *w* in *well*; *w* is sometimes pronounced with almost unrounded lips.
y and *w* are unsyllabic *i* and *u*.

When following a vowel, also when beginning a word, *y* and *w* have a slight *i* and *u* sound before them; thus *piyy* to believe almost sounds *piiyy*, *wer* night and *ewa* yesterday almost sound *uuer*, *euua*. These *i* and *u* sounds are not expressed in writing.

Combinations of consonant and semivowel are very frequent.

THE CONSONANTS.

Enumeration of the Consonants and their Pronunciation.

b as in English; Ex.: *baag* to refuse.
ch is a palatal *t*; in phonetic writing *t'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as in church, child. The sound is articulated *further back in the mouth*, and therefore is *thinner*. Ex.: *chol* Shilluk. See also *j* and *ak*.

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d as in English; Ex.: *dipag* to fall; when standing between two vowels, it is hardly distinguishable from *r*. 194

ḍ is an interdental *d*; put the tongue between the teeth-rows, so that it is visible from without between the teeth, then press it lightly against the upper teeth, and pronounce a *d*. Ex.: *ḍak* mouth.

f as in English; sometimes *f*, that is, an *f* pronounced with both lips (while *f* is formed by pressing the lower lip against the upper teeth, in forming *f* both lips are pressed together) is used instead of *f*. Ex.: *fpig* to divide.

g always hard, as in garden, gold, never as in George. Ex.: *gye* him.

h occurs only in some exclamations; it is sounded a little stronger than the English *h* in he; e. g. *hâh* exclamation of surprise (*a* followed by a strong aspiration).

ɣ might be called a fricative *g*; it is in the same relation to *g*, as *v* is to *b*. It might be compared with the Arabic Ghain, but is much softer, and its place of articulation does not lie so far back in the throat as that of Ghain. Ex.: *ɣye* him, *ɣpo* thigh. In forming *ɣ* the back part of the tongue has nearly the same position as in the pronunciation of *u*, but the lips are of course not rounded.

j is a palatal *d*; in phonetic writing *d'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as the English *j* in jest, just. It is articulated a little further back in the mouth, and therefore sounds thinner. Ex.: *jiyy* chief. — *ch* and *j* have the same place of articulation; the middle of the tongue's back is pressed against the hind-part of the hard palatum.

k *l* as *a* are as in English. But *l*, when standing at the end of a word, is rolled, almost as the English pronounce the *ll* in well.

ń is a palatal *n*; it is pronounced like ñ in cañon, or like Italian and French gn in signore, seigneur. Its pronunciation is somewhat difficult, if it stands at the end of a word; here sometimes foreigners pronounce *ń* instead of *n*. This can easily be avoided by adding the so-called 'helping vowel' to *ń*; instead of saying *lot wur*, say *loto*. Compare also such French words as Compiègne, Champagne, where also *n* ends a word. Ex.: *ńo* child.

p is an interdental *p*, pronounced by putting the tongue between the teeth, as in *ḍ*. Ex.: *pay gui* this tree.

ŋ is a velar *n*; it is pronounced like ng in singer, or like *n* in Con-go. Its pronunciation is only difficult at the beginning of a word. Divide: si-ngur, and pronounce "ngur" only; this ng is exactly the sound of *ŋ*. Ex.: *fpiŋ* to divide, *ciŋ* to cut.

p as in English.

r is formed with the tongue's end. It is not rolled (trilled), but pronounced

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very slightly, so that often between two vowels, *r* and *d* are hardly distinguishable.

ch is formed farther back in the mouth than the English *ch*. It is nearly the same sound as the German *ch* in "ich, dich"; in phonetic writing *ç*. When *ch*, *ch* and *j* stand before the vowels *e i ɔ u*, they are accompanied by a hissing sound, so that they tend somewhat more to the English *ch*, *ch* and *j*, but they are never identical with them.

ŋ is an interdental *n*. It is pronounced as the sharp th in thing.

t as in English.

ʃ is the interdental *t*; it is formed just in the same way as *ŋ*, only the tongue is pressed more tightly between the teeth, and thus a *t* is produced.

ɲ is an interdental *n*. Like th in than.

System of the Consonants.

	Mutes		Primatives		Liquids	Nasals	Semi-vowels
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced			
Velars	*k*	*g*	—	*γ*	—	*ŋ*	—
Palatals	*ch*	*j*	*ch*	—	—	*n*	*y*
Alveolars	*t*	*d*	—	—	*r l*	*n*	—
Interdentals	*ʃ*	*ŋ*	*ŋ*	*ŋ*	—	*ɲ*	—
Labials	*p*	*b*	*f, f*	—	—	*m*	*w*

Remarks.

1. The consonants *m*, *n*, *l* and *r* may form a syllable, thus having the quality and function of a vowel; in these cases they are designated thus: *m̩*, *n̩*, *r̩*, *l̩*; they may then also have their own tones.
2. The consonants *g*, *k* may have a twofold pronunciation. When standing before a velar vowel they are articulated farther back in the mouth than before a palatal vowel; the *g* in *gɔ* and *k* in *ku* lie farther back than the *g* in *gin*, and *k* in *kipou*; but this difference in pronunciation is not marked by different signs.
3. Double consonants are rare, but are sometimes pronounced, for instance the *l* in *Chɔlɔ* "Shilluk" is frequently pronounced distinctly long: *Chɔllɔ*; I also heard *ppang dim* to wood grass, besides *pang*; *kiŋ i mmiŋki* it is raining.

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CHANGE OF SOUNDS.

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The change of sounds takes a large and important part in the *grammar* of the Shilluk language.

In order to show the changes which certain sounds have undergone, it is in some cases necessary to take the neighbouring related languages into consideration; they in many instances help to clear up transformations of sounds and to demonstrate older forms of sounds which from the Shilluk alone cannot be seen.

Change of Vowels.

Quantity.

Long and short vowels are in Shi. not always so strictly distinguished as is done in other Sudan languages. There is, in certain cases, some liberty in using a long or a short vowel, but in other cases again the lengthening or shortening of a vowel means different grammatical functions. The most important of the changes will be given here.

Frequently a vowel is long when standing in an open syllable, that is, a syllable ending in a vowel, but it becomes short, when standing in a closed syllable (a syllable ending in a consonant) *of the same word*: *pàa* I, but *pà̀ I*; *pòo* you, but *pò̀ you*; *ŋàl* boy, *ŋàw ŋy* boy; *jòl* man, *jòlg* man; *fò* not, *fòg* not.

The demonstrative *a* (see 138) causes the preceding vowel to become long. The reason for this may be that *a* was originally an independent word (*pa*), with a vowel of its own, the quantity of this vowel being added to the vowel preceding *a*: *dato* man, *dàto* this man.

A vowel may be lengthened at will, in order to intensify the meaning of a word, e. g.: *à kàdì* he was silent; *à kàdì* he was silent for a long time, he remained in a deep, strong silence; *à dyò* he is strong, *à dàgì* he is (something) in a high degree; *à dyò yì rèŋ*, or: *à dàgì yì rèŋ* he is very, very strong in badness, he surpasses everything in badness, is exceedingly bad. Chiefly some adjectives may lengthen their vowel exceedingly, so that instead of one line above the vowel, two or three ought properly to be written: *kàà* strong *kàà* very strong, *rèè* bad, *rèè* or *rèè*, very bad; often when such an adjective is said twice (see 151), the second time the vowel is lengthened: *kàà kàà*, *rèè rèè*.

Interjections also may have short, long or very long vowel according to the degree of excitement which is to be expressed.

In fluent speech frequently a vowel is shortened, which is pronounced long, if the word is spoken alone.

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In the vocative case the (last) vowel becomes long: *ábó* man, *ábó* o man! (see also 129).

Regular changes of vowel-quantity take place in forming singular and plural of nouns, and in forming the tenses of the verb. Of these only a few examples are given here, for more see 123, 156 ff.

Singular short vowel	Plural long vowel
ábjá-ábjá agent;	*ábjá-ábjá* antecedents.
Singular long vowel	**Plural short vowel**
ábjó-ábjó albino;	*ábjó-ábjó* sword.

In Verbs:

yé yíjo I am beating *yé yíjó* I was beaten *yé ngyo* I kill
yé ngyo ábjo I killed a man.

Frequently a change of quantity coincides with a change of quality; see below.

Quality.

Here again the changes in the formation of singular and plural and in the tenses and modes of the verb are of prominent importance; a few examples will suffice here; for more see 124.

It is particularly to be observed in the following examples that, as mentioned above, frequently change of quality and of quantity coincide, and that in some cases a change of tone is added to these two. No doubt these changes have influenced each other, one causing, or cooperating in causing, the other.

A most prominent change is that of a long or short *e* or *o*, and in some cases *o*, being reduced to *ɔ*:

e > *ɔ*: *ɔyéé-ɔyéé* crow *ɔyeéé-ɔyeéé* frog *ɔyeéé-ɔyeéé* crane
éléé-éléé a fish.

é > *ɔ*: *éléu-éléu* sycomore *féé-féé* spoon *kuéré-kuéré* pole.

o > *ɔ*: *rɔ́ɔ* king (older form), *rɔ́ɔ* (properly *rɔ́ɔ*)[1] king (present form); *rɔ́ɔ* is still used in a composition: *rɔ́ɔ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ* king of the people, and when possessive pronouns are added: *rɔ́ɔ́o* my king.
wɔ́ɔ and *wɔ́ɔ* to arrive; *wɔ́ɔ* heads, *wɔ́ɔ́* *ɔ́ɔ* heads of lions; *dɔ́ɔ* third, *adɔ́ɔ* three. Here always *ɔ* represents the older, *ɔ* the younger form.

ó > *ɔ*: *kɔ́ɔ́* to boil past *kɔ́ɔ́* *fɔ́ɔ́* to be tired past *fɔ́ɔ́*
fɔ́ɔ́ to hide past *fɔ́ɔ́* *kɔ́ɔ́* to bring past *kɔ́ɔ́*
kɔ́ɔ́ to ache past *kɔ́ɔ́* *kɔ́ɔ́* to twist past *kɔ́ɔ́*
ngɔ́ɔ́ to kill past *ngɔ́ɔ́* *kɔ́ɔ́* to take n. *kɔ́ɔ́*
pɔ́ɔ́ to fill and *pɔ́ɔ́* to fill *kɔ́ɔ́* to bring and *kɔ́ɔ́* to bring
fɔ́ɔ́ to be tired and *fɔ́ɔ́* to be tired
kɔ́ɔ́ to twist and *kɔ́ɔ́* to twist.

[1] In some words my materials give *ɔ́*, where *ɔ* was to be expected; this is doubtless mistaken.
[2] For "king" *rɔ́ɔ́* being introduced already, I keep this orthography instead of writing *rɔ́ɔ́*, which would be more correct.

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a, ä) ɔ: [illegible] a mat [illegible] a pot [illegible] a fish
[illegible] a bird [illegible] hawk.

In all these cases except a few, the vowel ɔ has high or high-low tone. Even in the verbs with double form, e. g. *ʃɔ́ɔ́ŋ* and *ʃɔ́ŋ* to be tired, the second form originates from a form with high tone, see 188. It is therefore hardly to be doubted that *the high tone is the cause of the vowel being reduced to ɔ.*

e) ɛ) ɔ. The singular of the noun, and the present tense of the verb end in ɛ, which was no doubt originally ɔ. This ɛ is very often pronounced ɔ. The reason for this is that the emphasis (stress-tone) always lies on the stem-syllable, consequently the pronunciation of ɛ (ɔ) is neglected and is reduced to ɔ.

In the first instance it is the high tone, in the last the absence of a stress, which causes the reduction of a full vowel to ɔ.

A short, pure *e*, when lengthened, often becomes ɛ; there is a general tendency in the language to pronounce a long *e* as ɛ, so that it is sometimes difficult to decide, whether one ought to write *ê* or ɛ; often there are no doubt individual differences.

[illegible] guinea-fowl [illegible] fence [illegible] pot
[illegible] to mix past *chepe* [illegible] to inherit past *lebe*.

But mark the opposite: [illegible] to teach past [illegible] [illegible] to guard past [illegible].

Long or short *e* or ɛ > short ɔ. Here the coincidence of change of quantity with change of quality is the rule: *e long ê or ɛ becomes e short ɔ.* The shortening of the vowel is probably the prime; its consequence was *e* and ɛ becoming ɔ.

ené and *ení* which — *ée* and *ɛ́ɛ* child
kɛpɛ́ and *kɛpɛ* because — *jɛ́kɛ* and *jɛ́kɛ* to rule
kɛ́kɛ and *kɛ́kɛ* to go — *kɛ́ɛ́kɛ* and *kɛ́ɛ́kɛ* to steal
kɛ́ɛ́ and *kɛ́ɛ́* poor, worthless — *gɛ́ɛ́kɛ* to err, past *gɛ́ɛ́*
gɛ́ɛ́kɛ to match, past *gɛ́ɛ́* — *mɛ́ɛ́-mɛ́ɛ́* aunt
yɛ́-yɛ́ tree — *ye* and *yɛ́ɛ́* (from *yɛ́ɛ́*) to be
kɛ́ɛ́ and *kɛ́ɛ́* to dream — *yɛ́ɛ́* and *yɛ́ɛ́* to open
yɛ́ɛ́ and *yɛ́ɛ́* to fill — *kɛ́ɛ́* and *kɛ́ɛ́* mud.

But mark: *rɛɛ́* bad *rɛ́ɛ́* to become bad; *ɛ́ɛ́-ɛ́ɛ́* hat; *yɛ́-yɛ́ɛ́* boat.

In the double forms of verbs the form with ê is the primitive, from which that with ɛ is derived; see 188.

a and *ê* change in: *ɛ́ɛ́* and *ɛ́ɛ́* to know.

e and ɛ change in: [illegible] mongoose [illegible] red ant [illegible] a mat.

i and *e* change in: *wɛ́ɛ́* to exchange past *wile*
lɛ́ɛ́ to come stealthily past *lipe*.
vice versa: *yɛ́-yɛ́* scorpion, *yɛ́-yɛ́* a well.

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193 *i* and *ɨ* change in: *riëŋ* to run; past *a rɨɨ*.

194 *ɨ* and *u*, *u* change in: *ɨɨŋ* and *ɨɨŋ* to tattoo, *rɨɨŋ* and *riëŋ* to meet

kɨɨ́ɨ́ɨ́-kɨɨ́ɨ́ hedgehog *nɨɨɨ́-nɨɨ́ɨ́* boar *kɨɨ́-kɨɨ́ɨ́* axe.

vice versa: *kɨɨ́ɨ́* to pull out, past *kɨɨ́ɨ́*, *fɨɨ́ɨ́* | to pull

ɨɨ́ɨ́ to eat, past *ɨɨ́ɨ́* *fɨɨ́ɨ́* | eat

kɨɨ́ɨ́ to turn past *kɨɨ́ɨ́*; *rɨɨɨ́-rɨɨɨ́* noun.

o and *ɨ* change in: *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́-ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* a knife *ɨɨɨ́-ɨɨɨ́* vulture

ɨɨ́-ɨɨ́ boil; and: *ɨɨɨ́-ɨɨɨ́* gun; this last example suggests that *o* was changed into *ɨ* by an inserted *a*.

o and *u* change in: *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* to fasten a. *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*; *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* and *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* to avenge, *ɨɨɨ́* and *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* to blow up.

26. 193 The vowels *ɨ* and *ɨ* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.

194 *ɨ* < *a*.

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ɨɨ́ tooth	Any. *ɨɨ́*			*ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* to travel	Ba. *ɨɨɨ́*		
ɨɨɨ́ɨ́ guard	Ju. *ɨɨɨ́*			*ɨɨɨ́*	bitter, sharp	Nr.	*ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* sharp
ɨɨɨ́ɨ́ small	Any. *ɨɨɨ́*						
ɨɨɨ́ɨ́ to sleep	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*			*ɨɨɨ́* to see	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*		
ɨɨɨ́ bread	Ju. *ɨɨɨ́*	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*,	Bo. *ɨɨɨ́*	*ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* much	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*		
ɨɨɨ́ horse	Ju. *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*	Ga. *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*;		(*ɨɨɨ́* fat	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*)		
ɨɨɨ́ɨ́ four	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*			*ɨɨɨ́* metal	Ju. *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*.		

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ɨ* (or *i*).

ɨ < *ia*.

ɨɨ́ to be heavy	Any. *ɨɨɨ́*		
ɨɨ́ to be hard	Di. *ɨɨɨ́* (*ɨɨɨ́*?)	Bo. *ɨɨɨ́*	
ɨɨɨ́ɨ́, *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́* to ask	Ba. *ɨɨɨ́*		
ɨɨɨ́ blood, Ba. *ɨɨɨ́*,	Bo. *ɨɨɨ́*,	Nr. *ɨɨɨ́*.	

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *ɨɨɨ́* and Ba. *ɨɨɨ́*, *ɨɨɨ́*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *ɨɨɨ́*; *a* was then assimilated to *i* (*y*) and thus turned into *ɨ*: *ɨɨɨ́*, *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*, *ɨɨɨ́*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ɨ*, and *ɨ* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *ɨ* and *yɨ*, are still existing.

ɨ < *wa* or *ua*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ɨ*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ɨ*, so that *ua*, *wa* > *wɨ* > *ɨ*.

Compare the following examples:

wá and *wɨ́* we; *wá* is the primitive, *wɨ* the influenced form; likewise: *ɨɨɨ́ɨ́*

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and *gudây* to scratch, *ôudy* to cut, *ôilây* to butcher, *ôgây* to cut.

ŋ to die	Ba. *tuun*		*rîpây* to dive	Di. *ruun*	
yudây to cry	Ga. *yunû*		*ôuŋây* to wash	Nr. *ôuû*	Ba. *ôuŋûu*
ôây afternoon	Ga. *ôuur*		*rîŋây* thirst	Ga. *ruuur*	Ju. *ryuu*
ôuŋû maize	*Anj.* *ôuuk*		*ôwîŋây* to bear, beget	Ga. *ôuuûu*	
ôuŋây cotton	Ga. *uuro*				
yîŋây to beat	*Any.* *yuui*	Ba. *ylu*	*ôây* what	Nr. *ôu*,	Di. *ôiu*
ôuyu man	Ga. *ôuuu*	Nr. *ôuu*	*yŋ* road *yu* tuk narrow road		
ôuyây to call	Nr. *ôuû*		*ŋwîŋû* fire	Nr. *yuuk*.	

In these words *ŋ* is evidently an original *o*; in Shi. the *o* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *u* or *w*, while in other languages the primitive *o* is preserved. In Shi. *ôudy* "to cut", the vowel, *o*, is not yet added; in *ôilây* "to butcher", the suffixed *o* has dropped the *u*; here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *u*; whereas in *ôgây* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *ôây* what; the primitive vowel is *u*: Nr. *ôu* what; later an *o* was added; before this *o* the primitive vowel *u* dropped in Di.: *ôiu* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *ôŋ* (the beginning *ô* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *yŋ* road, but *yu* tuk narrow road, and *yu Fuhgi* the way to F., from original *yu*; this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *o* was added, which united with *u* to *ŋ*.

Compare also the following words:

ŋwŋy roan antelope	Ju. *ouur*	
yîŋwŋ wind	Ga. *yuuuo*	
ôîŋû blossom	Di. *yuû*.	

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *w*, *u* having been dropped in both respective languages, or the original vowel is simply *o*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ŋ* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wŋ*, *yŋ*, and perhaps also those with *ŋ*, *ŋ* had the original vowel *o*, or *uo*, *io*, though this *o* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels (*io*, *uo*) was *i*, *u*, and that the *o* was added later; compare *ôudy*, *ôilây*, *ôgây*; and *ôudy* goose, Di. *tuol (tuyl?)*, Nr. *tuyr*; *ôudy* and *ôudy* are the oldest forms; then *o* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *tuyr*, *uo* became *uy* > *wŋ*, whereas in Shi. *ôudy* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *o* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

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193 the case in *ŋadę* to eat and *ŋiły* to butcher. For more examples of the addition
194 of a second vowel see 70.

197 A good example for *w* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *wiłyę* to catch, Ga. *mołu*, Ba. *mołi*, Di. *mołyi* < **mwu* or **mwu*.

A different evolution here

pwyę make, Di. *wiwi*; *ołjiłę* to heap up, assemble, Di. *wołwi*. Here again the primitive vowel is *o*, as is evident from *wołwi*; now as *w* — in Di. preserved as *w* — was prefixed to the stem, and in Shi. was resolved into the stem, so *wołwi* > *ołwjł*, *wiwi* > *pwyę*. See also the formation of the passive 173 *m*.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *w* + *a* > *twa*, *twę*, *tę*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *w* + *t* + *a* > *wta*, *twa*, *twę*, *tę*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

193 Some assimilations are treated above: *ia* > *ęą*, *yę*; *wa* > *wą*, *wę*. Others are:
194 *wich* head and *wuch*; *wiję* to arrive, and *wuję*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *w* and thus become *u*;

ya ŋ "I shall" is often pronounced *ya ŋ*, *ya ŋ*;

ḃągia "there is not", and *ḃiję*;

ḃą "not to be", and *ḃąyą*: "there is not" < *ḃą* + *yąa*;

yiję to become, and *yuję*;

ŋję feet, *ŋółe* my feet;

ḃiaję it is, and *ḃuaję*;

ḃj ŋ "with its body" becomes *ḃę ŋ*;

yi ni why you, but *i ni*, why he;

ḃj "and", but: *wi ḃi ḃjłę* you and the smith: *i* is assimilated to the preceding *w*.

ło this, *ję* that; as *i* has been affixed to *ło*, and has turned the *o* to *ę*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the further distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ia* > *ya*, *yę* > *ę*; *wa* > *wa*, *wę* > *ę*. Others are:

yi ŋ "you will" > *yŋ*. *wi ya* his mother > *wya*. *wi ya* his father > *wya*.

Where two vowels of different words meet together, generally one is dropped:

ḃuöry a my grandfather > *ḃuöra*.

ḃuöry i thy grandfather > *ḃuöri*, and likewise all these connections.

ołwołj ok these rabbits > *ołwołk ok*.

yi ŋwję ḃiję what are you doing > *yi ŋwę ḃę*?

yi ḃjłę odi what do you say > *yi ḃjł odi*, or: *yi ḃi di*?

In the nasalization of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *jłyę* chief > *jłöi*; see 127.

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Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of semivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a word are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of these cases where the *u* or *i* had a *high* tone, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was transferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write *uj* or *wj*. 193* 194 197

A few examples of the changes may be given here; for more see 134 ff.

u and *wu*: *ŋjuŋ* to work passive *ŋwjō* — *kjuŋ* to speak passive *kwjō*

ŋwjō-ŋjōlō jackal — *ŋwjō-ŋjō* cock

kjuŋ and *kwjuŋ* to drive — *ŋwjō-ŋjōrī* serval.

vice versa: *wjō-wwjō* dog-headfish.

o and *wo*: *kiwŋ* and *kwiwŋ* to help — *ŋwŋ* and *ŋwwŋ* to spit.

vice versa: *kwiw-kiw* shield.

wu, *wo* and *wi*, *wi*: *ŋwwŋ*, *ŋwwŋ* and *ŋwŋ* to show.

The vowel *u* has been preserved in:

kūjūj to taste, past *a kwjūu*; *kwūjŋ* to sew, n. *kūjū*.

ŋwjŋ to knead, n. *ŋūjū*;

gwūl-gūlū dog; *kwūw-kūwŋ* chair; *ŋūjŋ* and *ŋūjū* to tie.

Changes between *i* and *yi*:

yjūŋ and *yyjūŋ* to build; *ŋjūŋ* and *kyjūŋ* to dig

fyjū-fjrī back-bone; *ŋjrŋ* to let the milk down, *ŋyjūŋ* to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:

pīŋ to sacrifice, and *pījū*; *kūjū-kūlūk* reed

kjuū-kūuk elephant; *kyjūŋ* to refuse, n. *kūjū*.

y < *w*:

yoi soul	Di. *uoi*	*gwjūŋ* and *gyjūŋ* ring			
yjūwŋ fowl	Any. *ywŋwŋ*	*kyŋŋ* to refuse	Ga. *kuwo*		
kjūŋ to save	Nr. *kuji*	*fyou* heart	Di. *pwou*		
kyjī horse	Any. *ebwjī*.				

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *j*, *i*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:

wŋwŋ and *ŋrŋ* to send, *ŋrī* relative by marriage Ga. *uor*.

lot war	Ga. *luoi* Ju. *luiā*	*jī* people	Ba. *guiu*		
dji skin	Ga. *edwol*	*tgi* egg.	Nr. *tugi*		
ŋjŋŋ mouth	Nr. *ŋuun*	*mājī* to catch	Di. *mwgi*		

ŋjŋŋ is probably < **ŋyjī* < **ŋwjī* < **ŋwwī*.

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* 193 In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded
194 by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel,
197 the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.

Elision of *y*: *ŷin* and *ŷo* he.

Change between *w*, *y* and *v*. — Though *v* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *y* in 9. *y* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *y* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *y* an *v* is pronounced.

wŷ, *ŷŷ*, *vwŷ* house	*wiang*, *ŷiang* and *viang* to finish
wiang, *ŷiang* and *viang* to cover	*wŷang*, *ŷŷang* and *vŷang* to carry water
ŷŷŷ and *vŷŷ* fish	*wir* and *vir* kings
wa, *wŷ* we, Di. *ŷŷ*	*ŷŷag* and *vŷag* to elect.

y does not stand before *i*, *o*, and seldom before *u*; here *w* takes its place: *nayyiŷ-nawuŷ* are; *ŷŷŷ* and *wŷŷ* a season, *ŷŷiŷ* and *wiiŷ* to pound.

In *ŷŷŷ-wŷŷ* the change from *y* to *w* has caused a change from *e* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *y*:

yŷ and *ŷŷn* he; *yŷ* I Di. *yu*.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and Any.:

yan I	Nr. *jan*	*yaŷ* tree	Nr. *jaŷ*
yin you	Nr. *jin*	*yiap* tail	Nr. *jip*
yŷ road	Any. *jŷ*	*yŷang* wind	Any. *jang*
yuŷio to cry	Any. *juŷiŷ* and *juiŷ*.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a noun ending in *u* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; *ŷu* lion *ŷuwŷ* lions; or, if *u* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: *ŷŷŷu* heart, *ŷŷŷuŷ* my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the fricative sounds.

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These consonants are:

ch and *ch* *ɟ* and *g* *ʃ* and *g* *p* and *f* or *f*.

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch ʃ ɟ p* are to be regarded as the older, *ch g g* and *f f* as the younger sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *s*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *s*.

Assimilation.

The consonants *k ch t ʃ p*, when *standing at the end of a word*, can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch t ʃ p* is to be pronounced, if 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. if it is followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j d ɟ b* 1. if they are followed by a voiced consonant, 2. if they are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds.

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
ɟag jal	*ɟak jal*	the cattle of the man
ɟak ɟiɣ	*ɟak ɟiɣ*	the cattle of the people
ɲiɟ lɔlɣ	*ɲiɟ lɔlɣ*	the king of the people
ɲiɟ ɟi	*ɲiɟ ɟi*	the king died
kaɟb ebooɲ	*kaɟp ebooɲ*	the talk of the stranger
kaɟp ɟiɣ	*kaɟp ɟiɣ*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, if *t, d* or *n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

ɟiɟ man, *ɟiɟɟ* to make straight, *ɟiɟɟin* hot season, *ɟiɟɟɣ* to each, *ɟaɟɟɣ* to rise, *ɟaɟɟɔ* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *ɟaɟ* tree, *daɟɔ* large, *ɟaɟ ɟaɟɔ* a large tree; between *ɟ* and *ɟ* the tongue does not change its position. But observe: *ɟɔ ɟiɟɟɣ* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalization:*

k + *n* > *ŋ*	*ch* + *n* > *ɲ*
t + *n* > *n*	*ʃ* + *n* > *ɲ*
p + *n* > *m*	*gɣ* + *n* > *ŋ*
jɣ + *n* > *ɲ*	*dɣ* + *n* > *n*
ɟɣ + *n* > *ɲ*	*bɣ* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

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Consonants influenced by vowels.

a) A mute voiceless consonant standing between vowels generally shows a tendency of becoming voiced. This nearly in all verbs in the present tense the second consonant is voiced: *kpdy*, *ptdy*, *ptpy*, *kjky* etc.; and in those which have preserved a voiceless consonant, often, when the word is spoken rapidly, the consonant is pronounced almost voiced, or at least not as *p t* etc., but as a somewhat hard *p*, *d*, etc. (what in German phonology is called "voiceless lenis").

b) See 38.

Change between voiced and voiceless consonants.

1. See 26, *Assimilation*.
2. See 40, Consonants influenced by vowels.
3. Sometimes the consonant beginning a word shows a change between voicedness and voicelessness:

Shuddy and *Pushdy*, *Fash.-da*	*dikdgi* and *tikdgi* dura-stick
kd and *pd*, or *fd* not	*gjd* mouth *Any. tgd*; *dkd* pot *Nr. gjd*

pi they, probably reduced from *kwy*; see 131.

4. In the formation of plural a voiced consonant often turns voiceless: *efudy* pl. *efutj*; see 107.

Combination of Consonants.

The Shi. does not combine two or more consonants in a word without an intervening vowel. A consonant may be combined only with one or more vowels or with a semivowel, never with a second consonant.

If in the connection of noun and possessive pronoun or in the formation of plural two consonants meet together, one is always dropped:

dal boy *dal ra* my boy ⟩ *dâra*	*gjag* fisherman plural *yji* ⟨ **yjag*
dal ri thy boy ⟩ *dâri*	*jack* belly plural *yji* ⟨ **yjack*
pack village *pack ry* his village ⟩ *pâry*	*dyyi* goat plural *dyyk* ⟨ **dyyik*
wick head plural *wuj* ⟨ **wuck*	*kwyi* gourd plural *kjo* ⟨ **kwyk*.

An *a* has been dropped in certain cases of genetive-formation, *gjd a Gry* becoming *gjd Gry*; see 127.

If two consonants of two different words meet together,

a) both consonants may be preserved; this is generally the case, when the first of the two consonants is a liquid or a nasal one; *jal mjky* some man; *Gol bedg* a proper-name, *Ayun jwgk* a proper-name; but *dgjn gjn* "where are they" becomes *dgj gjn*; and *kal wun* your fence ⟩ *kal ûn*.

b) the 'helping vowel' is inserted: *lgck* tooth, *lgcks lgcck* the tooth of the elephant; see 127.

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c) a semi-consonant is sometimes dropped:
ḡak cattle, *ḡa rij* cattle of the king
ṗaak village *ṗá rij* village of the king
lut wen lo jol wen of the town.
d) *ch* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllabic *i*:
wich head *wiy ṗpo* head of the table
ṗaak middle *ṗay wen* middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

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h. An original *h* is dropped in:

wo, wy	wo	Nr. *ḡpo* < **hoqo*	*wany*	shoe	Ba. *hawi*
winy	bird	Ba. *hoon*	*wiṗy*	spider	Ba. *hwiṗe*
wen	town	Ja. *hoon*	*wiang*	to cover	and *hiang* < **hwang*.

The opposite state is in:
hwiny cotton Ga. *wuve* *hiny* to pour out Ga. *wie* < **hwinig*.
Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *hw*.
An original *k* has turned into *ch* in
chiny to walk Di. *kei, kwei* *ḡuk* bitter Ba. *kupel*, stem **kuk*
kwuch leopard Ba. *ḡqpo*, Ba. *kobo*.
An original *k* has turned into *t* in *ohit* but, Di. *ohik*, Ga. *ohi*; here *k* > *ch* > *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.
p. A primitive *p* has turned into *j*:
jil people, Ba. *pooo* tribe.
ch. *ch* has become *y* in connections described in 127.
j. *j* has become *y* in *wiṗy* nest, and *wiri* (*wiṗy*).
t d, and *ṭ ḍ*.
1. At the beginning of a word; *t* > *r*.
rjang blood Ba. *tuma* *rjang* and *ḡang* to fetch water, Ga. *tuoma*.
ṭ > *r*: *ṗang* and *rang* to finish.
2. Within or at the end of a word.
t > *r*: *dwaty* and *dwary* to wish, *ṭyty* and *ḡry* to carry; *ṗur* and *ṗṭi* corner.
t, d > *l*: *kiṗy* and *kiḡy* to throw *kwity* and *kwiḡy* to steal
kwṗy to drive past *kwṗle* *ḡiḡy* to shave and *kyḡy*
dwty to spit past *dwl* *yṗdy* to curse and *yṗly*
ṗḡdo to scratch past *ṗḡl* *ywidy* to wink with the lips, *ywiḡy* to wink.
ḍ ḡ > *r*: *ṗiḡy* to laugh, n. *ṗyḡri* *yiṗḡy* to cut, past a *yiṗr*
rij king pl. *rir*, *ohṗy* and *hyṗy* womb
rjḡo thirst Ga. *ernor*
wṗj stone, but *wṗre ṗṗi*, and *wṗr* name *tai* a certain kind of stone.

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199 Concerning *t* > *r* (and *j* > *r*?) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final *t* 197 is followed by a strong blowing sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled *r*, and thus makes the *t* disappear altogether. In the same way *t* may have become *r* in Shi., the *tr* in Bo. meaning an intermediate stage between *t* and *r*.

t d > *l*: [illegible] to cook, past [illegible] [illegible] to change, past [illegible].

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 182; there also the frequency of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of *t d*, *t d* to *t*, *n*, *n*, *l*, and *y*, *w* are doubtless to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that *t j* at the beginning of a word change into *r* only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to *r* or to *l*.

INTONATION.

199 As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with accentuation, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: *y w j r*. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: *á*, a low tone: *à*, and a middle tone: *a*. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high *ǎ* (rising tone) and high-low *â* (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then rises; in *â* it is the reverse: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me to that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle, tone *á*, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

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In this case the high tone is clearly prevalent, only just before the sound is stopped, the tone is lowered. 194

It is difficult to describe the tones or to give analogies for their pronunciation from European languages. In this particular case it is still less advisable, as the author of this book does not write in his own language, and does not feel sufficiently acquainted with English to give examples from it for illustrating the pronunciation of the tones.

[The English as well as other European languages does have different tones, one syllable or word being pronounced higher than others. The difference between European and Sudan languages is, that in the first the observation of the tone is not indispensable in speaking, the meaning of a word is not altered, whether it be pronounced with a high or a low tone; but in Sudan languages the tone is just as essential and integral as are vowels and consonants. Two words with the same sounds, but different tones, are quite different words, which in their etymology and meaning have nothing to do with each other, the conformity in the sounds is in this case to be considered as mere accidental. — On the other hand in European languages the *stress* or *strength* laid on a word is essential, it distinguishes the syllable or word which conveys the chief thought from those which are less important.]

Only some examples of each tone and combination of tones are given here; their pronunciation must be acquired by hearing them from the natives. The student should let a native pronounce these and other examples repeatedly, so long till he is not only able to hear the differences, but to imitate them to the satisfaction of the native. (To do that, one must really try to wholly quit the European mode of pronouncing a word; to give one example: When we pronounce a single word, or, the last word of a sentence, we generally lower the tone of the sound; the Shi. cannot do so, unless the word has a low tone; if it has a high tone, he will pronounce it high, whether it stands at the end of a sentence or not; just mark the first examples which follow here.)

Examples.

High tone: *lɛ́ɛ́* war, *fɛ́ɛ́* ground, *yɛ́n* I, *gɛ́n* they, *dɛ́ɛ́l* goat, *ɔ́bɛ́ɛ́* ʿoam.

Low tone: *ʋ̀rì* people, *ɔ̀nɔ̀n* now; *ɡ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* cattle, *yì* water. The high and low tone are easily distinguished, when both meet together: *ɔ̀kɛ̀ɛ̀l* one, *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀k* three, *ɛ̀ɲ̀ɲ̀* foot, pl. *tɛ̀ɛ̀l; lɛ̀ ɔ̀ lɔ̀* and he said; *jɔ̀k ɔ̀k* these chiefs.

Middle tone: is not so easily distinguished, and may be confounded with the high tone. Examples: *ɔ́ʋɔ̀ɲ* cock; the second tone is a little lower than the first, yet it is distinctly not low; *ɡɔ̀t* pl. *ɡɔ̀t* riverbank; *kɔ́fɔ̀* in order that.

Rising tone: *gɛ́ bɛ̌n* all of them, *ɔ́ʋɔ́ɲ* hyena; (these examples are easy, be-

194 cause a high tone precedes the rising one, the tones are like this: -; mark the difference between "cock" and "hyena"!); *ʃʃá* a water-pot, *ɲí* road, *Dʃá* a proper name.

Falling tone: *ʃ ʃʃá* he is absent, *ʃʃá* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of *ʃʃá, sometimes *ʃʃá is heard.

High and middle tone: *dwɔ́n* when? *wí bí wɔ́n* you and who? *ʃ* you.

High-low-high tone: *dʃʃ́* dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

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ɔ́wɔ́n cock	*ɔ́wɔ́n* hyena	*ʃɔ́* hot season	*ʃɔ́* a small lizard
ʃʃʃ́ nebbak-tree	*ʃʃʃ́* to spend the night	*wí* which	*wí* sent
		wír green	*wír* because
ʃʃí skin	*ʃʃí* spittle	*ʃʃʃ́* a fish	*ʃʃʃ́* carrot
ʃʃʃ́ flint-stone	*ʃʃʃ́* to be smooth	*wʃí* year	*wʃí* eye.

But such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was mechanized.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological*, that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by differences of tone.* Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 ff.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

kyʃ́ pl. *kyʃá* horse	*dʃ́k* pl. *dʃʃ́k* pot
kyʃʃ́ pl. *kyʃʃ́* dura	*jʃ́ck* pl. *jʃ́ck* shoulder
kʃí pl. *kʃí* net	*ʃʃʃ́r* pl. *ʃʃʃ́r* ford
ʃʃʃ́k pl. *ʃʃʃ́k* mouth	*alʃ́ń* pl. *alʃ́ń* somersault.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable: 194
bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ smith, but in addressing: *bɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ́!* o smith! 197
mɔ̀yɔ̀ mother, but in addressing: *mɔ̀yɔ́!* o mother!
ńàtɔ̀ man, but in addressing: *ńàtɔ́!* o man!
Dàk a proper-name, but in addressing: *Dàgɔ́!* o Dàk!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mechanised tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 152.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *chàmɔ̀*, passive *chám*, verbal noun: *chàm*
to work: present active *gɔ̀gɔ̀*, passive *gwɔ́k*, verbal noun: *gwɔ̀k*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical* tone). 194

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

yíť pl. *yìť* ear; but *yíťé kygé* ears of the horse
ɔ̀kɔ̀k pl. *ɔ̀kɔ̀k* flower, but *ɔ̀kɔ́kí yať* blossoms of the tree
àťɔ̀p pl. *àťɔ̀p* bag; but *àťɔ́pé ńàtɔ̀* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genetive, a high-toned *é* is added; the high tone of this *é* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

gúɔ̀k dogs *á* my, *gúɔ́ká* my dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
ká "and", *á* "he", *kɔ̀* "said" but connected: *ká à kɔ̀*.
yá I *gɔ̀gɔ̀* work, *yá gɔ̀gɔ̀* I am working; the low tone of *gɔ̀gɔ̀* causes the *á* of

194 *ɣá* to add a low tone to its high tone; this low tone on á is, however, pronounced but very faintly, sometimes only á is heard.

Dissimilation of Tones.

ɣín thing *àn* this, but *ɣín àn* this thing, *ɣík àk* these things.
ádà crocodile *àn* this, but *ádà àn* this crocodile.

Here the reason of the low-toned noun becoming high-toned is the stress which is laid on the noun.

Many references to intonation will be found in the following paragraphs, they are treated there together with the grammatical functions they exercise.

Accentuation.

In words with more than one syllable the accent (or stress) lies on the stem-syllable. When a syllable with low tone has the accent, this low tone frequently becomes high.

SECOND SECTION:

FORMATION OF WORDS.

The stems of the Shilluk-words are monosyllabic. A word may consist in 193*

1. a vowel.

á sign of the past, *ì* it is, *à* which, *ŷ* forming the future; and the personal pronouns when suffixed: *a*, *i*, *ŋ*; but these last, being unseparably connected with another word, are not independent words; and the rest are likewise mere particles; no noun or verb in Shi. consists in a vowel only.

2. a consonant and a vowel.

This is the oldest form of the word in the Sudan-languages (comp. Die Sudansprachen, page 14), but is not very frequent in Shi. now. Examples: *bà*, *fà* not, *bì* in order to, *bŷ* to have not, *cha* time, *cha* to be going to, *chi* wife, *chŋ* to begin, *chū* bones, *dà* to have, *dì* sign of perfect, *dì* but, *ga* piece, copy, *gí* they, *gŋ* him, *gū* a big fish, *jì* people, *kā* to go, *kì* place, *kí* with, *ko* to say, *kū* thief, *mà* aunt, *ma* because, *mi* mother, *nà* as, *nì* as, *nì* to use, *na* child, *nu* lion, *pi* water, *rè* why, *wá* we, *wú* you pl., *yè* I, *yí* you, *yŷ* road.

Not in all these words the primitive form, consonant + vowel, is original, some are apparently shortened from longer forms, but in others it is not clear, whether the short forms are mutilated from longer ones, or whether the words consisting in more than one consonant and one vowel have evolved from the corresponding primitive forms. Compare these examples:

bà, *fà* not, *fàŋ* it is not
bì in order to, probably from *bia* to come
bí to come — *bia* to come
bŷ to have not — *byŋ* to have not
cha time — from *chai* "day, sun"
cha to be going to — *chang* to be going to

chi wife — *chyek* wife
chŋ to begin — *chāgŋ* to begin
chū bones, sing. *chūgŋ*
gi thing — *gin* thing
kā place — *kūch* place
kū to go — *kāŋ̀* to go
ko to say — *kŋ̄bŋ* to say
ma because — *mar* because.

3. a consonant and a diphthong.

bai buttermilk, *bgi* mosquito, *bŷi* not, *lgi* game, *lìu* cloth, *lju* far, *lau* spittle, *nau* thus, *nau* cat, *ygi* boat, *ygi* hair.

4. a consonant and two vowels.

bia to come, this is probably derived from *bí* to come.

5. a consonant, vowel, and consonant. This is by far the most fre-

*193 quent form; it may be called the characteristic form of the word in Shi., about 90 % of all *stems* of the language having this form.

bàt arm, *bdk* fence, *bdń* a cow, *bdń* behind, *bgr* long, *bgch* bundle, *bgt* spear, *bgl* a mat, *ggl* fence, *kal* fence, *kgt* rain, etc.

*193 197 In my comparative study "Die Sudansprachen", I have shown the original word in Sudan to consist in one consonant and one vowel, all other elements in a word being later additions. As is seen under 2., this original form is not frequent in Shi., the standard form being here consonant + vowel + consonant. Accordingly these words ought to be demonstrated as having evolved from words with one consonant and one vowel only; the second consonant should be traced as a later element. That is, however, until now possible only in a small minority of cases. This may be explained from the fact that the eastern Sudan languages have, for a comparatively long time, had their own development, separate from that of the western languages, and under the influence of languages of different character.

I have found, however, a number of words which, being identical in their first consonant and vowel, and differing only in the second consonant, have the same or a similar meaning, which makes it probable that they are of one origin, and consisted originally in one consonant and one vowel, but differentiated their meaning by adding a second consonant. In some of the examples there is a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel, which, according to 21, 22, has arisen from a vowel, so that here two vowels are to be supposed.

Examples.

bāgg to make a fence, *bājg* to tie together } < *bā

bāng, *bgng* to make a mistake, *bājg* to err } < *bā

chōk it is finished, *chōji* it is finished } < *chō

chwēbg to pierce, *chwayg* to pierce } < *chua

gīdg to scratch, dig, *gīńg*, *gwańg* to scratch, *gībg* to scratch } < *gua

fāgg to be sharp, *fālg* knife } < *fā

fīchg, *fyīchg* to ask, *fīmg* to gainsay, *fīdg* to lie } < *fi, *fia, with the supposed meaning of "to say"

fōgg to be bruised, *fōjg* to rub, brush } < *fo, *fua

gīdg to loosen, *gīńg* to loosen } < *gī, *gua

kāgg, *kgg* to ache, pain, *kājg* to bite, ache, pain } < *kā

kītg to throw, *kītg* to dash, shatter, split } < *kī

kā to go, *kādg*, *kdg* to go } < *kā

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kōḍǫ to blow, *kōṅǫ* to blow } < **kō*

kwōḍǫ, *kwārǫ* } pole < **kua*

kū thief, *kwālǫ* to steal } < **ku, kua*

kwāṅǫ to take, *kwōgǫ* to take } < **kua*

kwayǫ to herd, *kwodǫ* to drive, herd } < **kua*

mwǫnǫ to plaster, *mūlǫ* to plaster } < **mu, mua*

má because, *már* because } < **ma*

awa yesterday, *awar-awa* the day before yesterday } < *awa*

ṅǭgǫ to vomit, *ṅotǫ*, *ṅwotǫ* to spit } < **ṅua*

kāgǫ, *kǭṭǫ* split < **kā*

fwǭjǫ, *pākǫ* } to thank < **pua*

rǫbǫ to string beads, *rǫtǫ* to sew } < **rǫ*

ṭǭnǫ to pour out drop by drop, *ṭǭṅǫ* to strain beer } < **ṭǫ*

ṭǭnǫ to pick, *twārǫ* to pick, gather, clean } < **tua*

wōḍǫ to pull out, *wǫrǫ* to pull out } < **wo, wua.*

6. Consonant, semivowel, and vowel, which may again be followed by another augment.

These forms are also very frequent.

kwā grandfather, *kwi* some, *kwot* shield, *gwǫk* work, *kwǫ́p* talk, *kwak* cow-house, *lwǫl* gourd, *kwach* leopard, *kwālǫ* to steal, *kwakǫ* to embrace, *kwāṅǫ* to swim; *fygchǫ* to ask, *kygdǫ* to refuse, *gyǭnǫ* fowl, *tyēlǫ* foot, etc.

In 21, 22 I have, with the help of related languages, tried to show that in many, if not in all, cases the semivowel is to be traced to an original vowel, so that here also the primitive stem would be one consonant and one vowel. Compare:

ṅudǫ to cut, *ṅālǫ* to butcher, *ṅǫlǫ* to cut } < **ṅu + a*

kū thief, *kwālǫ* to steal } < **ku + a*

kwāṅǫ to swim, Nu. *kuǵe* to swim } < **ku + a.*

For more examples see 69.

7. The forms 5 and 6 may have a vocalic suffix, which consists a) in the vowel *ǫ*; it is added to the verb in the present tense, and to the singular of many substantives.

gǭgǫ to work, *kāḍǫ* to go; *jǭgǫ̀* chief, *jālǫ* man, *obwǫṅǫ* white man, *aṅéṅǫ̀* an ant, *àchwàtǫ̀* loin-cloth, etc.

In certain words this *ǫ* may be pronounced or dropped at will: *obwǫṅǫ* or *obwǫṅ*, *jālǫ* or *jal*; moreover it is sounded so slightly, that one very often

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overhears it. — In the Nuer language *ǫ* is a suffixed demonstrative pronoun; it may originally have had the same meaning in Shi.

In the following cases a verb is formed from a noun by adding *ǫ*: *wich* head, *wijǫ* to make a roof ("a head") *lach* urine, *lājǫ* to piss.

b) in the vowel *i*: stem *rūm* to cover, *rūmi* a cover; stem *chām* to eat, *chāmi-chami* a bait; stem *gǫj* to strike *gǫ́jì-gòchìs* word.

c) the plural-suffixes see.

8. Words with prefixes.

The Shi. has two vocalic prefixes, *a* and *o*. In most cases these prefixes have a distinct function: *by prefixing a or o to a verb, the verb becomes a noun.* This is a law prevailing in very many Sudan languages, eastern as well as western. Examples.

bṵ to have not — *àbṵ* poor
chāgǫ to compose a song — *achak* poet
chemǫ to make straight, to aim — *àchém* straight
gẽtǫ to bless — *àgẽtó* blessed
gwẽnǫ to pick up — *àgwén* a bastard child (a child "picked up")
kārǫ to branch off — *akar* branch
kwǫrǫ to winnow, *àkwǫ́r* husk
lūnǫ to be turned upside down — *alǔn* somersault
mātǫ (to be) slow — *ámātǫ* a stork
nāgǫ to kill — *ánékò* spirit of a deceased person
bugǫ to press the bellows — *óbùk* bellows
chōdǫ to break off — *óchôdò* a cow whose horns are broken, a hornless cow
dikǫ to darken (said of the sun) — *odìnǫ* cloud-shadow
rẽgǫ to hollow — *órẽgó* hollow
tinǫ to raise, lift up — *ótìnò* stones raised up, dam
tẽrǫ to make a ford — *òtẽ́r* ford
ḍẽlǫ to swing — *òḍẽ̀lò* swinging
kẽgǫ to blossom — *òkòk* flower
kgnǫ to stimulate — *òkòn* stimulating
rẽnǫ to be astute — *òrò̀k* astuteness
tgwǫ to wag — *òtẽ̀u* wagging.

The prefix *o* often designates persons as descendants of other persons, as members of a tribe or nation:

wājǫ sister *owājǫ* the child of the sister
nāyǫ the mother's brother, *onāyǫ* the mother's brother's child
chōl Shilluk *óchôlò* a Shilluk man
jānǫ Dinka *ojānǫ* a Dinka man
māyǫ the mother's sister *omāyǫ* the mother's sister's child
Dâk name of a king *Ódâk* the son of *Dâk*.
bwǫn foreign *obwǫnǫ* a stranger, foreigner.

In some cases *a* or *o* are prefixed to a *noun*, thus giving it a peculiar sense:

lwēdǫ finger — *alwēdǫ* a dura which has four ears, like the four (long) fingers of the hand

mal front — *àmálǫ* the first 193*

tuń horn — *atuńakyēl* "unicorn": rhinoceros. 197

Not all words with a prefix can be derived from words without a prefix, for example:

àbàch a certain cow, *ábáń* hammer, *ábích* five, *àbúrỳ* bushbuck, and many others.

In some words the prefix may be omitted at will:

atīgǫ and *tīgǫ* bead *oyīno* and *yīnǫ* fisherman.

There are some other words beginning with a vowel, but here apparently the vowel is not a prefix:

àk these, *àn* this, *àchà* these, *áfá* in order that, *ín* he, him, *ōrǫ* to send, *órỳ* relative by marriage, *áńỳ* what?

In some of these a beginning consonant can be shown to have been dropped: *ín* < *yín*, *ōrǫ* to send < *wōrǫ*; *órỳ* relative by marriage is in Ga. *wor*; in *áńỳ* "what" *á* is evidently the deictic particle: "it is".

9. **Reduplication** is very rare. I have only met with one single example: *yiyi* to be possessed by a spirit. 193*

The Shilluks like to *repeat* a word or grammatical form which is to be emphasized: *é kędǫ, kędǫ, kędǫ* he was going, going, going: was going on for a long while; *gę bēnỳ bēnè bēnè bēnè* they came all, all, all: all of them came; *lǫ́u lǫ́u lǫ́u* very far away; *é chákí chákí* he approached slowly, stealthily; *yá nēn, yá nēn* I looked closely.

Recapitulation.

The word in Shi. may have the following forms:

1. *a*, 2. *ba*, 3. *bau*, 4. *bia*, 5. *bat*, 6. *bwa*, *bwat*, 7. *batǫ*, *bwatǫ*, 8. *obat*, *obatǫ*, *obwatǫ*; 9. *baba*.

COMPOSITION OF WORDS.

Nearly all compound words in Shi. consist in two or more nouns, which stand to each other in genetive relation; they are, properly speaking, no compound words, but two distinct, independent nouns; compare:

wań ágàk	"eye of the crow"	a kind of red dura
wań Ńíkàń	"eye of Nyikang"	east
wań ńu	"eye of lion"	a kind of red dura
wiy ńu	"head of lion"	story, tale
wiy kygá	"head of horse"	riddle

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wań wgt	"eye of house"	window
ţa tyłlǫ	"basis of foot"	heel.

Sometimes the single part of combinations cannot be identified:

wá jàl ńé ńárǫ	a kind of red dura	*ţaţáţł*	a pole for pulling boats
wań wure lwal	south	*ţákúgì*	a little axe (these last three are compounds with *ţa* "basis").
ţàyè dè gāk	a cow, black with white throat		

Proper-names are often compounds: *Kwaţ Kgr, Koyikwgn, Áţwǫ̀ḍwǫ́i, Akùrùwár, Awarejwǫk, Óbàyàbwíjǫ́p*, etc.

Many of these combinations are no doubt whole sentences, which have been united into one word.

Some nouns, being frequently combined with other words, help to form certain grammatical categories:

ńa, in compositions often *ńe* "child, young one" forms deminutives, it frequently also designates nouns with a certain quality, similar to the Arab *abu* "father":

ńa yaţ a small, young tree *ńa rǭjǫ* a young heifer, a calf
ńa riţ son of a king, prince *ńa kǭrǫ* cotton seed
ńa gǫl "child of the enclosure": wife
ńa bań "child behind": slave, servant, liege-man
ńa kwách, ńa leţ, ńa fēlwǫt names for cows;
Ńèlwák, Ńeńárǫ́, Ńèjwádǫ́, Ńègér, Nelygch, proper names of persons and places.

pá < from *pách* "village, settlement, home" is frequently used in forming names of places:

Páchádǫ́, Fámaţ, Fádèt, Fáţţú, Fábár, Fàgeań,[1] *Fańikań* (also *Feńikań*), *Fákań*, etc.

jal, pl. *jgk* "man" may designate the acting person or a possessor, it can be combined with a verbal noun or an original noun:

jale lwǫk	"man of washing"	washerman
jal ńal	"man of butchering"	butcher
jal lań	"man of war"	warrior
jal yaţ	"man of tree"	medecine man, doctor
jal kfr	"man of richness"	rich person.

ńate, pl. *tygń* man, person, is used in the same way as *jal:*

ńate ńek	"man of killing"	murderer
ńate kwǫ́yǫ́	"man of herding"	herdsman
ńate ńal	"man of butchering"	butcher
ńate kfr	"man of richness"	rich man
ńate jwǫk	"man of sickness"	sick person.

[1] Note the assimilation of tone!

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A peculiar kind of compound nouns is formed by *ñān*, the nasalized form of *ñate* "man, person"; *ñān* is properly "*the* man", "this man", see 138. It may be combined with a noun, or, what is more frequent, with a verb in the present tense, and with a verb in the passive:

ñān e ḏāchǫ, ñān a ḏāchǫ	"the person is a woman"	the woman
ñān lōjǫ	"the man (is) black"	a black man
ñān chwǫr, ñān e chwǫr	"the man is blind"	a blind person
ñān e lḕdǫ, ñān lḕdǫ	"the man (he) is shaving"	one who is shaving
ñan e kḕk	"the man (he) is hired"	a hired person.

In the following compound nouns the first part of the composition is known, but no more existing independently in the language.

tedigǫ a red-brown cow, *teduk* a grey cow, *tgtañ* a black cow, from **te* cow; compare Nu. *ti* cow, Ba. *ki-tei* cow. Compare also: *ḏeañ* cow < **ḏe yañ*, Nr. *yañ*; *ḏǫk* < **ḏe γǫk* cows, Nr. *γǫk*. In both cases the word in Shilluk has two components: **ḏe* and *yañ*, *γǫk*. [197]

The last consonant of the ruling noun undergoes a change in these words:

wgrnamtai a certain cow
wgregòt a certain cow } from *wgɨ* "steer".
wìtyɨbyɨ́k a certain cow

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THIRD SECTION:

GENEALOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE SHILLUK LANGUAGE.

THE DIALECTS OR DIVISIONS.

197 The Shilluk language is not confined to one single territory, but is spoken in different parts of the White Nile region, some of which are situated at considerable distance from one another. The largest section of Shilluk-speaking people live in what is generally called the Shilluk country, and only this part is known under the name of Shilluk people. The rest of the tribes speaking the same language have each their own name, both for people and language, but their languages are essentially one in structure and vocabulary with the Shilluk proper. There are, of course, dialectical differences, which are the natural consequences of the language being separated into locally different branches, so that each branch had its own way of development, and was in some measure influenced by its respective neighbour; but the following examples will make it evident that they are to be regarded as dialects of one language. It is to be noted that not only the selection of words given below are identical, but, as far as I have been able to judge, about 90 % of all words in these dialects are uniform, and so is the grammatical structure; the only remarkable deviation is that Gang (Acholi) has a noun-forming prefix *la-*, pl. *lu-*, which is Hamitic and corresponds to the Masai "article" *ol* pl. *il*.

The dialects or divisions of the Shilluk language are:

1. *Shilluk* proper.
2. *Anywak (Aiwak,* also *Anuak);* it is spoken a) on both sides of the Sobat between the Dinka Tribe Gnok *(Ñǫk)* and the Nuers, south-east of Abwong; b) in Abyssinia on both sides of the river Baro; c) in Abyssinia between the rivers Gelo and Akobo.

   The Anywak has been somewhat influenced by its neighbour, the Nuer; some grammatical formations coincide with those of Nuer. But during my stay in the Shilluk country I have convinced myself that it is possible without considerable difficulty to converse with an Anywak man in Shilluk. The Abyssinians call the Anywaks Jambo.
3. *Jur;* is spoken between the 7th and 8th degree of n. lat. and about the 28th and 29th degree of eastern longitude.

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4. *Dembo;* is spoken to the north-west of Jur, on both sides of the Bahr Dembo.
5. *Belanda;* is spoken south to south-west of the Jur, the habitat of both being separated by the Bongo or Dōr.
6. *Ber (Bēr);* is spoken south of the Bongo country and east of the Belanda, on the right bank of the Suē river.
7. *Beri (Bēri)* is spoken in the province of Mongalla, on the right bank of the Nile, north-east of Lado.

On the map of A. E. S. the Beri ("Berri") are also called Beir; from this it is probable, that Beri and Ber are identical, Beri being the plural form of Ber. Again according to Schweinfurth[1] the Bongo designate the Jur by the name of "Behr", and on the map of A. E. S. in the habitat of the Ber the name "Jur" is put in; this seems to show the very near relationship of Jur, Ber and Beri; and as Belanda lies close to Ber, these two can also be nearly or totally identical.[2]

8. *Gang (Gań)* or Acholi; is spoken in the country situated east, north-east and north of the Nile between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. — The name Acholi, also Shuli, is evidently identical with the name of the Shilluk: *Chōlo*, the *i* in Acholi, Shuli denoting the plural.
9. *Nyifwa (Ńifwa)* or Ja Luo, also called Kavirondo; is spoken in part of the Kavirondo-country, in the north-east coastlands of Lake Albert, round the Kavirondo-bay.
10. *Lango* (Kitching: Umiru); is spoken in the Bukedi district, north and north-east of Lake Kioga. Kitching in his Grammar of the Gang Language page VII says: "The northern Bakedi or Lango seem to be distinct from the Umiru, and their dialect is unintelligible to the Acholi." But the words which Johnston gives under "Lango", are clearly a dialect of Acholi and Shilluk proper.
11. *Aluru* (Kitching: Alur); is spoken in the country north and north-west of Lake Albert and west of the Nile.
12. *Chopi;* is, according to Kitching, spoken between Bunyoro and the Victoria Nile. Sir Harry Johnston does not mention this name in "The Uganda Protectorate", but he says that the name *Luo*, which is given to several Shilluk dialects, also occurs in the north of Unyoro.
13. South of Nyifwa, on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, lives a small tribe called *Gaya;* they seem also to speak a dialect of Shilluk; but it is not sure.
14. The same is to be said of the *Jafalu*, who live to the north-east of Lake Albert.

These are the dialects or divisions of the Shilluk which are known to-day. It is, however, to be observed that the word "dialect" is not employed here quite in its usual meaning, as of some "dialects", chiefly Ber, Beri, Belanda,

[1] Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Central-Afrika (Berlin 1873) p. 61.
[2] Compare also B. Struck "An Uncreated Tribe on the White Nile", in Journal of the African Society 1908 page 75—78.

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197 Dembo, it is not known whether they do at all differ from each other, or whether they are rather divisions of one identical dialect. The distinctions which do exist between some of the divisions will best be seen from the examples following in the list below. In this list most of the dialects or divisions are illustrated:

Anywak from my own unpublished materials;

Jur in Schweinfurth, Linguistische Ergebnisse;

Ber is represented by a few words[1] in Petherick, Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa, p. 481:

forehead	*wiy*	Shilluk *wich*	The orthography of the original has been retained.
eye	*wang*	Shilluk *wani*	
nose	*koum*	Shilluk *wum*	
lip	*dack*	Shilluk *ḍǫk*	
tooth	*lack*	Shilluk *lǫk*	
tongue	*laeb*	Shilluk *lǫp*	

Gang in Kitching: An Outline Grammar of the Gang Language, London 1906.

Nyifwa in O. Baumann, Von Massailand zur Nilquelle, also in Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Lango and *Aluru* in Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Of *Dembo, Belanda, Beri* and *Chopi* I have not found any materials. *Dembo* and *Belanda* I include amongst the Shilluk dialects on the strength of Schweinfurth's statement ("Im Herzen von Afrika" page 63): north of the Jurs the more numerous Dembo and some smaller tribes of the same origin have their residence; and the Belanda live 80 (German) miles south of the Jur; they, in spite of the great differences in their habits, which have evidently been influenced by the Bongo, still have preserved the Shilluk language in a more or less pure form." The native traditions also designate the Belanda as belonging to the Shilluks.

Of *Beri* Emin Pasha says that they speak the same language as the Shilluks.

Chopi is mentioned by Kitching as belonging to the Shilluk group.

It is remarkable that many dialects bear the same name. As stated above, Acholi, also called Shuli, is doubtless identical with *Chōlǫ*, the name of the Shilluk proper. Likewise the name Luǫ occurs repeatedly: the Jurs call themselves Luǫ; the Aluru of Albert Lake, according to Johnston, more often pronounce their name Aluǫ, and this form appears again in the north of Unyoro and among the Ja-Luǫ (Nyifwa). Note also the names *Bēr, Bēri, Bār,* (this last name is given to the Shilluk proper by the Dinkas), and *Bǫr,* which is the proper name of the Belanda.

[1] These words are also given by Struck, An Unlocated Tribe.

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THE POSITION OF SHILLUK AMONG OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

The Shilluk belongs to a clearly circumscribed group of African Languages, which is usually styled "Nilotic Languages". It is difficult to give the characteristic marks of the languages belonging to this group, as sufficient materials of all of them are not available. Some chief points are: 197

1. Mute and fricative sounds are in some cases interchangeable, chiefly *p* and *f* are often so.
2. Many, if not all, of the languages have interdental sounds (*t d n*). I have found them in Shilluk, Anywak, Nuer and Dinka, and according to some German authors Masai and Ndorobo also have them.[1]
3. The stem in most cases consists in a consonant, vowel, and consonant, generally ending in a consonant.
4. Stems with a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel are frequent. The stem-vowel is often a diphthong.
5. Probably in most of them intonation plays an important rôle.

The Nilotic languages consist of two sub-divisions:

a) The Niloto-Sudanic group.
b) The Niloto-Hamitic group.

It is probable that the Nilotic languages originally belong to the family of the Sudan-languages (vide below 95). The phonology, the form of the word and some grammatical peculiarities in all Nilotic languages point to this common origin. The vocabularies of all of them have certain sudanic elements. But at a certain former period all these languages have more or less strongly been influenced by languages of a different character, which are generally called Hamitic languages. They differ from the Sudanic languages chiefly in the grammatical gender, in the prevalence of accentuation instead of intonation, and in their more extensive possibilities of expressing formative elements. Rudiments of the grammatical gender are found in Shilluk also, see 126; likewise accentuation exists in Shilluk, but the means of forming words are scanty. On the other hand numerous Shilluk-words, which most probably are Sudanic, are found in languages generally counted as Hamitic.

So the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic languages is not easy to define; they all have components of Sudanic and of Hamitic origin, only that in some cases the first is prevalent, in others the latter. But nevertheless the groups may be distinguished; the languages belonging to the Niloto-Sudanic group having a large number of words common to all of them, and

[1] See for instance Meinhof on Ndorobo in Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Band X, 111; and Struck in „Die geographischen Namen im Gebiet der ostafrikanischen Bruchstufe". Reprinted from „Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten", Nr. 2, 1911.

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many of which are clearly genealogically connected with the Western Sudan languages. In the formation of words and in the structure of their grammar they are essentially uniform; they have not the grammatical gender or only faint traces of it. On the other hand the Niloto-Hamitic group has not nearly so many words in common with the Sudanic group, as the idioms of the Sudanic group have with each other; in formation of words and in the wealth of formative elements they considerably deviate from the Sudanic group; and they have the grammatical gender. Whether accentuation is more, and intonation less prevalent in them than in the Sudanic group, is as yet unknown, but it is probable.

To the Niloto-Sudanic group belong:

a) Shilluk with its divisions or dialects.

b) Dinka and Nuer.

c) Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.

Dinka is spoken a) in the northern part of the Bahr Ghazal province, b) on both sides of the White Nile between the 6th and 7th ° n. l. (Bor), c) on both sides of the lower Sobat, d) on the right bank of the White Nile from near the mouth of the Sobat to Jebelein. Bahr Ghazal and Bor are probably the eldest seats of the Dinkas, from here they emigrated northwards. The dialect of Bor *(Bōr)* seems to differ considerably from the dialects of the north. Dinka has in its vocabulary remarkable similarity with Bari; in accordance with this the Dinkas seem in their bodily appearance and their culture to be more strongly influenced by Hamitic tribes than the Shilluks are.

The *Nuers* live a) on the White Nile north of Bor, b) south of Tonga and of the lower Sobat, c) on both sides of the Sobat near Nasser.

Dinka and Nuer differ in their phonology and structure but slightly from the Shilluk dialects; they have, in common with Acholi and Anywak, the particles *chi* and *bi* for expressing past and future; these particles are not found in Shilluk proper. A great, probably the greater part of the words of both languages are essentially the same as in Shilluk, but to a considerable extent the vocabularies differ, so that both are to be considered as separate languages. They are nearer related to each other than to Shilluk.

c) Some tribes lying between the upper course of the rivers Rohl and Sué speak languages which seem to be in some broader way connected with the Niloto-Sudanic group, so that they are perhaps to be regarded as a sub-group of these. To this sub-group belong: Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru. According to Schweinfurth and A. E. S. the six first-named of these tribes have really one language, which differs only dialectically, so that individuals of the different tribes understand each other.

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In their vocabularies these languages considerably distinguish themselves from the Shilluk dialects as well as from Dinka and Nuer. 197

According to their topographical situation the three groups of Niloto-Sudanic languages may be designated thus:

a) The High Nilotic Group, comprising Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abo-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Mo-u.

b) The Middle Nilotic Group, comprising the Shilluk cluster.

c) The Low Nilotic Group, comprising Dinka and Nuer.

The *Niloto-Hamitic group* may, according to B. Struck,[1] be divided into the sub-groups of Bari-Masai and Nandi-Tatoga. To the first belong: Masai, Ngishu, Elgumi, Teso, Suk, Karamojo, Turkana, and Bari; to the latter: Tatoga, Ndorobo, Nandi, Kamasia, and Burkeneji. All these languages are situated in British- and German East-Africa.

The *Niloto-Sudanic languages* are a sub-group of the *Eastern Sudan Languages*, to which belong Nuba in the north, Kunama in the north-east, most languages of the southern Gesira (between White and Blue Nile), and others.

The Eastern together with the Central and Western Sudan-languages form the family of the *Sudan Languages*, which extend from near the Red Sea and Abyssinia through the whole continent to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern Cameroons to Senegambia.

In order to demonstrate the genealogical connection between Shilluk, the Niloto-Sudanic group and the Eastern Sudan languages on one side and the Western Sudan languages on the other side, the chief characteristics of the Sudan languages, as shown in my "Sudansprachen" may be given here:

1. they are monosyllabic, each word consisting in one syllable;
2. each syllable or word consists in one consonant and one vowel;
3. they are isolating, that is they have no inflection, and only few formative elements; the "class-prefixes" of the Bantu-languages and of some Hamitic languages are absent;
4. they have no grammatical gender;
5. intonation is prevailing in a higher degree than it is in Bantu- and Hamitic languages.

These characteristics are not preserved in their pure form in all Sudan languages, almost all of them showing some marks of development from the primitive stage to a more developed state, chiefly by adding augments to the original stem; this is still more the case, where a language has been strongly influenced by an idiom belonging to a different family. But in each Sudan language it will, to a certain extent, be possible to trace the later additions to a stem as such, that is to show that these words were originally simple stems

[1] B. Struck, Über die Sprachen der Tatoga und Irakuleute. Reprinted from the "Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten", Ergänzungsheft 4. 1910.

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197 consisting in one consonant and one vowel, to which certain elements were added at a later time.

In Shilluk the characteristics mentioned above can easily be traced:

1. the stems are monosyllabic; see 61;
2. though the majority of the words do not consist in one consonant and one vowel, it is shown in 68 that a number of stems can be traced to the original primitive form;
3. the language has no inflection; the vowel-changes occurring in the verb and noun, which come near to what might be called inflection, are most probably of Hamitic origin. The nouns have no class-prefixes;
4. grammatical gender is absent; the rudiments of it which do exist, are of Hamitic origin;
5. Intonation dominates in the language.

Comparative Lists of Words.

197 Their object is to show in a number of words:

a) the identity of Shilluk proper and its dialects or divisions.

192 b) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Niloto-Sudanic languages, viz. Dinka and Nuer.

c) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Eastern Sudan languages. Of these Nuba is treated in the list; it has a good number of words in common with Shilluk; in other Eastern Sudanic languages such common words are rarer.

d) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and Bongo; this language, though having its habitat amidst the Shilluk languages, shows remarkable connections with Central Sudanic languages, particularly with Bagirmi. Some of the Bongo-words which it has in common with Shilluk, may of course be loan-words.

e) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and a Niloto-Hamitic language, viz. Bari.

f) the genealogical relation of Shilluk and some other Eastern Sudan languages to the Western Sudan-languages.

a)—e) are comprised in one group; f) forms a group for itself. Both groups might without difficulty have been multiplied, but the examples given will suffice.

[In order to show more fully the affinities in vocabulary between the Niloto-Sudanic and the Niloto-Hamitic group, a number of words common to languages of both groups are given in their Hamitic form in the *Dictionary*. It will be seen that the conformities with Shilluk are more nume-

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rous in the Bari-Masai than in the Nandi-Tatoga group. The Dictionary contains also some hints regarding the very few words which are identical in Shilluk and in the High Niloto-Sudanic group.] 197 192

In the comparative lists some letters are used, which do not occur in Shilluk, and need therefore an explanation.

ǫ is the German ö in nötig "necessary"; it is pronounced in rounding the lips as if pronouncing an o and then saying an e. — Mitterrutzner's *ä* I render by *ǫ*. ~ is the mark for nasalization: *ã* is nasalized *a* as in French an "year". *ǵ* is a palatal g, it sounds almost like j. In Nuer and Anywak the pronunciation of final mute consonants and even of y is in certain cases followed by a pressing of the larynx, so that the consonant sounds very abrupt, and is sometimes hardly audible. These sounds are rendered by ': *ł*, *y'*, etc. (Some divisions of Shilluk as well as Masai and Nandi have the same sounds; see Johnston page 888.) — Kitching frequently writes "*or*" at the end of a word, where other languages have *ǫ*; I suppose that here "*or*" simply expresses *ǫ*, "*or*" being frequently used by English speaking authors for *ǫ*.

Most of the authors quoted do not distinguish *o* and *ǫ*, *e* and *ę*, some not even long and short vowels; none has marked interdental sounds; thus the differences between Shilluk and the other languages look greater than they really are, the difference being only one of orthography.

The following remarks belong to the second group only.

ṵ, *i̇* are narrow vowels; *u*, *i* are wide vowels.

ḍ and *ḷ* are cerebral sounds; they are formed a little further back in the mouth than where the usual d and l are articulated.

ḳ is a transformed *k*; the changes which it undergoes in certain languages are different from those of the usual *k*.

χ is the German ch in "ach".

v is the English v.

ɥ is an i with rounded lips, as in German "Übt".

ɥ́ is *ɥ* with a following short y.

First Group.

Shi. *bǫr* long	Any. *bat* arm	Ju. *bǫt* sharp, pointed
Ga. *bor* long	Ju. *bat* arm	Any. *bǫdi* sharp, pointed
Ju. *bār* long	Ja. *bāt* arm	Di. *bit* fish-spear
Di. *bar* long	La. *bāt* arm	Nr. *biṭ* fish-spear
Nr. *bǫr* long	Shi. *bǫt* fish-spear	Shi. *dbtch* five
Shi. *bàt* arm	Ga. *bit* sharp	Ga. *abich* five
Ga. *bat* arm	Ju. *bǫdi* fish-spear	Ju. *abich* five

197 Any. *abíyù* five
Ja. *abīch* five
192 Al. *abi* five
Ba. *bu* five

Shi. *bǭǭg* artist, smith
Ju. *bōdo* artist, smith
Bo. *bǫro* artist, smith
Ba. *bōdo* artist, smith

Shi. *būl* drum
Ga. *bul* drum
Ju. *būl* drum
Any. *būl* drum
Nr. *būl* drum
Ja. *būl* drum
La. *būl* drum
Al. *wūl* drum

Shi. *bur* ashes
Ga. *buru* ashes
Ju. *bur* ashes
Nu. *oburti* ashes
Bo. *buruku* ashes

Shi. *butǫ* to lie down
Ga. *buto* to lie down
Ju. *budo* to lie down
Any. *butǫ* to lie down
Di. *but* to waylay

Shi. *byǫ́l* dura
Ga. *bel* corn
Ju. *bǫl* dura
Any. *byǫ́l* dura
Nr. *bǭl* dura
Di. *bel* dura

Shi. *chāk* milk
Ga. *chak* milk
Ju. *chak* milk
Any. *chāk* milk
Nr. *chāk* milk

Di. *cha* milk
Nu. *ichi* milk

Shi. *chāmǫ* to eat
Ga. *chamo* to eat
Ju. *shame* to eat
Any. *chama* to eat
Nr. *cham* to eat
Ja. *chamo, chyǫmǫ* to eat
La. *samǫ* to eat
Di. *cham* to eat

Shi. *chul* penis
Ju. *shul* penis
Any. *chul* penis
Nr. *chul* penis
La. *sūl* penis
Al. *chūl* penis
Ba. *toluto* testicles
Nu. *sorot* penis
Di. *chul* penis

Shi. *chuś, chwiś* liver
Ga. *chwin* liver
Ju. *shwin* liver
Nr. *chwon* liver
Di. *chwen* liver

Shi. *chūńǫ* to stop
Ga. *chuno* to stop
Ju. *chun* to stop
Any. *chūńǫ* to stop
Nr. *chun* to stop

Shi. *chwǫr* vulture
Ga. *ochuǫ* vulture
achút vulture
Ju. *achut* vulture
Nr. *chwǫr* vulture
Di. *chwor* vulture

Shi. *dǫ́ǫ́k* three
Ga. *adek* three

Ju. *adak* three
Any. *àdǫ́gò* three
Ba. *bu-dǫk* eight, that is: five and three
Ja. *adek* three
La. *adek* three
Al. *adek* three

Shi. *ḍāk* pot
Ga. *dak* pot
Ju. *dak* pot
Any. *dak* pot
Nr. *ḍāk* pot
Ba. *dāk* pot

Shi. *ḍāṇ* man
Ga. *dano* man
Jur. *dano* man
Any. *ḍāṇ* man
Ja. *dāṇǫ* man
La. *danǫ* man
Al. *danǫ* man
Di. *ran* man
Nr. *rān* man

Shi. *ḍǫ́k* mouth
Ga. *dok* mouth
Ju. *tio* mouth
Any. *ḍǫ́k* mouth
Ja. *dōk* mouth
La. *dǫk* mouth
Al. *dǫk* mouth
Di. *wtock* mouth
Nr. *ṭǫk* mouth
Nu. *ak* mouth
Bo. *ndu* language
Ba. *ku-tok* mouth

Shi. *ǵǫ́ǫ́ǫ* to beat
Ju. *gei* to beat
Any. *gwei* to beat

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Ja. *gǭjǫ* to shoot
Bo. *gba* to beat
Ba. *gwai* to beat

Shi. *ogwal* frog
Ga. *ogwal* frog
Ju. *ogwal* frog
Any. *ogwal* frog
Nu. *guglati* frog

Shi. *gwok* dog
Ga. *gwok* dog
Ju. *gwok* dog
Any. *gwok* dog
Ja. *gwok* dog
La. *guōk* dog
Al. *guōk* dog
Di. *jo* dog
Nr. *jǭk* dog
Ba. *dyoń* dog

Shi. *gyǭnō* hen
Ga. *gweno* hen
Ju. *gyeno* hen
Any. *gugug* hen
Ja. *gweno* hen
La. *gwēno* hen
Al. *gwēno* hen
Bo. *ńgono* hen

Shi. *jī* people
Ga. *jī* people
Any. *jō* people
Bo. *jī*, *ǵī* people
Ba. *gwea* tribe

Shi. *jwǫk* God
Ga. *jok* demon
Any. *jwǫk* God
Ju. *jwok* fortune
Ja. *jwogi* ghost
La. *ǫk* God

Al. *jǫk* God
Di. *ajyek*, *ajǫk* demon
Ba. *ajwok*, *jwek* demon

Shi. *kǫbǫ* to take away
Ga. *kubo* to bring
Ju. *kābi* to bring
Di. *kap* to bring, take
Nr. *kǭp* to take

Shi. *kādǫ* salt[1]
Ga. *kado* salt
Ju. *kada* salt
Any. *kadǫ* salt
Nr. *kādi* salt

Shi *kāgg* to split
Ga. *kak* to split
Nu. *kage* to split
Ba. *kagu* to split

Shi. *kǭch* bitter
Ga. *kach* bitter
Ju. *kǭch* bitter
Any. *kǫch* bitter
Nu. *kag-al* sharp
Di. *kach* bitter
Bo. *ke* bile

Shi. *kich* bee
Ga. *kich* bee
Ju. *kich* bee
Any. *kich* bee
Ja. *kich'* bee
La. *kits* bee
Al. *Kich* bee
Di. *kyech* bee
Nu. *kit*, *kuti* bee
Ba. *chi*, *chiwo* bee

Shi. *kǫt* rain
Ga. *kot* rain
Ju. *kǫt* rain

Any. *kǫt* rain
Ja. *kōt* rain
La. *kǫt* rain
Al. *kǫt* rain
Nr. *kǫt* rain, God
Ba. *kudu* rain

Shi. *akur* pigeon
Ga. *akuri* pigeon
Di. *kure* pigeon
Nr. *kūr* pigeon
Nu. *kuru* pigeon
Ba. *gure* pigeon

Shi. *kwālǫ* } to steal
kwgtǫ }
Ga. *kwalo* to steal
Any. *kwgtǫ* to steal
Ja. *kwalǫ* to steal
La. *kwalo* to steal
Di. *kwal* to steal
Nr. *kwal* to steal
Ba. *kolo-nit* theft

Shi. *kwgag* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwgs* to count
Di. *kwen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

Shi. *kwāńǫ* to swim
Ga. *kwaño* to swim
Ju. *kwań* to swim
Any. *kwal* to swim
Nu. *kuńe* to swim

Shi. *kwǫrg* cotton
Ga. *waro* cotton
Ju. *wara* cotton
Ba. *waro* cotton

[1] salt made of grass-ashes.

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197 Shi. *kwärg* grandfather
Ga. *kwaro* grandfather
192 Ju. *kwä* grandfather
Di. *kgkwar* grandfather
Nr. *kwäro* chief
Ba. *ka-kwari* grandchild

Shi. *kwärg* red
Ga. *kwar* red
Ju. *kwar* red
Nr. *kwär* red
Nu. *kor-goo* yellow

Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kgyo* leopard
Ba. *koko* / *kwaru* } leopard

Shi. *kwgn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwgn* bread
kwgn bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwgn* bread
Bo. *kwä* bread

Shi. *dkyjl* one
Ga. *achel* one
Ju. *akyglo* one
Any. *àchyélg* one
Ja. *achyel* one
Al. *achyel* one
Bo. *kotu* one
Ba. *ku-kor* six = five + 1

Shi. *kyjä* horse
Ga. *kana* horse
Ju. *akuja* donkey
Any. *okugä* horse
Ja. *kutima* horse
Bo. *akasa* horse
Nu. *kuch* horse, donkey
Ba. *kuine* horse

Shi. *lachg* to piss
Ga. *layo* to piss
Ju. *alach* urine
Any. *la* to piss
Ja. *läch'* urine
La. *läs* urine
Al. *läch* urine
Di. *lach* to piss
Ba. *lode* urine

Shi. *lgi* game
Ga. *le* game
Ju. *lai* game
Any. *lgi* game
Nr. *lgi* game
Ba. *lai* game

Shi. *läwg* to pray
Ga. *lamo* to sacrifice
Di. *lam* to pray
Nr. *lam* to pray
Bo. *loma* God
Ba. *lgm* to insult

Shi. *lää* war
Ga. *lawa* war
Ju. *lää* war
Ja. *lacä* war
Any. *lää* war
Bo. *lää* gun

Shi. *alilit* bat
Ga. *alik* bat

Any. *aligä* bat
Di. *alich* bat
Ba. *lukululi* bat

Shi. *lwökg* to wash
Ga. *lwoko* to wash
Ju. *lwok* to wash
Any. *lwgk* to wash
Di. *lgk* to wash
Nr. *lak* to wash
Bo. *dogu* to wash
Ba. *lalaju* to wash

Shi. *mäch* fire
Ga. *mach* fire
Ju. *mach* fire
Any. *mäyg* fire
Ja. *mach'* fire
La. *mäch* fire
Al. *mäch* fire
Di. *mai* fire
Nr. *mäch* fire

Shi. *mägg* to drink
Ga. *mato* to drink
Ju. *mäde* to drink
Any. *mägg* to drink
Ja. *madg* to drink
La. *matg* to drink
Di. *mat* to drink
Nr. *mgt* to drink

Shi. *mägg* to catch
Ga. *mako* to catch
Ju. *mau* to catch
Any. *mak* to catch
Di. *mwgk* to catch
Nu. *mäge* to catch, steal
Ba. *mok* to catch

Shi. *mgng* to hate
Ga. *mon* to hate

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Di. *man* to hate
Nu. *mōne* to hate
Ba. *man* to hate

Shi. *mgī* slow
Ga. *mot* slow
Ju. *mōde* slow
Di. *mōt* slow
Nr. *mgt* slow
Bo. *mēt* slow
Ba. *madai* slow

Shi. *nīŋg* to sleep
Ga. *nino* to sleep
Ju. *nen*, *nendo* } to sleep
Di. *nin* to sleep
Nr. *nygn* to sleep
Nu. *nalū*, *nēre* } to sleep

Shi. *ŋgŋg* to see
Ga. *neno* to see
Any. *nīŋa* to see
Ja. *neno* to see
Nr. *nīn* to see
Nu. *nale* to see

Shi. *ńai* crocodile
Ga. *ńai* crocodile
Ju. *ńai* crocodile
Any. *ńai* crocodile
Ja. *ńai* crocodile
La. *ahi-ńai* crocodile
Al. *ńai* crocodile
Di. *ńai* crocodile
Nr. *ńai* crocodile
Bo. *ńaśa* crocodile
Ba. *ki-ńoi* crocodile

Shi. *ńīŋŋ* to know
Ga. *ńeyo* to know

Ju. *ńgo*, *ńaya* } to know
Ja. *ńeyo* to know
Any. *ńg* to know
Nr. *ńgoh* to know

Shi. *ńiŋ* what?
Ga. *ańor* what?
Any. *ńiŋ* what?
Di. *ńo*, *ńu* what?
Nr. *ńu* what?
Ba. *ińo* what?

Shi. *pei*, *fei* earth
Ga. *pin* earth
Ju. *piń* earth
Any. *fei* earth
Ja. *piń* earth
La. *piśe* earth
Di. *piń* earth
Nr. *pei* earth

Shi. *pi* water
Ga. *pi* water
Ju. *pń*, *fi* water
Any. *pi* water
Ja. *pi* water
La. *pi* water
Al. *pi* water
Di. *pi* water
Nr. *pi* water
Ba. *piom* water

Shi. *fgŋg* to divide
Ga. *poko* to divide
Ju. *pań* to divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Bo. *eke-bake* to divide

Shi. *rīŋŋ* fish
Ga. *reck* fish
Ju. *rīyo* fish

Any. *reo* fish
Ja. *reck'* fish
La. *reck* fish
Al. *reck* fish
Di. *rīck* fish
Nr. *reck* fish
Nu. *ku-rī* fish

Shi. *rīmg* blood
Ga. *remo* blood
Ju. *remo* blood
Any. *rgmg* blood
Ja. *remg* blood
La. *remu* blood
Al. *remo* blood
Di. *ryam* blood
Nr. *rygm* blood
Bo. *trama* blood
Ba. *rima* blood

Shi. *rīńg* meat
Ga. *rīńo* meat
Ju. *rīńo* meat
Any. *rīńg* meat
Ja. *rīńg* meat
La. *rīńo* meat
Al. *rīńo* meat
Di. *rīń* meat
Nr. *rīń* meat
Nu. *arick*, *arji* meat

Shi. *rīŋŋ* thirst
Ga. *orwor* thirst
Ju. *ryan* thirst
Any. *ryo* thirst
Di. *rou* thirst
Ba. *rgdu* to wither

Shi. *rīmg* sheep
Ga. *romo* sheep
Ju. *rōmo* sheep

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197 Any. *ręmę* sheep
Nr. *rą̄m* sheep
192 Bo. *ręmbō* sheep

Shi. *rą̄mę* to meet
Ga. *romo* to meet
Ju. *romo* to meet
Di. *rom* to meet
Nr. *rōm* to meet
Ba. *rum* to meet

Shi. *rugę* to dress
Ga. *riko* to dress
Di. *ruk* to dress
Ba. *ruk* to dress

Shi. *wūm* nose
Ga. *um* nose
Ju. *hum* nose
Ja. *um* nose
La. *um* nose
Al. *um* nose
Any. *óm* nose
wum nose
Di. *um* nose
Nr. *rum* nose
Bo. *ḳomo* nose
Ba. *kume* nose

Shi. *dryḡu* two
Ga. *aryor* two
Ju. *aryau* two
Any. *ɔréàu* two
Ja. *areio* two
La. *ariḡ* two
Al. *ariḡ* two
Di. *rou* two

Nu. *ora, ore* twenty
Ba. *ǫri* two
bu-ryę seven = five + two

Shi. *ḡk* (to be) hard
Ga. *tek* hard
Ju. *ḡk* hard
Any. *ḡk* hard
Di. *tyek* hard
Bo. *tigo* hard

Shi. *ḡą*, pl. *ḡągę* small
Ga. *tidi* small
Any. *ḡn* small
Ja. *ḡn* small
Nu. *ḡin, ḡiń* small
tod small

Shi. *ḡęwę* to die
Ga. *tor* to die
Any. *ḡu* to die
Ja. *tę* to die
La. *tō* to die
Di. *tow* to die
Ba. *tuan* to die

Shi. *wārę* shoe
Ga. *war* shoe
Any. *war* shoe
Di. *war* shoe
Nr. *wár* shoe
Nu. *kwarī* shoe

Shi. *wąr* night
Ju. *war* night
Any. *wąrę* night
Ja. *wąr* night

Nr. *wąr* night
Nu. *awar* night

Shi. *wākę* to give
Ga. *weko* to give away
Di. *yek* to give
Ba. *yek* to give

Shi. *wḡlę* to travel
Ga. *wel* to travel
Ba. *wala* to travel

Shi. *wiṅę* bird
Ga. *wiṅo* bird
Ju. *wiṅo* bird
Any. *ḡrīyę* bird
Ja. *wenę* bird
La. *wēn* bird
Al. *wiṅḡ* bird
Ba. *kwen* bird

Shi. *wōrę* to sing
Ju. *wąr* song
Ga. *wer* song
Ja. *wir* song
La. *wer* song
Al. *wer* song
Nu. *owe* to sing
Ba. *yoyu, yolo* to sing

Shi. *yąi* boat
Ga. *yeya* boat
Ju. *yei* boat
Any. *yąi* boat
Ja. *ńjie* boat
La. *yede* boat
Al. *yei* boat
Bo. *yēi* boat.

Second Group.

The words in the first line designate the "original Sudanic form", which has been gained by comparing the sounds of a word in the different languages, and thus finding out those sounds which may be considered as the most primi-

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tive. This "original Sudanic form" is of course merely hypothetical. For more on this see my "Sudansprachen", from which the greater part of these words are taken.

S. bia to come

E. *ed* to come
bá to come
T. *ba* to come
gbra coming into the world
G. *ba* to come
bla coming into the world
Y. *ba* shall, should
Ibe *bia* to come
Isoama *bia* to come
Eafeng *ba* to come
Abouré *ua* to come
Alaguiang *ua* to come
Avíkam *ba*, *iba* to come
Mékyibo *ba* to come
Di. *abi* prefix of future
Nu. *bi* prefix of future
Shi. *bi*, *bia* to come
Any. *bi* prefix of future
Nr. *bi* prefix of future
Ga. *bino* to come

S. bnaŋí to fear

E. *eŋ̄* to fear
Ef. *bak* to fear
Shi. *bŋ̄kŋ* to fear
bnŋ̄kŋ to frighten
Any. *bnŋk* to fear

S. bula open place

E. *ablŋ* open place
F. *abŋ-ateń*, *abrŋ-ateń* } main street, open place
G. *blŋ* street
V. *bur* large, open place
Nu. *bud* place before the house
Di. *bur*, *abora* market place
Shi. *bura* open place

S. ga place

E. *gà* place
T. *gba* this place
N. *ga* this, that
Nu. *aga*, *agar* place
Shi. *ga* this
agak these

S. gaga cowrie

E. *àgàgà* cowrie
Di. *gak* cowrie
Shi. *gŋ̄gŋ* cowrie
Ga. *gage* cowrie
Yr. *gak* cowrie
Bo. *gaki* cowrie

S. gnaŋí antelope

E. *gbàgbà* antelope, "unicorn"
G. *ńmań*, *ńma*, *ńmańma* } antelope, "unicorn"
Y. *agbań-rere* "unicorn"
Shi. *ańwak* waterbuck

S. knaŋí, knaĵí to embrace

E. *kplà* to embrace
T. *kwań* to wind around
G. *kplā* round about
Ef. *ukwań* winding
kpań to fold (hands)
Y. *kpŋ̄* to carry on the back
Nu. *kat* to envelop
Di. *kwak* to embrace
Shi. *kwakŋ* to embrace
Ga. *kwaka* to embrace

S. kuaŋí, kuiaŋí leopard

E. *kpŋ̄* leopard
T. *ततो* leopard
Ef. *ekpe* leopard
V. *kori* leopard
N. *gkū* leopard
Ku. *ukka* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kgge* leopard
Ba. *koka* leopard
kwaru leopard

S. kuaŋ bread, pudding

E. *akplŋ* pudding of maize
Shi. *kwŋn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwga*, *kwga* } bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwga* bread
Bo. *kwō* bread

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S. kwaní to count, read

E. *χlí* to count, read
T. *kní* / *kane* to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kura, kurná* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwgng* to count
Ga. *kwono* to count
Ju. *kwěno* to count
Nr. *kwgn* to count
Ba. *kin* to count

S. nfá, nfna to lick, suck

E. *dí* to lick, suck
dídí to lick
Y. *adwn* / *adgn* taste
Nu. *dage* / *dach* to lick
Shi. *dídg* to suck, lick
Shi. *dwídg* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagí to divide

E. *afá* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afá* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pgíng* to divide

S. pwa to beat

E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwídg* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tiagí to be hard

T. *aí* to be hard, strong
Di. *chgk* to be hard
Shi. *Gk* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *Gk* to be hard
Any. *Gk* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tij hand

E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyíng* hand
Ju. *shyeno* hand
Any. *shyang* hand

S. tij to bear a child; wife

E. *ashí* wife
Ku. *shí* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash, ashí* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chí* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Ócholg*, a Shilluk man, pl. *Chgl*, or *wate Chgl* "children of *Chgl*"; their country: *fdg chgl*; their language: *dg chgl*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bgr*, by the Nuers: *Tgt*.

The *Anywak* call themselves: *Aówak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálik*, by the Dinkas: *Pálik*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jóis*; they are called by the Shilluks: *djdíg* pl. *jdíl*; by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánij* a Nuer man, pl. *Kigánij*; their language: *tgk Nij*; they are called by the Shilluks: *Nugr*, by the Dinkas: *Nágr*; by the Arabs: *Nugr* or *Nuwár*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Lng or Lng, by the Shilluks they are called Odimg, "descendants of Dimg", by the Bongo: *Bjr*. The Belanda call them-

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selves *Bgr*. Belanda is a Bongo word, *landa* = stone, hill; so Belanda is probably "hill-country".

The Nubians are in all three languages called: *Dgi*, from "Dongola". According to Schweinfurth in Golo the Nubians are called Turuku, in Jur Oturu, in Bongo Turu; these names are doubtlessly derived from "Turk".

The Bahr Zeraf is called in Shilluk: *Otgl*, in Nuer: *Fgu*, in Dinka: *Piou* The Bahr Jebel is called in Shilluk: *Kor*; in Dinka: *Kor*, in Nuer: *Konam*; the Khor Filus is called in Shilluk: *Oläg*, in Dinka: *Peläg*, in Nuer: *Pulläg*.

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FOURTH SECTION:
THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

THE NOUN.

Singular and Plural.

*193 **Singular.** Many nouns have in the singular the suffix *ǫ*; in some nouns it may be dropped at will; on this and on the original meaning of *ǫ* see 71.

197 Some nouns denoting a plurality, are in their form singular, and are treated as such; e. g.: *lǥbǫ*, *tʋ̀dǫ* people.

Plural. The Shilluk is remarkable for its manifold means of forming the plural of nouns. These means may be divided into three principles; they are: plural-formation

a) by affixes,
b) by change of tone,
c) by change of vowel.

Generally in forming the plural of a noun, not only one of these means is employed, but several.

a) Plural-formation by affixes. In most Sudan languages the plural of nouns is formed by affixing to the singular a particle, which in most cases originally is a noun or a pronoun: "people, they". In Shi. this formation is represented by several vocalic and consonant affixes.

1. The most frequent plural-affix is the suffix *i*. Although by no means all nouns have this suffix in the plural, yet it is a question of feeling with the natives that they prefer it; if a foreign word is introduced into the language, it receives *i* in the plural; and on the other hand there are numerous genuine Shilluk words which sometimes are used with *i*, and sometimes without it in the plural. This leads to the supposition that possibly the ending *i* was formerly more employed than it is now, and that it may be the oldest and originally only ending for the plural. — The plural-suffix *i* occurs also in Masai and in Nuba and Kunama; in Kunama *i* is the personal pronoun of the third person plural: "they". It may be that the suffix *i* is of common origin in all these four languages.

Besides the vowel-suffix, there are several consonants which serve in forming the plural:

2. *k*; *gin* thing pl. *gik*; *k* may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *ak* "these"; in Di. the plural is formed in the same way, viz. by adding the

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demonstrative pronoun *ke* "these".

3. *ʄ; ʄ* is possibly identical with the Anywak word *ʄoʄ* "many"; so that originally the word was common to both languages, but in Shi. it was exclusively retained for forming the plural, a different word being employed for "many". In Anywak the plural is frequently formed by simply adding "*ʄoʄ*". In some cases the plural is formed by adding *t* instead of *ʄ;* whether this is misheard by me, or whether there is really a class with *t* in plural, I do not know. — Di. also has the plural in *t* (*ʄ?*): *puou-puot* heart. 193* 197

4. A nasal consonant; some nouns form their plural in changing their last consonant into the corresponding nasal one, according to the rule given in 40; here doubtlessly a nasal consonant has been suffixed, which may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *an* "this, these".

While *ʄ* is used very much, and may, in a certain measure, be employed at will, *k*, *ʄ* and the nasal consonant are restricted to a small number of nouns.

5. Words whose second consonant is a voiced mute followed by a vowel, change this consonant into the corresponding voiceless one in the plural: *dʄúdẹ̀* pl. *dʄúṭẹ̀*. In connection with this it is to be remarked that in those nouns which in their plural end in a mute consonant, *this consonant is always voiceless,* even when a vowel follows: *lɛ̨k* teeth, *lɛ̨ka* my teeth, *lɛ̨k ak* these teeth; this is contrary to the rule in 38; perhaps this voicelessness is the rest of a voiceless consonant which was suffixed for forming the plural, but assimilated itself in all cases with the preceding consonant.

6. Many nouns form their plural by dropping the singular-suffix *ɛ*: *gyɛ̄ŋɛ* hen pl. *gyɛ̄n*.

7. A few nouns with the prefix *o* drop this prefix in plural; such are names of persons as belonging to a nation (patronymica): a Dinka man, a Shilluk man; here the plural-form may be the first, noting the nation as a collective mass, from this the singular was derived by prefixing *o*, which probably means: "he" or "one": "he a Shilluk". The opposite formation see in *rúm* pl. *órụ̀m* nose.

8. A peculiar kind of plural-formation in nouns designating relatives is that of prefixing *ná* in the plural; *nà* (also *nì*) means "child"; it is low toned, but when expressing the plural, its tone rises. Examples:
dʄụ̀-nákụ̀i nephew; or: *nàkụ̀i-nákụ̀i* nephew.

[The partial conformity of the plural-affixes in Shilluk and Masai is remarkable. Just as in Shilluk one of the most frequent plural suffixes is *i*, so it is also in Masai. Likewise *k*, *t* and a nasal suffix (*n*) are found in both languages. The plural-formation by dropping the final vowel *ɛ* of the singular (see 108) has also its analogy in Masai, where a final *a* or *o* (*ɛ?*)

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is dropped: *ol abura* plural *il abur* "froth"; *ol kurto* pl. *i kurt* "caterpillar". Hollis is probably right in supposing that in these words the plural is the original form, from which the singular was formed by adding *ǫ* or *a*. — According to Hollis, Masai has no plural-distinction by tone. See Hollis page 18 ss.]

b) Plural-formation by change of tone. As stated above, the predomination of intonation is a characteristic of Sudan languages; but in none of these the change of tone is known to be a means of distinguishing singular and plural. In the western languages, of whom a greater number is thoroughly known, this function of the tone is sure not to exist; but it may be expected that on close investigation it will be found in other eastern Sudan languages.

By the change of tone the nouns are grouped into classes, a certain tone or group of tones in the singular always corresponding to a certain tone or group of tones in the plural. There do not seem to be very many nouns without the distinction of tone in singular and plural.[1]

This distinction is probably younger than the plural-formation by affixes. Though the intonation is no doubt genuine Sudanic, this particular employment of it, viz. the distinction of number, may be of foreign origin, a foreign element getting into the population and using the tone in quite a new way, which, until then, was not known to the primitive inhabitants. This is the more probable, as the change of tone is a process analogous to that of the change of vowel, which will be shown below. It might be supposed that both are of the same foreign origin, i. e. Hamitic. The older plural-formation by affixes seems gradually to be suppressed by the modern means, viz. change of tone and of vowel.

It is to be remarked that, as a whole, in plural the low tone is more frequent than in the singular, the low tone, together with the long vowel (see the following) conveying the notion of greatness or plurality.

c) Plural formation by change of vowel.[2] A plural-formation likewise unknown in western Sudan languages is that by changing the quantity or quality of the stem-vowel. This vowel-change is common in Semitic and Hamitic languages, and is in Shilluk probably to be traced to Hamitic influence. How far it is spread in the eastern Sudan group, cannot be stated now, but the Di. also has it. Quite of Hamitic character is the interchange of certain vowels in this way: the vowel-changes in one group are contrary to those in another group; the first group has long vowel in singular and short in plural; a second group short vowel in singular and long in plural; likewise the quality changes: one group has *ǫ* in sing., *u* in pl.; a second group *u* in in sing., *ǫ* in pl.; this peculiarity was first shown by Meinhof as existing in

[1] According to Kitching in Gang most nouns have the same form for singular and plural; is it not possible that a distinction is made by tone, which has not been noted?

[2] Plural-formation by change of vowel-quantity and quality is also largely used in Dinka; see Mitterrutzner page 15.

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the Hamitic languages, and has been called by him "polarity".

The same tendency of interchange is to be seen in other formations, see for instance 119: singular prefix o, plural no prefix, and 119: singular no prefix, plural prefix o.

Though this formation be probably foreign and relatively young, it may contain some primitive principle of language building: It is worth noting that the large majority of nouns have short vowel in the singular and a long one in the plural; this may lead to the supposition (which is supported by results of studies in other African languages. In Ewe for instance adjectives with long vowel and low tone designate large things or beings, the same adjectives with short vowel and high tone express small things or beings.) that in an early stage of language the long vowel is expressive of the idea of "much, big, great".

Examples illustrating the different ways of forming the plural.

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a) Plural-formation by Affixes.

1. Suffix *i*. *dkōl-dkōlī* drum-stick *dmáṭ-dmàṭī* a stork
dníṇ-dníṇi a knife *dywóm-dywòmi* monkey
dchàṇ-dchíṇi an ant *pōm-pōmi* board
ɣīrì-ɣīri a bead *kàl-kālī* fence
ńù-ńuwi lion *lɛu-lɛwi* lizard.

For more examples see below.

The ending *i* has in most cases low tone; where the tone is middle, the stem-vowel too has middle tone, that is, the tone of the suffix is assimilated to that of the stem.

2. suffix *k*. *pi-pik* water *yin-yik* thing *dyɛl-dyɛk* goat *jal-jɔk* man
lījɔ-lɛk tooth *mā-mɛk* aunt *mɛn-mɛk* this one.

3. suffix *t*. *ṭīw-ṭīṭ* buttocks *wich-wīṭ* head *yɛi-yīt* boat
yīnɛ-yīt fisherman *yech-yɛt* belly *kɛu-kōt* breast
(hɔɛl-hīt) a gourd *(yɛ-yīt)* road.

When in a noun with a consonant plural-ending the stem also ends in a consonant, the final consonant of the stem is dropped, the consonantal suffix taking its place; see 44.

4. nasal consonant as suffix.
ṭīɔ̀ɛ̀-ṭīɔ̀i dura-basket *kwòch-kwòṇi* leopard *àìàdī-àìàṇi* breast-bone
yàṭ-yáṇ tree *àtábī-àtām* tobacco *ṭībɔ-ṭīmi* dish.

Vice versa: *wɛńɛ-wɛch* paper.

*193 5. voiced mute consonant becomes voiceless.

áfùdḷ-áfùtḷ a fish *átùdḷ-átùtḷ* a wild goose *bḇḍḷ-bḇḍḷ* blacksmith
gṓjì-góchì sword *búḍḷ-búṭḷ* a melon *dḷ̀ḳḇ̱ḡì-ḍḷ̀ḳḇ̱ḡì* dura-stick
ò̀ḳḇ̱dḷ-ókḇ̱ṭḷ basket.

Vice versa: *fùk-fùgì* tortoise *órṓk-órḇ̱gì* bell *lwòp-lwòbì* company.

6. dropping the singular-suffix *ḷ*.

fālḷ-fāl knife *gyḛ̀nḷ-gyḛ́n* hen *byḛ̀lḷ-byḛ́l* dura
wìnḷ-wín bird *tḷ̀ṅḷ-tḷ̀ṅ* egg *gwḛ̀ḷ-gwḛ̄l* ring.

7. dropping the prefix *o*.

obwonḷ-bwon white man *óchòlḷ-chòl* Shilluk-man *ójàṅḷ-jàṅ* Dinka-man.[1]

Vice versa: *rúm-órḷm* nose.

b) Plural-formation by Change of Tone.

For completeness' sake the nouns which do *not* change their tone in plural, are also enumerated here. — Nouns with prefixes and those without them are separated, as they show differences of tone.

In some cases nouns with a slight deviation of tone have been grouped under the same heading; this has been done, because the differences do not seem to be essential and perhaps have been misheard. On the difference between ′ and ^ see 51.

Some nouns have two plural-forms.

Nouns with prefixes.

1. *àchwàtḷ-àchwàtḷ̀* loin-cloth *àmàlḷ-àmàlḷ̀* camel
òḳḷ̀k-òḳḇ̱k egret *òḳḷ̀k-òḳḇ̱k* flower
òkwḷ̀k-òkwḇ̱k a goose *ònḛ̀dḷ-ònḛ̄t* fire-fly
òrḷ̀k-òrḇ̱k craft.

2. *àdḇ̱rḷ-àdḇ̱r* arm-ring *òchḇ̱yḷ-òchḇ̱yḷ̀* melon
òpárḷ a gourd *òṭwól* blue
àlútḷ-àlútḷ̀ fist *àwák-àwāk* a bird.

3. *òbḇ̱w-òbḇ̱wḷ* lungs *ògwḇ̱rḷ-ògwḇ̱rḷ̀* } blue heron.
òbḇ̱r-òbḇ̱rḷ feather *ógwḇ̱rì* }

4. *àkúr-àkúr'* pigeon *àḡḇ̱rḷ-àḡḇ̱rḷ̀, àḡḇ̱r* a spear
àwóch-àwoch a shell *òlóó-òlòó* duck
òguḇ̱l-òguḇ̱l a bird.

5. *àchúṭ-àchúṭ* arm-ring *àgwḛ́n-àgwḛ̀n* bastard child.

6. *àkyḛ́n-àkyḛ̀n* gun-cock *òbírḷ-òbḇ̱r* a pot
àbúrḷ-àbùr bush-buck *àchwáṭ-àchwḇ̱ṭ* guinea-fowl
àdḇ̱rḷ-àdḇ̱r donkey *àṭḛ́p-àṭḇ̱p* bag.

[1] In one example the plural is formed by suffixing *r*: *rḹ-rōr* king.

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7. ɔ̀kɩ̱dɩ̱-ɔ̀kɩ̱tɩ̱ hedgehog
ɔ̀nɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ an ant
ɔ̀nɩ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱ŋ̱ whip
ɔ̀tɩ̱lɩ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱lɩ̱ club
ɔ̀tɩ̱lɩ̱ a white dura.

8. ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ baron
ɔ̀tɩ̱ŋ̱nɩ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱ŋ̱n a fish
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱ cousin
ɔ̀yɩ̱nɩ̱ crocodile-hunter.
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ broom
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀gɩ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ a fish
ɔ̀rɩ̱k-ɔ̀rɩ̱k small bell

9. ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ɩ̱ a fish
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀n-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀n ear-lap
ɔ̀mɛ̀ɩ̱-ɔ̀mɛ̀ɩ̱ a stork
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ mangouste
ɔ̀rɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀rɩ̱ɛ̀ a snake
ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀ marabout
ɔ̀yɩ̱k-ɔ̀yɩ̱k buffalo
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ gourd
ɔ̀nɩ̱yɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀nɩ̱yɩ̱ɛ̀ a snake
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱ɛ̀ hyæna
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀k anus
ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀n-ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀n somersault
ɔ̀nɩ̱ɛ̀n-ɔ̀nɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ a knife
ɔ̀yɩ̱ɛ̀m-ɔ̀yɩ̱ɛ̀mɩ̱ monkey
ɔ̀mɩ̱ brother
ɔ̀mɩ̱n his brother
ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀n-ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀n loaf
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀k a fish
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ an ant
ɔ̀pɩ̱ɛ̀p-ɔ̀pɩ̱ɛ̀p hip-bone
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ŋ̱ cock.

10. ɔ̀bɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀bɩ̱ɛ̀ hammer
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀r-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀rɩ̱ serval
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ a fish
ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀ hawk
ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀kɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ drum-stick
ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀k a fish
ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀m-ɔ̀lɩ̱ɛ̀mɩ̱ sycomore
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀ a pot.

11. ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀k crew
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ an ant
ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l a fish
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ a nat
ɔ̀gwɩ̱ɛ̀l-ɔ̀gwɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ frog
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ a fish
ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱-ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱ a gourd
ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀dɩ̱-ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀tɩ̱ a fish
ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱-ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀nɩ̱ bracelet
ɔ̀yɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀yɩ̱ɛ̀kɩ̱ a crane.

12. ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀dɩ̱-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀tɩ̱ wild goose
ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀dɩ̱-ɔ̀fɩ̱ɛ̀t skunk
ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀rɩ̱-ɔ̀gɩ̱ɛ̀r neck-bone
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀k-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀k a bird
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀rɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀r kidlie
ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀rɩ̱ red dura
ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀gɩ̱ a cow
ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀r-ɔ̀tɩ̱ɛ̀r a bird
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀t-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀t a nat
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ɩ̱k-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ɩ̱k male goat
ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀yɩ̱-ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀ cousin
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀yɩ̱-ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̀ɩ̱ a shrub
ɔ̀rɩ̱ɛ̀ch-ɔ̀rɩ̱ɛ̀ch ram
ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀rɩ̱-ɔ̀mɩ̱ɛ̀r roan antelope
ɔ̀bɩ̱ɛ̀gɩ̱-ɔ̀bɩ̱ɛ̀k albino
ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l̀ɩ̱-ɔ̀dɩ̱ɛ̀l a cow

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	ódʋ̃bò-ódʋ̀p	blanket	*ógâl-ógàl*	mule
	ógàlò-ógàlì	mule	*ónʋ̃yò-ónài*	cousin.
13.	*ókʋ̃dò-ókʋ̀tì*	basket	*órʋ̀k-órʋ̀gì*	bell.
14.	*óchyɛ̀nò-óchyɛ̀n*	loin-cloth.		
15.	*ógwé-ógwê*	bow.		
16.	*ólɛ̀bó-ólípì*	a bird	*ónɛ̀ló*	red earth.
17.	*ádíńò-àdìń*	a fish	*átɛ̂ń-àtàń*	hat
	ókwɔ̀n-òkʋ̀n	feather	*ókwɔ̂k-òkwʋ̀k*	goose
	ókʋ̀k-òkʋ̀k	egret.		
18.	*áchyɛ̀nò-àchyɛ̀n*	an ant	*áywàk-àywàk*	crest
	órò-òr	ant-hill	*órò-òr*	relations by marriage.

Perhaps in these last two examples *ō* and *ɔ* are not prefixes, but vowels of the stem, the first consonant (perhaps *w*) having been dropped; see 33.

19.	*ókʋ̀t-òkʋ̀t*	bell		
20.	*àkʋ̀ń-ákʋ̀ńì*	gazelle	*àńʋ̀dò-ńʋ̀ńí*	breast-bone
	(*àtábó-àtʋ̀m*	tobacco).		
21.	*àjwʋ̀gó-ájwʋ̀k*	sorcerer.		
22.	*òtyɛ́m-ótyɛ̀m*	dragon-fly.		
23.	*òlɛ̀t-ólétì*	hawk	*òbɛ̀ch-óblêch*	reed.

Nouns without prefixes.

1.	*bʋ̀lò-bʋ̀l*	face	*bʋ̀ńò-bʋ̀ńì*	lizard
	bòt-bòtì	bachelor	*bɛ̀ɔ̀ńò-bɛ̀ɔ̀ńì*	a fish
	byɛ̀rò-byɛ̀r	root	*chòr-chòr*	vulture
	chùt-chût	tooth-brush	*chwài-chwàyì*	broth
	chwʋ̀k-chwʋ̀k	ambassador	*chwàrò-chwàr*	bug
	dàtò-dàt	hoof	*dɛ̀ń-dɛ̀ńì*	jaw-bone
	fàlò-fàl	knife	*gùt-gʋ̀t*	river-side
	gìn-gìk	thing	*gʋ̀k-gʋ̀k*	ring
	gwɛ̀lò-gwɛ̀l	ring	*gyɛ̀k-gyèk*	water-buck
	kɔ̀ɔm-kòm	back	*kyɛ̀t-kyɛ̀t*	a fish.
2.	*gɛ̀lò-gɛ̀lì*	slope	*gʋ̃gò-gʋ̃k*	cowry
	bʋ̃dò-bʋ̃t	a shell	*búdò-búti*	melon
	chámì-chámì	bait	*dʋ̀kʋ̀gì-dʋ̀kʋ̀kì*	dura-stick
	dʋ̀rò-dʋ̀rì	axe	*fál-fɛ̀t*	spoon

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	fɔ̀ɖò-fɔ̀ɖ̀	country	*fɛ̀lò-fɛ̀l*	cloud
	jâgò-jâk	chief	*kwɛ́ɛ̀-kwɛ́ɛ̀*	dung-hill.
3.	*gɛ̀lò-gɛ̀l*	bight	*ɣɛ̀rò-ɣɛ̀rì*	a beard
	kàl-kɛ̀ll	fence	*kɛ̀dò-kɛ̀t*	a fish
	kwàch-kwàsì	leopard	*pɛ̀m-pɛ̀mì*	board
	fùɖò-fùɖ̀	lame person.		
4.	*chògò-chòk*	a fish	*fùk-fùgì*	tortoise
	fyɛ̀r-fɛ̀rì	back-bone	*gɛ̀nò-gɛ̀n*	button
	jòp-jòpì	buffalo	*kàn-kànì*	trumpet
	kàwò-kàwì	beam	*kìt-kìtì*	rock
	kù-kùwì	thief.		
	fùk-fùkì	pot	*gùt-gùtì*	hammer.
5.	*byɛ̀lò-byɛ́l*	dura	*byɛ̀rò-byɛ́r*	belly
	pɛ̀r-pɛ́rí	hippo	*kyɛ̀n-kyɛ́n*	horse
	(dɛ̀l-dɛ̀l	skin).		
6.	*bɔ́i-bɔ̀i*	net	*bòr-bɔ̀r*	boil
	chàrò-chàr	a fish	*ɖɔ́k-ɖɔ̀k*	mouth
	gɔ̀ji-gòchì	sword	*gùlò-gùl*	cannon
	gùt-gùt	navel	*ɔ́rò-ɔ̀r*	relations by marriage
	kwɔ̀nò-kwɔ̀nì	solo-singer	*kɔ́ch-kùchì*	axe
	kwɔ́n-kwɔ̀n	report	*kyɛ̀lò-kyɛ̀l*	star.
7.	*gyɛ̀lò-gyɛ̀l*	ring	*bàk-bɛ̀k*	fence
	bànò-bàn	locust	*bɔ̀ɖò-bɔ̀ɖ̀*	blacksmith
	chùl-chùl	penis	*ɖàn-ɖànì*	dancing-stick.
8.	*bànò-bànì*	meat on the skin	*bàt-bàt*	arm
	chùgò-chùk	charcoal	*dàk-dàk*	pot
	fyɛ̀n-fyɛ́nì	skin	*gwòk-gùòk*	dog
	gyɛ̀nò-gyɛ́n	hen	*jàch-jàch*	shoulder
	kɛ̀nò-kɛ̀nì	gourd	*kwàrò-kwɛ́rì*	pole
	kwòt-kɔ̀t	shield	*kwòm-kùòmì*	board.
9.	*kwɔ̀ɖò-kwɔ̀ɖ̀*	farting	*fàrò-fàrì*	mat.

c) Plural-formation by vowel-change.

Change of the quantity of the stem-vowel.

1. Singular short vowel, plural long vowel.

ɔ̀kɔ̀k-ɔ̀kɔ̀k	igret	*ɔ̀kɔ̀k-ɔ̀kɔ̀k*	flower
ɔ̀rɔ̀k-ɔ̀rɔ̀k	craft	*àwák-àwàk*	a bird

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òrǫ̨k-òrǫ̨̀k	a small bell	*chùṭ-chùt*	tooth-brush
gat-gàt	river-side	*chwǫ̀k-chwǫ̨̀k*	ambassador
òkwǫ̨̀k-òkwǫ̨̀k	a goose	*ògwǫ́l-ògwǫ̨̀l*	a bird
àchúṭ-àchùṭ	arm-ring	*àgwǫ́n-agwǫ̨̀n*	bastard
àchwáṭ-àchwǫ̨̀ṭ	guinea-fowl	*ǫ́ṭwǫ̨̀n-ǫ́ṭǫ̨̀n*	cock
átwák-átwàk	a bird	*órâp-òrâp*	spider
ówǫ̨́t-ówǫ̨̀t	a mat	*ówwǫ́k-ówwǫ̨̀k*	male goat
ógál-ógàl	mule	*átǫ̨́n-àtàn*	hat
ókwǫ̨́n-òkwǫ̨̀n	feather	*ókǫ́t-òkǫ̨̀t*	bell
dàtǫ̨-dàt	hoof	*kàl-kǫ̨̀lị*	fence
fyǫ̨r-fǫ̨̀rị	back-bone	*bàk-bǫ̨̀k*	fence
dak-dǫ̨̀k	pipe.		

In the first eight examples the short and long vowel are the only distinction between singular and plural.

2. Singular long vowel, plural short vowel.

chámị-chámì	bait	*ògwǫ̨̀rǫ̨-ògwǫ̨̀rì*	blue heron
ólâm-ólǫ́mì	sycomore	*ólèt-ólétì*	hawk
óbǫ̨̀gǫ̨-óbǫ̨̀k	albino	*óchyǫ̨̀nǫ̨-óchyǫ̨̀n*	loin-cloth
ájwǫ̨̀gǫ́-ájwǫ̨̀k	wizard	*ólètṭ-ólǫ́ṭì*	hawk
chòr-chòr	vulture	*byǫ̨̀lǫ̨-byǫ́l*	dura
pâr-pǫ́rí	hippo	*bòr-bǫr*	boil
gǫ̨̀jì-góchì	sword	*kyǫ̨̀lǫ̨-kyǫ̨̀l*	star
gyǫ̨̀nǫ̨-gyǫ́n	hen	*kwàrǫ̨-kwǫ́rì*	pole.

Only in the first word the plural is distinguished from the singular by the short vowel only.

Change of the Quality of the Stem-vowel.

1. The stem-vowel of the singular turns *ǫ* in plural.

ágàk-ágǫ́kì	crow	*pàr-pǫ́rì*	hippo
ógwàl-ógwǫ́lì	frog	*ódǫ̨̀k-údì̀kì*	a mat
ówàk-ówǫ́kì	crane	*ótwǫ̨̀l-ótwǫ́lì*	a fish
ólák-ólǫ́kì	a fish	*ótǫ̨̀t-ótítì*	a pot
ólâm-ólǫ́mì	sycomore	*álǫ̨̀bó-álípì*	a bird
fâl-fǫ̨̀t	spoon	*ólèt-ólétì*	hawk
kwàrǫ̨-kwǫ́rì	pole	*ògwǫ̨̀rǫ̨-ógwǫ̨̀rì*	blue heron.

In some words the vowel in plural is not *ǫ*, but *e* or *i*; as these are closely related to each other, and perhaps *e*, *i* are misheard for *ǫ*, I have classed them together.

In all these nouns the stem-vowel has high tone in plural; probably the

high tone and the reduction of the vowel to *ɛ* are in some causal connection; vide 16. 193*

2. The stem-vowel of the singular — mostly *a* — turns *ɑ* in plural.

àchwáţ-àchwɑţ	guinea-fowl	*kàl-kɑ̀ţ̀ì*	fence
bàk-bɑ̀ţ̀k	fence	*dàk-dɑ̀ţ̀k*	pot, pipe
òkwɔ̀k-òkwɑ̀ţ̀k	a goose	*ókwɔ́k-òkwɑ̀ţ̀k*	a goose.

Here the short vowel of the singular becomes long in plural; the lengthening of the vowel may be the reason of its turning into *ɑ*; see 17.

3. singular *a* pl. *ɛ̱*.	*mā-mɛ̱k*	aunt	*yaţ-yɛ̱ţ* tree.
4. singular *ɛ* pl. *a*.	*dţ̌ɛ̱ń-dţ̌áń*	hat	(*yɛ̱i-yɑ̱ţ* boat).
5. singular *ɑ*, pl. *o*. *rɑţ* (*riţ*, see 16) *-rōr*		king.	
6. sing. *ɛ* pl. *e*.	*gyɛ̀t-gyèt*	waterbuck.	
7. sing. *e* pl. *ɛ*.	*dţ̌ɛ̀t-dţ̌ɛ̀t*	mangouste	*áńéńò-dńò́ń* red ant
	ówɛ̀t-ówɛ̀t	a mat	*yech-yɛ̱ţ* belly.
8. sing. *e*, pl. *i*.	*yèţ-yìţ*	a well	*yèţ-yìţ* scorpion.
9. sing. *i* pl. *ɑ*.	*wich-wɑţ*	head.	
10. (sing. *a*, *ɛ*, *ē*) pl. *ɑ*.	*jal-jɔ̀k*	man	*mɛ̱kɑ-mɑ̱ko* some
	ţɛ̱n-tɑ̱nɑ	small	*ńò-ńò* what
	mɛ̱n-mɑ̱k	these.	

The plural-vowel *ɑ* is remarkable, as it does not correspond to a certain vowel in singular, but is a class of its own; it not only forms the plural of nouns, but also of pronouns and adjectives. Note also *ānɑ-ānɑ*; *ā* is the deictic pronoun "it is"; but here it is treated like a radical vowel and thus changed in plural.

11. sing. *ɑ*, pl. *u*, *y*.	*ńaγɑlɑ-ńawulì*	an axe	*kɔ̀ch-kùchì* an axe
	òkɔ̀dɑ-òkùtì	hedgehog	*mɑgɑ-mùkì* beer.
12. sing. *u* pl. *ɑ*.	*rúm-ɔ̀rɑ̀m*	nose.	
13. sing. *o* pl. *ɑ*.	*ńóń-ńńɑ̀ńì*	a knife	*bɔ̀r-bɑ̀r* boil
	toch-toach	gun; see 22	*chɔ̀r-chɑ̀r* vulture.
14. sing. *ɑ* pl. *wɑ*.	*mɑ̱k-mwɑ̱k*	dog-head fish.	
15. sing. *wɑ*, *wo* pl. *ɑ*, *o*, *u*.	*ɔ́ţwɔ̀ɑ-ɔ́ţɑ̀ɑ*	cock	*ókwɔ̀r-ókɑ̀rì* serval
	ógwɑ̱k-ógɑ̱kì	jackal	*ókwɔ́n-ɔ̀kɑ̀n* feather
	lwɑl-lɑ̱t	a gourd	*ţwol-ţɑ̱lì* snake
	kwòm-kòm	back	*kwòt-kòt* shield
	ófwɔ̀n-ófùn	loaf.	
16. sing. *wo* pl. *uo*.	*gwòk-gùùk*	dog	*kwòm-kùòmì* board.
17. sing. *yɛ* pl. *ɛ*.	*fyɛ̀r-fɛ̀rì*	backbone.	
18. sing. *yɛ*, *ɛ*, *i* pl. *iɛ*.	*lyɛ̀ch-lìɛ̀ch*	elephant	*yɛ̱ţ-yìɛ̱ţ* neck
	òbìch-óbìéch	reed.	

Gender.

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Gender is expressed in the noun only, not in pronouns. The natural gender may be marked in two ways:

a) by different words.

chuqu man *ɡàchɑ̀* woman *ɩɔ̀ɡ̣* bull *ɡɩɔ̀n* cow
ónwɔ́k male sheep or goat *dyɛ́l* female goat.

b) by adding *ɔ́ɲɔ̀ɲ* for the male, *mɑ̀ɲ* for the female gender.

ńù ɔ̀ɲɔ̀ɲ male lion *ńù mɑ̀ɲ* or *mɑ̀ɲ ńù* female lion
ɲɔ̀ɲí ńù male lions *mɑ̀ɲɲ ńù* female lions
kyɛ̀ń ɔ̀ɲɔ̀ɲ or *kyɛ̀ń ɔ̀ ɲɔ̀ɲ* male horse *kyɛ̀ń a mɑ̀ɲ* or *mɑ̀ɲ kyɛ̀ń* female horse
kyɛ́n ɔ̀ ɲɔ̀ɲ male horses *kyɛ́ń ɔ̀ mɑ̀ɲ* female horses
ɲɔ̀ɲ ómɔ́rì male roan antelope, pl. *ɲɔ̀ɲ ómɔ́rì*
mɑ̀ɲ ómɔ́rì female roan antelope, pl. *mɑ̀ɲ ómɔ́rì*.

In one single word, however, the Shilluk expresses the gender by phonetic means: *ńa* child *ńal* boy *ńan* girl.

Here evidently *l* and *n* are added to the word *ńa* in order to mark its gender, *l* for the male, *n* for the female gender.

[That this case is not merely accidental, will be clear from the fact that by the same means gender is expressed in the Bari language; here it is not the nouns, but demonstrative pronouns which receive the affixes *l* and *n*:

lo this m.	*lu* that m.
no this f.	*nu* that f.
pl. *chi-lo* these m.	*chi-lu* those m.
chi-no these f.	*chi-nu* those f.
lu-yu that one yonder m.	*chi-lu-yu* those yonder m.
nu-yu that one yonder f.	*chi-nu-yu* those yonder f.
li-o my m.	*il-ot* your m.
ni-o my f.	*in-ot* your f.

In the noun, feminine is distinguished from masculine by the suffix *et*.

The same distinction by the same means has Massi.

The distinction of a grammatical gender is surely not Sudanic, it is not known in other Sudan languages; so we have doubtlessly Hamitic influence here. The Shilluks must have been in contact with (a Hamitic) people who expressed in their language the grammatical gender by *l* and *n*, but this contact was not long or strong enough, to make the distinction of gender a living factor in the language; so only a faint trace of it was left. There is one more *Sudan language*, which has a similar distinction: the Songhai (on both banks of the middle Niger). This language has, in

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the same way as Bari and Masai, a kind of article, *di* for living beings, *ni* for inanimate things. I believe that *di* is identical with *li*, *l* and *d* often changing in African languages; vide the examples in the comparative Lists of Words in Third Section. If this is right, the Songhai (in which, though, this distinction will not be original, but borrowed from some Hamitic language) represents an elder stage in the development of grammatical gender: living > masculine, inanimate > feminine or neuter (which may originally be the same, as with primitive men woman is rather a thirg, a merchandise, than a person).]

A second way of distinguishing gender by phonetic means is represented in the following word:

ógwɛ́l an ox with the horns turned toward the eyes
ógwɛ́l̀ a cow with the horns turned toward the eyes.

Case.

Genetive.

The ruling noun is a singular.

1. The genetive follows the noun determined by it. The noun ends in a consonant; in these cases the two nouns unite without any connecting element or phonetic changes:

wɔt house;	*wɔt jɔ̄ɔ̀* house of the chief
lɔt club;	*lɔt obwoá* club of the stranger
àgɛ̄p bag;	*agɛ̄p jal gai* bag of this man
okɔ̄k blossom;	*okɔ̄k yɔ̄ɔ gai* blossom of this tree
yiɛ̄ ear;	*yiɛ̄ kyɛ̄ɛ́* ear of the horse.

There are, however, a few exceptions, chiefly if the final consonant is *k* or *ch*, and the next word begins with a consonant;

a) sometimes the "helping vowel" is inserted:

kidɔ̄ colour;	*kite lɔ̄jɔ̄* black colour
ñɛ̄dɔ̄ rib;	*ñɛ̄te jal* rib of man
lɛch tooth;	*lɛche lyɛch* tooth of the elephant
mɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ beer;	*mɔ̄ke fɔ̄te wɔn* beer of our country
bɔ̄ɔ̄dɔ̄ artist.	*bɔ̄ɔ̄te tɔ̄ɔ̄* one who makes spears.

These are treated like nouns in the plural.

b) *ch* and *k* may be dropped:

pāch village;	*pā rɛ̄* village of the king
kɛch, kɛch hunger;	*kɛ jal gai* the hunger of this man
ɡɔk cattle;	*ɡɔ rɛ̄* the cattle of the king.

*193 c) *ch* softens into *y*:

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mach fire; *may kuŋŋ* "fire of cotton"; see 45.

One word changes its vowel before a genetive:

yg way; *yu Fakgi* the way to F.;

likewise when an adjective follows: *yu tock* a narrow way; see 22.

2. Nouns which have the final vowel *g*, and whose second consonant is a voiced — in some cases also a voiceless — mute (*gg*, *jg*, *dg*, *ɗg*, *bg*), drop, when followed by a genetive, the *g*, and turn the consonant into the corresponding nasal one: *gg* > *ń*, *jg* > *ń*, *dg* > *n*, *ɗg* > *ŋ*, *bg* > *m*; see 40.

jūgg chief;	*jūń fūgt wgn* the chief of our country
afoojg rabbit;	*afoonń ɗal ɗgg* the rabbit of the child
ɗdg people;	*ɗgn fūn gui* the people of this village
ómbgl a cow;	*ómbgg rig* the cow of the king
tgbg plate;	*tgm ɗan* the plate of the girl
wutg neck;	*wunt ɗoń* the neck of the cow.

This nasalization is caused by a nasal consonant, *n*, which is no doubt identical with the demonstrative *n* (vide 138), and has originally the meaning "that": *jūgg n pūch* "the chief, (namely) that of the village". There are some examples which show the *n* in existence at the present time: *lūn* cloth, *lūn ɗūchg* the cloth of the woman; here *n* is preserved, the *u* having dropped before it; *rig* king, an older form *rgl*, see 16; *rgg ìgbg* the king of the people; here the *n* is preserved, though the word ends in a consonant; this is generally not the case; it is evident that after a vowel the *n* is easily preserved, *jūgg n pūch* offers no difficulty in pronouncing, but in words ending in a consonant the *n* was liable to disappear, the more so, as the consonant was voiceless, and *n* is voiced; thus *ɗgk n ɗdg* > *ɗgk ɗdg*, but *jūgg n ɗdg* > *jūń ɗdg*. This *n* has high tone.

[This *n*, originally probably always a demonstrative pronoun and serving to express the genetive relation, exists in a great number of central and eastern Sudan languages. In Dí. it effects the same changes as in Shilluk, besides it is found in Nuba, Logoné, Mandara, Tedá, and also in Hausa and Ful.]

The ruling noun is a plural.

*193 If the ruling noun is a plural, the *n* does not appear, but when the noun ends in a consonant, the 'helping vowel' is suffixed to it. When the plural ends in *i*, this *i* is generally preserved. A change of tone is to be noted here: while the plural-forming *i* (see 103) and the helping vowel have low tone in those cases where no genetive follows, they receive high tone when standing before a following genetive. *This high tone most probably indicates the lost*

genetive-forming n, the sound n itself having disappeared, but its tone (see 127) was preserved. — Examples: 193*

pûch village,	pl. *mygr;*	*mygrí rij*	villages of the king
wgt house,	pl. *wjtí;*	*wjtí rij*	houses of the king
yij ear.	pl. *yij;*	*yiji kyjé*	ears of the horse
mggg boer,	pl. *mgkí;*	*mgkí fôje wgn*	boers of our country
ôkgk blossom,	pl. *ôkjk;*	*ôkjkí yat*	the blossoms of the tree
ôjjp bag,	pl. *ôjjp;*	*ôjjpí ôate wjjg*	the bags of the traveller
kgnk hunger,	pl. *kjné;*	*kjnéí fôje wgn*	the famines of our country
jîkgi chief,	pl. *jîki;*	*jîkíí fôje wgn*	the chiefs of our country.

In my materials I find one exception to this rule: *puôk-gôk* dog; *gôkki jal gai* the dogs of this man; but this may be a misunderstanding.

The Objective Case.

The direct object or accusative follows the verb: *á chôm byjî* he ate durra. Sometimes the particle *kí* "with" is added: *á chôm kí byjî* he ate (with) durra.

But when *kî* "and" begins a sentence, the object always precedes the verb: *kî byjî chôm* and durra ate (he).

What in European languages is an indirect or dative object, the Shilluk transforms into a direct object, and what we would call the direct object, is in this case always introduced by *kí;* instead of saying: "he gave money to the child", they say: "he presented the child with money": *a wôkí ôal kí ôggé.*

But in very many, probably in most cases the direct and indirect object are not expressed at all, the passive voice being used instead, "I saw him" is expressed by "he was seen by me"; "he gave the child milk" by "the child was given milk by him". — On the passive voice see 173.

The Vocative Case

is formed by lengthening the (last) vowel, by raising the tone, and sometimes by adding *i* "you": *ôitî* man, *ôitî* o man! *Dâk* a proper name, *Dâyí* o Dâk!

THE PRONOUN.

The Personal Pronoun.

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Connected Form, standing before the verb.

This form is generally used as the subject of verbs.

yî I	*yî* thou	*yî, î (i)* he
wî, wî we	*wî* you	*yî* they.

The forms are often pronounced with a short vowel. *yî* and *î* (sometimes *i*), Ekewise *wî* and *wî*, are used promiscuously, but *î*, apparently the younger

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form, is employed more frequently than *yí*; *ò* is seldom used; in the 3rd person *yì* also occurs, but it is very rare as a subject. Note that *ò* and *yì* have a low tone, but all other personal pronouns have a high tone.

[It is at least remarkable that in two West African Sudan languages the personal pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. are the same as in Shilluk: Ewe *é* and *wò*, Twi *ɛ* and *ɔ* (In Ewe even the tones are equal to those in Shi.); Ewe makes some distinction in the use of *é* and *wò*, while in Shi. they seem to be employed at will. Gang too has *ɛ* and *ɔ*, apparently without making any distinction between the two.

On the *form of the pronoun* note the following remarks:

The corresponding forms for the singular and the plural seem to have originally the same vowels, only *yí* and *wí* being different. But besides *yí*, *yé* also occurs, and in Nuer the possessive pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. is *du* (*d* is prefixed), so it seems probable that the original vowel was *u*, which was assimilated by the palatal semivowel *y* and thus became *i*. This palatalisation must, however, have taken place at an early period, as neighbouring languages — with the exception just stated — have *i* and *yi* for the 2nd pers. sing. So we get as primitive vowels of the personal pronoun: *á*, *ó*, *ú*, which were differentiated into singular and plural by certain prefixes.

a) Singular.

In all three persons the pronoun begins with *y*, but the 3rd person has a third form, which is not mentioned above: *yín* (*n* marks the absolute form, see 132, so the form is properly *yí*); *yí* I regard as the older form of *yí* (on the change between *y* and *y* see 35); in Dinka and Nuer the pronoun of the first person is *yu*, which is likewise the older form for Shilluk *yu*; from this it is probable that the 2nd person also originally began with *y*, though, as far as I can see, it is nowhere retained. Thus we get these (hypothetical) primitive forms: *yu*, *yu*, *yú*; *á*, *ó*, *ú* designating the persons, and *y* the singular.

b) Plural.

In plural all persons begin with *w* except *yí*. What is the origin of this *y*? In Nuer the 1st pers. is *kí*, the third *kín* and *kyín*, in Dinka *ki* (probably *kí*); *kí* is evidently contracted from *kuu*, see 22; analogous to this *kyí* may be derived from *kuy* (*kuy* > *kyí* see 32), and the 2nd person, *wí*, would be originally *kuu*, but, as in the singular, here the hypothetical form seems nowhere preserved. So the primitive forms of the plural would be: *kuu*, *kuu*, *kuy*; *á*, *ó*, *ú* again designating the persons and *ku* the plural. (As for the prefixing of *k* note that in Dinka the personal

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pronouns in the absolute form suffix a *kl*). — The evolution of *gɛ* in Shi. would then be thus: *kwɛ* > *kgɛ* > *kɛ* > *gɛ*. While in the first and second person the *k* before *w* was dropped (see 46), in the 3rd pers. *kɛ* turned into *gɛ*. The changing of a voiceless into a voiced consonant is not so uncommon in the Eastern Sudan languages, see 42; here the process was facilitated by *gɛ* being a much used word, whose pronunciation may easily be slighted. — Hence perhaps *gɛ̀* "he" may also be explained. It may be formed from the primitive pronoun *ò* "he", by prefixing to it, in analogy with *gɛ́*, a *g*, and to make the analogy perfect, the vowel *ò* was also pronounced wide, that is *ɔ̀*, in accordance with the *ɛ* in *gɛ́*. This is, indeed, a mere hypothesis, but it is supported by the fact that *gɛ̀* and *ò* both have low tone, while all other personal pronouns have high tone.] 193* 197

Absolute Form.

yɛ́n I, me *yín* thou, thou *ɛn*, *yɛ́n* he, him *gɛ̀* he, him 193*
wɛ́n, *wɛ́n* we, us *wín* you *gɛ́n* they, them.

These differ from the connected form only by a suffixed *n*; *ɛn* and *yɛ́n* are used promiscuously; *gɛ́n* occurs frequently as objective, but seldom as subjective pronoun. The suffixed *n* may be identical with the deictic *n* mentioned in 127 et passim; so that *yɛ́n* really means: "it is I".

These absolute or separable pronouns do not stand immediately before a verb, they are used when the person is to be emphasized. They are employed as subjective and objective alike. When they emphasize the subject, the connected form of the pronoun has to follow them: *yɛ́n yɛ́ chɛ́m* (it was) I (that) sin.

The absolute pronouns may again be emphasized by adding *á*: *yɛ́ná*, *yínà*, *ɛ́ná*. This has the meaning of "it is", and is often used in addresses: *ɛ́ná Pícháò* that is Fashoda; *yínà jwòò* "thou art God" "o God".

If a personal pronoun in the singular is connected with another pronoun or noun, the plural form is always used instead of the singular: *wí kí yín* I and you; *wí kí wɛ́n* you (sing.) with whom?

Objective Form.

It is suffixed to the verb. Example: stem *chwɔ́* to call.

Common form.	With more emphasis.
á chwɔ̀ò́ he called me	*á chwɔ̀ò́ yɛ́n* or *yɛ́ná*
á chwɔ̀ò́ he called thee	*á chwɔ̀ò́ yín* or *yínà*
á chwɔ̀ò́ he called him	*á chwɔ̀ò́ ɛn* or *ɛ́ná*
á chwɔ̀ò́ wɛ́n he called us	*á chwɔ̀ò́ wɛ́n* or *wɛ́ná*
á chwɔ̀ò́ wín he called you	*á chwɔ̀ò́ wín* or *wínà*
á chwɔ̀ò́ gɛ́n he called them	*á chwɔ̀ò́ gɛ́n* or *gɛ́ná*

*193 The first *á* is the sign of the past; in the second form the final *a* of the verb marks the verb as being followed by an object.

Note the change of the tone in the objective form. *The objective form has low tone, whereas the subjective form has high tone.*[1]

Possessive Form.[2]

This form is also always suffixed. Example *wɔ̀t* house pl. *wɔ̀tí*.

wɔ̀dá my house	*wɔ̀dí* thy house	*wɔ̀dɛ́* his house
wɔ̀t wɔ́n our house	*wɔ̀t wún* your house	*wɔ̀t gɛ́n* their house
wɔ̀tá my houses	*wɔ̀tí* thy houses	*wɔ̀tɛ́* his houses
wɔ̀tí wɔ́n our houses	*wɔ̀tí wún* your houses	*wɔ̀tí gɛ́n* their houses.

gwɔ̀k pl. *gúɔ̀k* dog.

gwɔ̀gá my dog	*gwɔ̀gí* thy dog	*gwɔ̀gɛ́* his dog
gwɔ̀k wɔ́n our dog	*gwɔ̀k wún* your dog	*gwɔ̀k gɛ́n* their dog
gúɔ̀ká my dogs	*gúɔ̀kí* thy dogs	*gúɔ̀kɛ́* his dogs
gúɔ̀ká wɔ́n our dogs	*gúɔ̀ká wún* your dogs	*gúɔ̀ká gɛ́n* their dogs.

If the final consonant of the noun is a liquid or nasal, the *w* in *wɔn* and *wun* is often ommitted: *kal* ūn your fence; *tyɛ̄n un* your people.

If both the possessor and the thing possessed are a singular, the possessive pronoun has a middle tone, if either of them or both are a plural, the poss. pr. has a high tone.

In the connection of noun and pronoun the rule given in 40 is to be observed, as these examples show:

jɔ̄gɔ̀ chief, *jɔ̄ká* my chief *afoajɔ̀* rabbit, *afoaká* my rabbit but in pl.: *jɔ̄k* chiefs, *jɔ̄ká* my chiefs *afoaká* rabbits, *afoaká* my rabbits.

If the final vowel of the noun is *u*, it turns into *w*; if *u* is the sole stem-vowel, a *w* is inserted: *fyóu* heart, *fyówá* my heart; *ńù* lion, *ńwwa* my lion.

In some few cases the possessive pronoun is prefixed by *r*: *ra* my, *ri* thy etc. Before this *r* the final consonant of the noun drops:

ńal boy *ńāra* my boy *pach* village *pāra* my village, etc.

This *r* is a shortened form of *ri* "body, self."

As the intonation shows certain irregularities in the connection of nouns with possessive pronouns, some more examples may be given.

ówɔ̀t mat	pl. *ówɔ̀t;*	*ówɔ̀dá* my mat;	*ówɔ̀tá* my mats
yíɛ́ ear	pl. *yìɛ́;*	*yíɛ́dá* my ear;	*yìɛ́á* my ears
kɔ̀ɛ́ rain	pl. *kɔ̀gɛ́;*	*kɔ̀gɛ́a* my raining;	*kɔ́gá* my rainings
lyɛ̄ch elephant	pl. *lìɛ̄ch;*	*lyɛ̄já* my eleph.;	*lìɛ̄chá* my elephants
àɛ̄ɛ́p bag	pl. *àɛ̄ɛ́p;*	*àɛ̄ɛ́bá* my bag;	*aɛ̄ɛ́pá* my bags
kwɔ̀m chair	pl. *kíɔ̀mɛ́;*	*kwɔ̀má* my chair;	*kíɔ̀má* my chairs
rɛ̄jɔ̀ fish	pl. *réch;*	*rɛ̄ɛ́á* my fish;	*réchá* my fishes

[197] [1] In Ewe *e*, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. has high tone, when subjective, but low tone, when objective; the same is the case in Yoruba: *ó* he, *ó* him; see Crowther page (4) and (5).
[2] The suffixed subjective form see 160.

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yɛ̱ɛ̱ neck	pl. *yiɛ̱ɛ̱;*	*yɛ̱ɛ̱ɔ́* my neck;	*yɛ̱ɛ̱ɛ́ wɔ́n* our necks
kwɔ̄ɔ̄ch leopard	pl. *kwɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ̱;*	*kwɔ̄ɔ̄jɔ́* my leopard;	*kwɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ́* my leopards
ńɔ̀ lion	pl. *ńɔ̄wɛ̱;*	*ńɔ̄wɔ́* my lion;	*ńɔ̄wɔ́* my lions
rɛ̱ɛ̱ king	pl. *rɔ́r;*	*rɛ̱ɛ̱ɔ́* my king;	*rɔ́rɔ́* my kings
ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̱k blossom	pl. *ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̱k;*	*ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̱gɔ́* my flower;	*ɔ̀ɛ̱ɛ̱kɔ́* my flowers.

In all personal pronouns the singular is not unfrequently used instead of the plural of the corresponding person.

Sometimes the possessive pronoun of *the 3rd person sing.* is employed instead of the first plural, chiefly in names of relatives: *wɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ̱* "his" *and* "our" grandmother.

The possessive pronoun can also be affixed to an adjective: *wɔ́ bɔ́ bɛ̱ɛ́* (instead *bɛ̱n wɔ*) have all of you come?

Some much used nouns have shortened forms, when they are connected with possessive pronouns:

wɔ́ch father	*mɔ́ mother*
wɔ́yɔ́ my father	*mɔ́yɔ́* my mother
wɔ́ɔ thy father	*mɔ́yɔ́* thy mother
wɔ́ɛ̱n his father	*mɔ́ɛ̱n* his mother
wɔ́ɛ̱ our father	*mɔ́y wɔ́ɛ̱n* our mother
wɔ́y wɔ́n your father	*mɔ́y wɔ́n (mɔ̄ɔ̄n)* your mother
wɔ́y gɛ̱n their father	*mɔ́y gɛ̱n* their mother
ɡɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ cow	*ɔ́mí mother*
ɡɔ̀ɔ́ my cow	*ɔ́mɔ́* my mother
ɡɔ̀ɔ́ (*ɡɔ̀ɔ́*) thy cow	*ɔ́mɔ́* thy mother
ɡɔ̀ɛ̱ his cow	*ɔ́mɔ́n* his mother
ɔ́mɔ́ brother	*ńɔ́mí sister*
ɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ my brother	*ńɔ́mɔ́ɔ́* my sister
ɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ thy brother	*ńɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* thy sister
ɔ́mɔ́ɛ̱n his brother	*ńɔ́mɔ́ɛ̱n* his sister
ɔ́mɔ́ɛ̱ our brother	*ńɔ́mí yi wɔ́ɛ̱n* sister
ɔ́mí wɔ́n your brother	*ńɔ́mí yi wɔ́n* sister
ɔ́mí gɛ̱n their brother	*ńɔ́mí yi gɛ̱n* sister.

The *ɛ̱n* in *wɔ́ɛ̱n*, *ɔ́m-ɛ̱n* etc. is the absolute pronoun *ɛ̱n* he.

rɔ́ body, self	
rɔ́ɔ́ myself	*rɔ́ yi wɔ́ɛ̱n* ourselves
rɔ́ɔ́ thyself	*rɔ́ yi wɔ́n* yourselves
rɔ́ɛ̱ himself	*rɔ́ yi gɛ̱n* themselves.

In names of relatives the possessive pronoun of the 2nd person sing. (and plural) is generally *ɔ́*, *wɔ́*:

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*193 *kwōyu* your grandfather *mōyu* your mother *mīu* your mother.

The Possessive Pronoun as a Substantive.

It is formed by the help of *mí* pl. *mgk* or *gin* pl. *gik*; *gin* is "thing", *me* probably has a similar meaning.

Singular of the thing possessed:

mēá mine	*mēi* thine	*mē̱* his
mēi (me yi) wēn ours	*mēi wēn* yours	*mēi gēn* theirs
ginā mine	*ginī* thine	*ginē̱* his
ginī wēn ours	*ginī wēn* yours	*ginī gēn* theirs.

Plural of the thing possessed:

mēkā[1] mine	*mē̱ wēn* ours	*gikī wēn* ours	*gikā* mine.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

In connecting nouns in the singular with demonstrative pronouns, the rule described in 40 obtains, with the one difference however, that here not only the nouns ending in a vowel change their last (mute) consonant, but also the nouns whose final sound is a mute consonant; accordingly the rule given in 40 is to be enlarged thus: final *gg* and *k* > *n*, *jg* and *ch* > *n*, *dg* and *t* > *n*, *ḍg* and *ṭ* > *n*, *bg* and *p* > *m*.

These consonant changes, without any further addition, represent the simplest form of the demonstrative pronoun. The changes are no doubt caused by suffixing an *n*, which possesses a demonstrative power. It is employed in nouns ending in a mute consonant or in *gg*, *jg*, *dg*, *ḍg*, *bg* only, at least I have not heard it used in others (as for instance in *jal* "man", which would become **jaln* or rather *jan*, see 44).

The meaning of this primitive form is *a reference to a person or object just mentioned or just spoken of.* It has somewhat the character of the definite article in English (as in such a sentence: we saw a man walking in the bush; *the man* called to us).

gwok dog,	*gwon* the (identical) dog, the dog just spoken of
jōgg chief,	*jōn* the chief just mentioned
mōch fire,	*mōn* the fire just mentioned, this fire
ḭ̄jg tooth,	*ḭ̄n* the tooth just spoken of, this tooth
wgt house,	*wgn* the house just spoken of, this house
yīgg tall,	*yīn* the tall just spoken of, this tall, etc.
tygi fōg the people of this country, from *fōg*	
tygi wgn the people of this house, from *wgt*	

[1] *mē gā* also is heard.

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yōi gwoi the hair of this dog, from *gwok*
yiję yep the leaves of this tree, from *yej*
ki place, *kin* this place, here
ghuki to-morrow, *ghui* this to-morrow, the next day.

Besides these the Shi. has several demonstrative pronouns denoting different distances between the speaker and the person or object spoken of.

Singular: *in* this, *ghi* that, *inkā* that over there.

Plural: *ik, in, ighik* these, *ghi* those, *inkā* those over there. *in* and *ghi* are probably of the same origin; *i* was suffixed to *an*; *a* has become *g* by assimilation to *i*; see 26.[1] Note the difference of tone, the low tone designating the object near by, the high tone that one in some distance.

To mark a great distance, they use *chinā*; this is pronounced with an exceedingly high tone, and the last vowel may be lengthened at will, according to the greatness of the distance.

Be it noted that according to 138 the changes of the final consonants take place only in singular, never in plural; in the plural the final mute consonants are always to be pronounced voiceless, that is as a real *k, ch, t, f p*.

Some examples of nouns connected with demonstrative pronouns (The intonation-marks in my materials are incomplete here).

jīgi chief;	*jīki in* this chief,
jīki ghi that chief,	*jīk* chiefs;
jīk ik these chiefs,	*jīk ghi* those chiefs,
jīki inkā the chief over there	*jīk inkā* the chiefs over there
ajwegi sorcerer;	*ajwegi an* this sorcerer
ajwejk pl.;	*ajwejk ik* pl.
chwak voice;	*chwaki in*; pl. *chwak*; *chwak ik*
kwach leopard;	*kwāni in*; pl. *kwāni*; *kwāni ik*
afonje hare;	*afōki in*; pl. *afonchi*; *afōich ik*
rij king;	*rīp in*; pl. *rīr*; *rīr ik*
kīj rain;	*kīp in*; pl. *kīp ik*
yīj ear;	*yīp in*; pl. *yīj*; *yīj ik*
ikīp bag;	*ikīm in*; pl. *ikīp*; *ikīp ik*
ghuki to-morrow,	*ghuki chinā* the day after to-morrow
ewīj a mat;	*ewīp in, ewīp ghi* pl. *ewīj*; *ewīj ghi, ewīj inkā*
ōki people;	*ōn in*.

The last example, though virtually a plural, is treated as a singular.

Nouns ending in other consonants or in vowels, have no changes:

rīr kings;	*rīr ik* these kings	*gin* thing;	*gin in* this thing
lāi war;	*lāi in* this war	*pi* water;	*pi in* this water.

[1] It is, however, difficult to distinguish the beginning vowels in *in* and *ghi*; *in* sometimes sounds *gin* or even *gn*, and *ghi* is sometimes heard as *gni*.

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The demonstrative pronoun standing for a noun.
mín ìn this one *mík ìk* these ones.

Interrogative Pronouns.

They imply the same consonant-changes as the demonstratives Pronouns.
ɗíì what, which? pl. *ɗíg*; on this plural see 124.
ɗ which?
ìmín (also *ímín*) who? pl. *ìmík (ímík)*.

Examples:

Singular.

ɔywɔk jackal;	*ɗ ɔywɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which jackal is it?
lyɔ́ɔ́k elephant;	*ɗ lyɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which elephant is it?
wɔ́ɔ́ house;	*ɗ wɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which house is it?
yɔ́ɔ́ tree;	*ɗ yɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which tree is it?
rɔ́ɔ́ king;	*ɗ rɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which king is it?
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́p bag;	*ɗ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which bag is it?
ɔ́ɔ́n thing;	*ɗ ɔ́ɔ́n ɗíì* which thing is it, what is it?

Plural.

In the plural the final mute consonants are always to be pronounced voiceless, that is as a real *k*, *ch*, *t*, *ɗ*, *p*; see 139.

wɔ́ɔ́t houses;	*ɗ wɔ́ɔ́t ɗíì* which houses are they?
rɔ́ɔ́r kings;	*ɗ rɔ́ɔ́r ɗíì* which kings are they?
yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ trees;	*ɗ yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which trees are they?
ɔywɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ jackals;	*ɗ ɔywɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɗíì* which jackals are they?
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́p bags;	*ɗ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́p ɗíì* which bags are they?
lyɔ́ɔ́ch elephants;	*ɗ lyɔ́ɔ́ch ɗíì* which elephants are they?
ɔ́ɔ́t things;	*ɗ ɔ́ɔ́t ɗíì* which things are they?
	ìmín ɗ ɗí who has come?
	ìmík ɗ ɗí who have come?
	ɗɔ́l ɔmín which man?
	ɗɔ́k ɔmík which men?
	ɔmín ɗ ɗ wɔ́rɔ́ɔ́ yín? who (is it that) sent you?
	wɔ́ ɗɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mínɔ́ whom shall we elect?
	wɔ́ɔ́ ɔn ɗ wɔ́ɔ́ mín this house is house whose? whose house is [this?
	wɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́k ɗ wɔ́ɔ́ mík whose houses are these?
	wɔ́ɔ́ ɗ which house? *rɔ́ɔ́ ɗ* which king?
	ɔywɔ́ɔ́ ɗ which fox? *ɔywɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɗ* which foxes?

mín (ímín) and probably also *ɗ* are no original interrogative pronouns, but are demonstratives; see *mín* in this sense 141; *ɗ* is probably the deictic element

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"it is", see 196; buth both are in the same time employed as interrogative, and *mɛ́n* even as a relative, see 145; originally it was: "this man!" and then, just as in English: "this man?" likewise: "it is a tree!" and: "it is a tree?" Here not even the position of the words is changed, but only their *tone; just as in Shilluk;* only the changing of tone goes the opposite way, the interrogative tone being low; see 206. 193*

Relative Pronouns.

a) What we express by a relative sentence, the Shilluk generally says in a simple sentence. Instead of saying: "the man who came yesterday, was my father" they says "the man came yesterday, he was my father"; (compare the English "the man I saw" instead of "the man whom I saw").

jal á bì dwà the man came yesterday, or: the man who came yesterday; *á* is not a relative pronoun, but a particle denoting the past tense;

wɔt a gɛ́rè wɛ́n the house (which) was built by us;

ɖeni á nɛ́kè yi ɖɔ́ɖɔ the cow (which) was killed by the people.

b) In a similar sense *mɛ́n* is employed; *mɛ́n* is "this, this one", see 141, but it serves also in expressing relative sentences:

yà ɲà dwátá mɛ́n é lɔ́jò, yà dwátá mɛ́n à tàr literally: "I do not want this one, it is black, I want this one, it is white" that is: "I do not want the one which is black, I want the one which is white".

mɛ́n may also be employed in a local sense: *e mɔ̄ɖɔ́ pi, mɛ́n àn lūm bogɔn* he drank water in a place, where there was no grass.

c) A real relative pronoun seems to be *má* who, which:

jal má bi the man who came *kɔ́i má bɔ̄n* the time which comes.

But this has rather the meaning of a participle: the coming time, the man having come. It is frequently used in connection with adjectives, see 149.

The Reflexive Pronoun.

It is formed with the help of *rɛ́* pl. *rɛ́i* "body".

rɛ́á my body, that is: myself
rɛ́i thy body, that is: thyself
rɛ́ his body, that is: himself
rɛ́i wɛ́n our body, that is: ourselves
rɛ́i wɛ́n your body, that is: yourselves
rɛ́i gɛ́n their body, that is: themselves
á nɛ́ka rɛ́ he killed himself

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*793 *gé nẹka rei gẹn* they killed themselves.

They say also:

a nẹka chwakẹ he killed his throat: himself.

"I myself" is expressed in a similar way:

á gwǫ́kè yá kí rèá "it was done, I with my body": I myself did it;

á gwǫ́kè yí kí rèí "it was done, you with your body": you yourself did it;

á gwǫ́kè é kẹ́rẹ́ he himself did it

á gwǫ́kè wǫ́ kí rei wǫ́n we ourselves did it

á gwǫ́kè wú kí rei wún you yourselves did it

á gwǫ́kè gé kí rei gẹn they themselves did it

or with *kẹ̄te* "alone":

á gwǫ́kè yá kẹ̄tá I did it myself

á gwǫ́kè yí kẹ̄tí you did it yourself

á gwǫ́kè é kẹ̄tẹ́ he did it himself

á gwǫ́kè wǫ́ kẹ̄tè wǫ́n we did it ourselves

á gwǫ́kè wú kẹ̄tè wún you did it yourselves

á gwǫ́kè gé kẹ̄tè gẹn they did it themselves.

This has also the meaning: I did it alone.

And: *yá kí chwáká* I with my throat: I myself; *yi ki chwaki* etc.

The Reciprocal Pronoun.

wǫ́ fōta rei wǫ́n we beat each other

gé fōta rei gẹn they beat each other.

THE ADJECTIVE.

Most adjectives do not distinguish between singular and plural, there are, however, a few which have different forms for both, and, what is very remarkable, the plural always has the ending *e*, which, in the noun, is the specific ending of the *singular*.

dúǫ́n pl.	*dẹ̄nẹ̀*	big, great	*ẹ̄ẹ̄* pl.	*ẹ̄ẹ̄nẹ̀*	small, little
chyẹ́k pl.	*chyẹ̄kẹ̀*	short	*bẹ̄r* pl.	*bẹ̄rẹ̀, bẹ̄rẹ̀*	long
ràch pl.	*rẹ̀chẹ̀*	bad.			

Note that all the plural-forms have low tone, and some, whose vowel in singular is short, have a long vowel, see 110.

Many adjectives have two forms, one denoting the gradual entering of a state, the growing into a state, and the second denoting the accomplished state.

dʋ̀ŋ̀ò becoming big, growing up;	*dúʋ̀ŋ̀* big, great, grown up	193*
rʋ̀ŋ̀ò acting badly, growing bad;	*ràch* bad	
lʋ̀ɲò becoming hot, feeling not;	*lʋ̀ɛ̀* hot.	

When adjectives are connected with nouns, the final consonant of the noun undergoes the changes described in 138.

In this connection, however, the adjective may be prefixed by the relative pronoun *má* (often *mɛ́*) "which", in this case no changes take place; but it is to be noted that *before má the final consonant of the noun is,* contrary to the rule in 107, *to be pronounced voiced,* whereas in all other connections the voice*less* consonant is the characteristic of the plural. This deviation from the common rule is analogous to the fact stated above, that the plural form of the adjective has the ending of the singular of nouns. In order to set forth the difference between the form without *má* and that with *má,* in the following examples the voiced final consonant is written voiced (contrary to the rule 38).

Note: *má (mɛ́)* has always distinctly high tone. The adjectives with *má* are in their meaning more emphatic than those without *má: duʋ̀ŋ̀* large, *madugŋ̀* very large, large indeed.

wʋ̀t house pl. *wʋ̀tì.*	*wʋ̀ŋ̀ dúʋ̀ŋ̀* big house	pl. *wʋ̀tì dʋ̀ŋ̀ò*
	wʋ̀d mádúʋ̀ŋ̀ big house	pl. *wʋ̀d mádʋ̀ŋ̀ò*
yat̀ tree pl. *yɛ̀ɲ.*	*yaɲ ʋ̀ɲ* small tree	pl. *yɛ̀ɲ ʋ̀ɲò*
	yad̀ mátʋ̀ɲ small tree	pl. *yɛ̀ɲ mátʋ̀ɲò*
rìt̀ king pl. *rʋ̀r.*	*rʋ̀ɲ dʋ̀ch* good king	pl. *rʋ̀r dʋ̀ch* [*mádʋ̀ch*
	rìd̀ mádʋ̀ch good king	pl. *rʋ̀r mádʋ̀ch,* or
atʋ̀p bag pl. *atʋ̀p.*	*àtʋ̀m làch* broad bag	pl. *àtʋ̀p làchò*
	atʋ̀b málàch broad bag	pl. *atʋ̀b málàchò*
òkʋ̀k flower pl. *ʋ̀kʋ̀k.*	*ʋkʋ̀ŋ̀ kwárò* red flower	pl. *òkʋ̀kí kwárò*
	òkʋ̀g mákwárò red flower	pl. *òkʋ̀g mákwárò*
lyɛ̀ch elephant pl. *líèch*	*lyɛ̀ŋ̀ lʋ̀jò* black elephant	pl. *liechí lʋ̀jò*
	lyɛ̀j málʋ̀jò black elephant	pl. *liej málʋ̀jò*
gwòk dog pl. *gúòk.*	*gwòŋ̀ tàr* white dog	pl. *guokì tàr*
	gwòg mátâr white dog	pl. *guôg mátâr*
mʋ̀gʋ̀ beer pl. *mʋ̀kì, mʋ̀kì.*	*mʋ̀ŋ̀ mɛ̀t* sweet beer	pl. *mʋ̀kì mɛ̀t*
	mʋ̀g mámɛ̂t sweet beer	pl. *mʋ̀kì mámɛ̂t*
yìt̀ leaf pl. *yìt̀*	*yiɲ bɛ̂l* bitter leaf	pl. *yiti bɛ̂l*
	yid̀ mábɛ̂l bitter leaf	pl. *yitɛ mábɛ̂l*

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rōjo fish pl. *rech, rechi*	*reń chyẹ̀k* short fish *rej máchyẹ̀k* short fish	pl. *réchi chyẹ̀kẹ* pl. *rej machyẹ̀kẹ*
yẹ̀ṭ neck pl. *yiẹ̀ṭ.*	*yẹ̀n bar* long neck *yẹ̀d mábâr* long neck	pl. *yiẹ̀ṭe bạrẹ (bẹrẹ)* pl. *yiẹ̀d mábạ̀rẹ*
lẹ́jẹ̀ tooth pl. *lẹ̀k.*	*lẹ́ń tar* white tooth *lẹ́j mátâr* white tooth	pl. *lẹ̀ki tar* pl. *lẹ̀g mátâr*
yẹ̄ road pl. *yẹ̀ṭ.*	*yū toch* narrow road *yẹ matoch* narrow road	pl. *yẹ̀ṭe toch* pl. *yẹ̀d matoch.*

All the connections without *má* may have two meanings, viz. 1st attributive, as they are rendered above: *a big house*, etc.; 2nd *predicative, the house is big* etc., that is, the adjectives have the quality of verbs, and are treated as such, they may be conjugated like any verb; but the adjectives with *má* are only used in an attributive sense.

Comparison.

The means of comparing an object with another are rather scanty, the people not feeling the need of comparison as we do. They simply say: this thing is big, and that one is not big, or: is a little big.

a) The most common way of expressing a higher degree of quality or quantity is to lengthen the vowel, and at the same time to raise the tone.

But generally this is only possible in words which have the high or middle tone, not with the low-toned ones; with these the low tone is so essentially connected that a high tone would be incompatible with them. Examples of adjectives whose tone may be raised, are: *dẹ̀ch* good, *gír* many, *ṭẹ̀n* small, *tóch* narrow.

b) Words with low tone may be intensified in their meaning by still lowering their tone, as for instance *ràch* bad, *dẹ̀ńẹ̀* big, *ńẹ̀ńẹ̀* much, many.

Other means for expressing a higher degree of an adjective are:

c) lengthening of a vowel only: *mẹ̀dẹ̀* sweet, *mẹ̀dẹ̀* very sweet; *ńẹ̀ńẹ̀* many (the first vowel to be lengthened).

d) repetition of the adjective: *ràch* bad, *ràch ràch* very bad. In these repetitions generally the vowel in the second word is long.

e) the word is repeated and the second gets the prefix *ma: dẹ̀ch máddẹ̀ch* "good which is (really) good": very good, exceedingly good.

f) "*rach*" is very much used in this sense; e. g. *ràch kí dẹ̀ch* "bad with goodness" that is: exceedingly good; *rach kí lẹ̀n* "bad with being far": very, very far.

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g) by adding *wọk* "outside": *ḟẹ̄ wọk* "small outside", that is "small beyond anything", very, very small. 193*

h) *chàr, chàrỳ* "very" may be added.

i) by *fōḍọ* "to surpass"; this form together with those under k expresses a real comparison: *yí dà ḍọk máfɔ̄ḍ ḍọk pyàrỳ* "he has cows surpassing cows ten": he has more than ten cows; *jè á ṭọ́ù, yí fɔ̄ḍọ́ jè ádẹ̀k* "people died, they surpassed people three": more than three people died.

k) *rúnḍ á mòl, rúnd yà chái* "his years are above, my years are behind": he is older than I;
yá mọ̀ló bẹ̄n ḍ́ tọ́k "I was first coming he was absent": I came earlier than he;
ba duọn nè yán (he is) not (so) old as I.

THE NUMERALS.

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Cardinal Numbers.

ákyẹ̀l 1	*dryọ̀u* 2	*ádẹ̀k* 3	*ánwọ̀n* 4
ábích 5	*ábikyẹ̀l* 6	*ábíryọ̀u* 7	*ábídẹ̀k* 8
ábínwọ̀n 9	*pyàrỳ* 10	*pyàrỳ wíy ákyẹ̀l*	11
pyàrỳ wíy dryọ̀u	12	*pyàrỳ wíy ádẹ̀k*	13
pyàrỳ wíy ánwọ̀n	14	*pyàrỳ wíy ábích*	15
pyàrỳ wíy ábikyẹ̀l	16	*pyàrỳ wíy ábíryọ̀u*	17
pyàrỳ wíy ábídẹ̀k	18	*pyàrỳ wíy ábínwọ̀n*	19
pyàr dryọ̀u	20	*pyàr dryọ̀u wíy kí ákyẹ̀l*	21
pyàr dryọ̀u wíy kí dryọ̀u	22	*pyār ádẹ̀k*	30
pyār ánwọ̀n	40	*pyār ábích*	50
pyār ábikyẹ̀l	60	*pyār ábíryọ̀u*	70
pyār ábídẹ̀k	80	*pyār ábínwọ̀n*	90
pyàr pyàr	100	*pyàr pyàr wíy kí ákyẹ̀l*	101.

Only the numerals from one to five and ten are primitive, all the rest are compositions. The beginning *á* in the names for one to five is secondary, and is probably identical with *á* "it is"; the ordinal numbers do not have it. Mark the mechanical intonation in the numbers from one to four. *pyàrỳ* pl. *pyàr* is a substantive; *ábikyẹ̀l* is of course 5 + 1; *pyāro wíy akyẹl* means "ten, on its head one" i. e. ten, added to it one; this is still more evident in the following forms, which are also used: *pyàrỳ wíjẹ́ dà ákyẹ̀l* "ten, its head has one", or: *pyàrỳ wíy kí ákyẹ̀l* "ten, (its) head with one".

*193 802 The numeral follows the noun: *wọt dryġu* two houses; often *ga* "copy" is inserted between both: *chàñ gá pyārọ* ten days.

Ordinal Numbers.

They are rarely used. In forming them the prefix *á* is dropped and the simple stem is used, with the exception of "the first", which is formed from *mal* "above".

àmálọ the first	*ryġu* the second	*dġk, dẹk* the third
ñwẹn the fourth	*bích* the fifth	*pyārọ* the tenth.

THE VERB.

*193 The *stem of the verb* is uniform. It always consists in a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, or a consonant, a semivowel, a vowel, and a consonant. But the sounds of the stem may undergo certain changes, on which see 187.

Conjugation of the Verb.

The verb has two principal modes or tenses:

1. The Present Tense. This denotes an action as going on, as being done just now, as one not yet finished. This action may be going on in the present as well as in the past or future; the emphasis does *not* lie *on the time*, but on the fact that the action is *not finished*, but is being done, it "has not become", but "is becoming".

   Generally the Present in Shilluk corresponds to the English Present, but it may also describe the Past or the Future: "I am going", "I was going", "I shall be going".

2. The Perfect denotes the action as complete, it describes that which "has become", a state, an accomplished fact. While the Present means: "he is going" the Perfect is: "he is gone", "he is away".

*193 197 [These same two tenses with exactly the same meanings are found in the Semitic languages, they are there called Imperfect and Perfect. I have retained the name "Present" because it is introduced already, and a new term might lead to confusion. In these two forms there is another conformity between Shilluk and Semitic languages: in Hebrew the verb in the Imperfect (= Shilluk Present) is always preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun follows the verb; in Shilluk the verb

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in the Present (= Hebrew Imperfect) is preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun or noun may precede *or follow* the verb. In Nama (Hottentott) and Fulfulde, two Hamitic languages, the subject may also precede *or* follow the verb.] 193* [197]

Besides these two the verb has the following modes:

3. The Future;
4. The Habitual; it denotes action which is done repeatedly, usually, habitually, either in the Present or in the Past.
5. The Imperative.
6. The Verbal Noun; is a real noun, corresponding to the English "going", "eating".
7. The Noun Agent; denotes the doer of the action expressed in the verb. There are two forms, one for expressing an occasional, and the other the habitual doer.
8. The Passive Voice.

Examples showing the conjugation of the verb.

The Verb without an Object.

Stem: *cham* to eat.

Present.

yá chàmò I am eating	*yí chàmò* you (s.) are eating
ẹ́ (yẹ́) chàmò he is eating	*wá chàmò* we are eating
wú chàmò you are eating	*gẹ́ chàmò* they are eating.

The verb in the present always ends in *ọ*; this *ọ* is sounded very faintly, see 2.

Nearly all verbs have in the present exactly the same form: the first vowel is long, and both syllables have a low tone. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, viz.

a) the first vowel may be short; in this case the vowel is often high: *kẹ́ḍò* to go; but at the same time: *kàḍò* to go; *ryẹ̀rò* to come forth.

b) the first vowel, being long, may have the falling tone; in connection with it the second vowel has sometimes middle, but generally low, tone: *gwâsò* to dig, *gâlò* to be vexed. As this is the form and intonation of the infinitive (see 170) these "present forms" may properly be infinitives, these having taken the place of the low-toned present tense.

In most cases the second consonant, if mute, is voiced.

A second form of the present tense is formed by putting *dò* between the subject and the verb:

yá dò chàmò I am (or was) engaged in eating, I have been eating.

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Perfect.

yá chàm I ate	*yá kɛ́ɛ́* I went
yí chàm you ate	*yí kɛ́ɛ́* you went
á chàm he ate	*á kɛ́ɛ́* he went
wá, wú, gɛ́ chàm we, you, they ate	*wá, wú gɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́* we, you, they went
yá ńɛ̀ɛ̀ I laughed	*wá ńɛ̀ɛ̀* we laughed
yí ńɛ̀ɛ̀ you laughed	*wú ńɛ̀ɛ̀* you laughed
á ńɛ̀ɛ̀ he laughed	*gɛ́ ńɛ̀ɛ̀* they laughed.

Characteristics of the Perfect are:

1. the vowel *á*; appears in the 3rd p. sing. only; the personal pronoun is then dropped.
2. the final vowel *ɛ* is dropped.
3. With a few exceptions the second (mute) consonant, which in most cases is voiced in the Present, becomes voiceless.
4. The Perfect ends either in the second consonant, or the vowel *i* is added to the stem.
5. As a rule the tone of the stem-vowel is low; the vowel has, however, not unfrequently a high or falling tone.
6. On vowel- and consonant-changes in the Perfect vide below 182, 187.
7. While in the Present the subject, whether noun or pronoun, always precedes the verb, in the Perfect the subjective noun or pronoun may follow the verb, and very often does so. In this case the tone on both syllables, that is on verb and noun, is high, in the singular; where the suffixed pronoun is a single vowel, the final vowel of the verb, if there is one, is dropped; in the plural a final vowel of the verb is preserved; if the verb ends in a mute consonant, and has no final vowel, the "helping vowel" is sometimes inserted; the same is the case when the subject is a noun beginning in a mute consonant.

This form retains *a*, the sign of the Imperfect, through all persons, *but its tone is low* (contrast-tone, see 59). — The second consonant, if mute, becomes voiced again, except where the helping vowel is inserted.

à rɛ́ńá I ran	*à rɛ́ńí* you ran
à rɛ́ńí he ran	*à rɛ́ń wá* we ran
à rɛ́ń wú you ran	*à rɛ́ń gɛ́* they ran
à ńɛ́gá I killed	*à kɛ́ɛ́gá* I went
à chwɔ́ll you called	*à gwɛ́ɛ́dɛ́* he wrote.

If the subject is a noun, sometimes the helping vowel is added to the verb, and sometimes not:

à kɛ́ɛ́ obwoń the stranger went;	*à kɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́twɔ̌ŋ* the hyena went;
à gɛ́ɛ́chá ríɛ́ the king struck;	*à bɛ̌ŋ ńal* the boy came

but: *ṡal e bẹ̄ŋo* the boy is coming *obwoṅ e kẹ̱dọ* the stranger is going. 193*

Sometimes the subjective noun is placed at the head, the corresponding subjective pronoun following the verb:

ḡāẹ̱ kẹ́ṅ à ḡọ́wọ́ a man, when he dies: when a man dies.

8. Verbs who have instead of the second consonant a semivowel.

a) *y*. No *i* is added in the Perfect. The *y* unites with the preceding vowel to a diphthong: *toyo* to pierce, perfect *toi*.

b) *w*. Here likewise generally no *i* is added: *ḡọwọ* to die, perfect *ḡọ̀u* (also *ḡọ̀*). *ṅgawọ* to trade, perfect *ṅgau*, seldom *ṅgawi*.

Sometimes the subjective pronoun is employed twice, before and behind the verb; for the last not the suffixed, but the emphatic or the subjective form are used; note the changes of the tone!

yí rè gwàl yìn why [*re*] are you (so) thin? *ḡ́ rè̀ gwàl ḡèn* why is he (so) thin?
gḡ́ rè̀ gwàl gḡèn why are they (so) thin? *wú rè gwàl ùn* why are you (pl.) (so) thin?
ḡ́ rè̀ kẹ́ḡḡ́ why did he go? *yí rè kẹ́ḡ́* or: *kẹ́ḡḡ́* why did you go?
wú bẹ̄n wà we came *wú rè kẹ́ḡùn* why did you go?
gḡ́ kẹ́ḡ́ gḡ́ kẹ́ṅ where did they go? *gḡ́ bẹ̄n gḡ́n* they came
wú kẹ́ḡ́ wú kẹ́ṅ where did you go?

If *kà* "and" introduces a sentence, the subject, if a pronoun, always follows the verb, and the object always precedes the verb.

kà kyèṅ gḡ̱já and I struck the horse *kà kyèṅ gḡ̱jí* and you struck the horse.

Future.

The characteristic of the Future is the particle *ṅ*,[1] which is placed before the verb. In most cases the present form of the verb is used, but not unfrequently that of the Perfect as well, but in this last case with a slight changing of tone: if the tone is low in the Perfect, it becomes middle in the Future.

yá ṅ̀ chàmọ̀ I shall eat *wá ṅ̀ chàmọ̀* we shall eat
yí ṅ̀, or *yá chàmọ̀* you will eat *wú chàmọ̀* you will eat
ṅ̀ chàmọ̀ he will eat *gḡ́ ṅ̀ chàmọ̀* they will eat
yá ṅ̀ ṅḡ́ḡ́ I shall laugh *wá ṅ̀ kẹ́ḡ́* we shall go.

As the Present, so too the Future has a second form, with *dè* placed between pronoun and verb: *yá ṅ̀ dè chàmọ̀* I shall eat. There may be (or at least may have been) a difference of meaning between the two forms, but I have found none.

Habitual.

The *Habitual* is formed by putting the auxiliary verb *ṅí* "to use to" between subject and the Present form of the verb.

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[1] In Masai the Future is formed by suffixing *u*. Hollis page 59.

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yá ńí chàmọ̀ I use or used to eat — *gé ńí kẹ́ḍọ̀* they use or used to go
é ńí gwẹ̀ḍọ̀ he uses or used to write.

Imperative.

chàm eat! — *kẹ́ṭ, kẹ́ḍí* go! — *bí kẹ́ḍọ̀* come, (let us) go!
pl. *chàmùn* eat![1] — pl. *kẹ́ḍùn* go! — *chàm wà* let us eat!
kẹ́ṭ wà, kẹ́ḍè wọ̀n let us go! — *chùńí* be quiet! pl. *chùńùn* be quiet.

In the singular *i*, the suffix of the 2d p., may be added or not.

The Verb with a Noun as Object.

Present.

The second vowel receives a middle tone.

yá chàmọ̀ byẹ́l I am (or was) eating dura.
yá kẹ́ḍọ̀ gat I am (or was) going to the river-bank.

Perfect.

If the Perfect ends in *i*, this *i* is retained, if it ends in a consonant, an *a*, in some cases *i*, is added. I am not quite clear as to the tones; "*a*" always seems to have a low tone, "*i*" has sometimes a middle, sometimes also a low tone.

yá chàmà byẹ́l I ate dura — *yá ńńí kwọf* I heard a talk
yá kẹ́ṭà pach I went home — *yá mṵ̀ṭí (mṵ̀ḍí) pi* I drank water.

Future.

The final vowel has a middle tone.

yá ý chàmọ̀ byẹ́l I shall eat dura — *yá ý kẹ́ṭí pach* I shall go home.

Habitual.

Follows the rules of the Present.

Imperative.

In the 2nd p. sing. almost always *i* is added; the 2nd p. pl. has *u* suffixed instead of *un*.

chàm byẹ́l / *chàmí byẹ́l* } eat dura! — pl. *chàmu byẹ́l* eat dura!
chàm wá byẹ́l let us eat dura! — *nẹk wá ńarōjọ̀* let us kill a calf!
kẹ́ḍe wá pach let us go home! — *māḍe wá pi* let us drink water!

Verbal Noun (Infinitive).

The Verbal Noun occurs in two chief forms:

a) without the final vowel; the stem-vowel has a middle tone;
b) with the final vowel *ọ*; the stem-vowel has a falling, and the final vowel a low tone.

Deviations from this rule do occur, but are not frequent. Sometimes a semivowel occurs. Examples:

yá gọ̀gọ̀ I am working — n. *gwẹ̀k* working

[1] This *un* is of course the personal pronoun of the second person plural.

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yá gwɛ̀dò I am writing	n.	*gwɛ̀t* writing
yá chwɛ̀tò I am calling	n.	*chwɛ̀t* calling
yá nâgò I am killing	n.	*nɛ̀k* killing
yá rûmò I am thinking	n.	*rûmò* thinking
yá tâbò I am cheating	n.	*tâbò* cheating
yá mâdò I am drinking	n.	*mâɛ̀* drinking.

In adding a genetive, or an adjective pronoun to the verbal noun, the changes described in 138 occur: *gwɛ̀n ìn* this working.

Noun Agent.

The language distinguishes two kinds of noun agent, one for the person who does something just now or occasionally, the other denoting the habitual doer of the action.

The first is formed by a connection of words which is really a sentence: *ńān e gēgo* "this man is working" (see 83), *ńate* + the demonstrative *n* is connected *with the present tense of the verb;* this means "one who is working just now". In the second form *ńate* without a pronoun is combined *with the verbal noun: ńate gwɔ̀k* "a man of working", a man whose habit or calling it is to work, a workman.

ńān e mādo a man drinking just now
ńate mâɛ̀ one who drinks habitually, a drinker.

The Passive Voice.

The Shilluk forms a Passive Voice, whose chief characteristic is the high-low (the falling), and in some cases the high tone. It consists merely in the stem, no final vowel being added. The stem-vowel is a little shorter than in the Present and Perfect, it may be described as half-long, but is marked as short in this book. In some cases a semivowel is inserted between the first consonant and the vowel.

Probably the Passive Voice was originally an intransitive form of the verb, *denoting a state:* from *gēgo* to work, *gwɔ̀k* "worked", *á gwɔ̀k* "it is worked"; *chàmò* to eat, *chám* "eaten"; *bygl á chám* the dura is eaten, properly "is an eaten one"; *fòdò* to beat, *fwòt* "beaten", "a beaten one"; so we can hardly speak of passive tenses, it is rather a mood, an accomplished condition or situation. But nevertheless the form clearly conveys the meaning of a real Passive, which is best shown by the fact that the doer of the action is added to the verb, so its grammatical construction corresponds exactly to that of the Passive in European languages; sometimes, though not frequently, even a Future of the Passive is formed by prefixing *ń*.

The doer of the action may be expressed by a noun, or by a pronoun.

a) by a noun.

*193 Here always *yì* "by" is added:

byɛ́l a chám yì jál ɡní the dura was eaten by this man

ńal á fwɔ́t yì jɔ̄ɡù the boy was beaten by the chief.

The original meaning of *yì* "by" is not known; perhaps it is some deictic pronoun "it is": "he was beaten it is the chief" (who did it); it can be identical with *yì* "towards".

b) by an absolute pronoun.

The 'helping vowel' is added to the verb. In this case the stem-vowel has a high tone, the 'helping vowel' being low. Perhaps the 'helping vowel' here is the shortened *yì*.

á chámè yán it was eaten by me *á chámè yín* it was eaten by you

á chámè ɡín it was eaten by them.

Sometimes *yì* is also used here: *á chám yì ɡín* it was eaten by him.

c) by the suffixed pronoun.

Here a very peculiar distinction between singular and plural is made: for both numbers the pronouns of the singular are used, but if the doers are a plurality of persons, the last consonant of the verb becomes voiceless; this is of course only possible in verbs ending in a mute consonant; in the rest no distinction is made; but if a distinction seems necessary here, the plural of the pronoun may be employed.

á ɡwɔ́ɡà it was worked by me, *á ɡwɔ́kà* it was worked by us

á kwɔ́bà it was spoken by me, *á kwɔ́pà* it was spoken by us

á máɡà it was drunk by me, *á máɸà* it was drunk by us

á ɡwɔ́ɗà it was written by you sing., *á ɡwɔ́ɸà* it was written by you, pl.

á lɛ́ɡà it was seen by him, *á lɛ́ɸà* it was seen by them.

[The verbs following in their intonation the rule demonstrated here, are in the majority; but besides them some examples have been written down by me which deviate in their tones:

á chɛ́ɸlà he was called by me, *á lɛ́ɸɡà* it was washed by me,

á sɛ́ɸdá it was cut by me, *á ɲɔ́d* it was heard by me,

á nɔ́ɡá it was killed by me.

But these are possibly misunderstandings.]

Most foreigners have considerable difficulties in distinguishing the active voice from the passive, the difference between both lying in most cases solely in the intonation. Misunderstandings are easily possible, where the imperfect (active) has a high tone, as *yɔ́tà* to find. — The natives generally prefer to speak in the passive voice; therefore the foreigner can best avoid misunderstandings by using the passive voice as much as possible and by supposing that what a native tells him, to be passive, and not active.

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The chief characteristics of the passive have been given above; the following examples may serve to illustrate the difference in sounds and intonation between active and passive: 193*

yé ŋ̱ɔ̀kà jal an I beat this man
yé ŋ́ɔk yi jal an I was beaten by this man
yé ŋ̱ɔ̀kà yín I beat you
yé ŋ́ɔkà yín I was beaten by you
yé chàmà ńàtò I cheated somebody
yé chám yi ńàtò I was cheated by somebody
á chàmà yán he cheated me
á chámà yán he was cheated by me
yé chàmà ɲa I cheated him
yé chámà ɲa or *yi ɲa* I was cheated by him
á chwìlà ńal he called the child
á chwíl yi ńal he was called by the child.

Doubling of a Verb.

In order to intensify the meaning of a verb, it can be doubled; examples for this have been given in 75; a particular kind of doubling a verb is this: the verb is pronounced twice, the first being high toned on its first syllable, the second being low toned on both syllables:

yé chámà chàmà I shall surely eat;
yí ŋ̱ɔ̀ŋà ŋ̱ɔ̀ŋà I shall surely kill you;
yí chámà chàmà you will by all means be eaten.

Different tones has: *á dɔ̀yi dɔ̀yí* it increased gradually, by and by. Mark the long vowel in the second verb.

Change of Sounds in Verbs.

Many verbs undergo certain changes of sounds in their conjugation, these have not been treated in the preceding pages.

The changes may be classified thus:

a) changes in the second consonant.
b) changes in the stem-vowel.
c) changes in the semivowel preceding the stem-vowel.

a) Changes in the second consonant.

The second consonant, if mute, may change in the perfect, passive and verbal noun. Not all mute consonants change, and in some the form with a changed consonant is employed besides the unchanged form, both having exactly the same meaning. There is no rule to show when the second consonant does change, and when not.

A List of Verbs in their different Forms.							
English	Present	Perfect	Future	Passive	Imperative	Verbal Noun	Noun Agent
tell lies	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]
beat beat the horse	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible] [illegible] k. [illegible] k.	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible]
hoe, till hoe the field	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] f.	[illegible] [illegible] f.	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] f.	[illegible]	[illegible]
build build a house	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]
write write a book	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] w.	[illegible] [illegible] w.	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] w. [illegible] w.	[illegible] [illegible] w.	[illegible]
work	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
go	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
speak speak a word	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]
hear hear a talk	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] k. [illegible] k.	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible] [illegible] k.	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
see see a bird	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] w.	[illegible] [illegible] w.	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] w., [illegible] w.	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
wash wash a cloth	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] l.	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] l.	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
drink drink water	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (not [illegible]!)	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
give give money	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] d. [illegible] d.	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] d.	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible], [illegible], money d., [illegible] d., [illegible] d.	[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

Continued.

English	Present	Perfect	Future	Passive	Imperative	Verbal Noun	Noun Agent
kill kill a sheep	nâgò nâgò dyêl	nèkì nèkà d. nekí d.	ŷ nèkí ŷ nèkí d.	nêk	nêk nâgán nêk d. nâgu d	nêk nâgn àn	nân e nâgò nate nêk
sleep	nénò	nên	ŷ néni	—	nêni nênun	nénò	nîin nên
laugh	nîtò	nîtì	ŷ nîtí	—	nîtí, nîtán	nîtò, nyetò nyêr àn	nîin a nîtò
hew	nùdò nùdò yat	nât nudí y. nota y.	ŷ nùdò ŷ nùdò y.	nôt, nôl	nùdi, nudun nôti y. nôtu y.	nôt nôn an	nîin e nùdò nate nôt
eat eat dura	chàmò chàmò byél	chàm chàmí b. chàmà b.	ŷ chàmò ŷ chàmò b.	châm	châm châmun châmí b. châmu b.	châm	nîin a chàmò nate châm
call call a child	chwòtò chwòtò n.	chwôtì chwôtì n. chwôlà n.	ŷ chwôtí n.	chwôl	chwôtì chwôtun	chwôt	nîin e chwòtò nate chwôt
run	rînò	rîn	ŷ rîní	—	rîní, rînán	rînò	nîin a rînò
buy	nèdwò	nèdù	ŷ nèdwò	nèdù	nèdu nèwun	nèdu	nîin e nèdu
bring, carry bring a tree	thdò thdò yat	thî thra y.	ŷ thdò ŷ thdò y.	thr, tyêr	thr, thrà	thr	nîin e thdò nate thr
play	tùgò	tûk	ŷ tûk	—	tûkù	tùgò, tùn àn	nîin e tûk
search search a cow	yêbò yêbò ganí	yêp yéfà g.	ŷ yêbò ŷ yêbò g.	yéf	yéf, yêbùn yéf g.	yêbò, yêm àn	nîin e yêbò
sweep sweep a house	yèjò yèjò wat	yéch yéchà wat	ŷ yèjò ŷ yèjò wat	yèchà	yèch, yèjùn yay wat	yèch, yèà àn	nîin e yèjò nate yèch
find find a thing	yètò, yìtò yètò gin	yìtì (g.) yètà g.	ŷ yètò (g.) ŷ yìtì (g.)	yèt, yuèt		yètò yên an	nîin e yìtò

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Present	Imperfect	Passive	Verbal Noun
t, d > l			
kpty to throw	*á kpla gin*	*kpl*	
bedy to roast	*á bet, or á bel*	*bel*	
chedy to compensate	*á chét, á chél*		*chél*
chwedy to call	*á chwela,*[1] *á chwela*	*chwel*	
dídy to brew	*á dwela*	*dwel*	*dwel*
yídy to scratch	*á yíla*	*yil*	*yil*
kpídy to bring	*á kpíl*	*kpl*	
kedy to pull out	*á kpla*	*kpl*	*kpl*
kwídy to steal	*kwel, kwíla*	*kwel*	
kwedy to drive	*kwel, kwela*	*kpl*	*kpl*
lídy to shave		*kpl*	
dwedy to touch	*dwel*	*dwel*	*dwel*
ádídy to cut	*ádí*	*ádí*	
ájídy to cut	*ájí, ájí*	*ají*	
wídy to pound	*wíla*	*wil*	*wil*
yíjídy to save		*yíjl*	
t, d > r			
tyty to carry	*tyri, tyra*	*tir*	
t, d > n			
yyty to carve	*yyní*		*yin*
k, g > l			
ghídy to cook	*ghíla*	*ghíl*	
wídy to change	*wíla*	*wil*	*wil*
k, g > r			
ádídy to laugh	*ádíl*		*ádíl*
yíedy to cut	*yíela, yíera*	*yíel yíer*	
k, g > y			
dwedy to be weak	*dwiy*		
b > m			
kíby to be cold	*kímí*		*kíbí*
kíby to speak	*kímí kwíy*	*kwíp*	*kwíp*

In these words the forms with a mute consonant are doubtlessly primitive; from them the present tense was formed by suffixing *y*, so the primitive mute consonant is preserved here in the present; in a later period the mutes were, by different influences, transformed; the primary cause of their transformation was perhaps their position at the end of a word. See note in 46 concerning *t, d > r*.

In frequent cases, however, the consonant was also changed in the present tense; but in these cases the unchanged form of the present also exists beside the changed one; thus many verbs have two present (and perfect) tenses,

[1] In the forms ending in *a* a noun as object is to follow.

different in their form, but uniform in their meaning; sometimes not only the second consonants, but also the vowels of two forms differ, the vowel of the changed form always being identical with that form of the primitive verb which has the changed consonant, so that one can say: *from the changed form of the primitive verb a new verb has been formed;* an example will illustrate what is meant: Present *chuŋŋ* to call, past *chuŋŋ*, *chuŋŋ*, or *chuŋl*, passive *chuŋl;* now from the form *chuŋl* the present of a new verb is formed: *chuŋlŋ* to call, past *chuŋl*, passive *chuŋl*. 193*

Double forms in which the second verb is derived from a tense or mood of the first:

chuŋ to compensate	perf. *chôt* and *chôl*			n. *chôl*
chôlŋ to compensate	perf. *chôl*			n. *chôlŋ*
dŋŋ to brew	perf. *duŋlo*	pe. *duŋl*	n. *duŋl*
duŋlŋ to brew	perf. *duŋlo*	pe. *duŋl*	
gŋŋ to build	perf. *gŋro*	pe. *gŋlr*	
gŋŋr to build	perf. *gŋgro*	pe. *gŋlr*	
kŋŋ to bring	perf. *kŋlk*, *kgl*	pe. *kŋl*	
kŋlŋ to bring	perf. *kgl*		
kuŋ to pull out	perf. *kŋlo*	pe. *kŋl*	n. *kŋl*
kŋlŋ to pull out	perf. *kŋlo*		
kuŋŋ to steal	perf. *kuŋŋ*, *kuŋlo*	pe. *kuŋl*	
kuŋlŋ to steal	perf. *kuŋlo*		
lŋŋ to shave		pe. *lŋŋl*	
lŋŋlŋ to shave			
muŋŋ to touch	perf. *muŋŋ*	pe. *muŋl*	
muŋlŋ to touch	perf. *muŋlo*		
nôŋŋ to butcher	perf. *nôt*	pe. *nôt*, *nôl*	
nôlŋ to butcher	perf. *nôl*		
wôŋŋ to pound	perf. *wôlô*	pe. *wôl*	
wôlŋ to pound	perf. *wôlô*.		

Some verbs have double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their second consonant unchanged through all tenses and modes. The meanings of the two verbs are in most cases identical, but in some there is a difference.

ŋŋŋ and *ŋŋŋ* to move into
kŋŋ and *lŋŋ* to turn
duŋŋ and *duŋŋ* to search, want, wish
guŋŋ kŋ to "wink" with the lips, and *guŋŋ* to wink
fuŋŋ and *fuŋŋ* to pull out

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kūḷẹ and *kuṇẹ* to blow up a fire
fīḍẹ to pass and *fīṇẹ* to pass
ṇyīḍẹ to milk and *ṇīṇẹ* to let the milk down.

Those verbs which are virtually adjectives (see 150), have some peculiarities. Example: *rīch* "(to be) bad"; this form corresponds in its sounds and its meaning to the Perfect of the common verbs: it ends in a mute consonant, and it designates a state, not an action; this form as such does not change the final consonant; a regular present may be formed from it (though not from all verbs of this kind): *rīṇẹ* "to become bad, act badly"; but besides this regular form of the present it has a second, in which the second consonant turns into the corresponding nasal one: *rīṇẹ* "to become bad, act badly".

ṇyā little	*ṇīṇẹ*	to become little or few
ḍā hard	*ḍīṇẹ* and *ḍīṇẹ*	to become hard, feel hard
dīch good	*dīṇẹ* and *dīṇẹ*	to become good, act well
kīch strong	*kīṇẹ*	to become or be strong
rīch bad	*rīṇẹ* and *rīṇẹ*	to become or be bad, act badly.

In one case, however, such a word has the nasal consonant in the adjective (perfect) form already:

duṇā big	*dīṇẹ*	to become big, grow up; here a form with a mute consonant does not exist.

b) Changes in the Stem-vowel.

Here the very same process as in the change of consonants is to be observed. Present *ạ* > *ẹ* in perf. and passive.

kạḍẹ to bring		pe. *kīḍ*	
kạṇẹ to boil		pe. *kīṇ*	
fạḍẹ to be tired		pe. *fīṭ*	
fạṇẹ to ride	perf. *a fạṇí* and *a fṇí*		
kạḷẹ to take by force			n. *kīḷẹ*
kạḍẹ to twist	perf. *kīṭ*, *kīḍ*		
kạṇẹ to echo			n. *kīṇ*
kạṇẹ to plant	perf. *kīṇ*		
ṇạṇẹ to kill	perf. *ṇīṇ*		
kīḷẹ and *kạḷẹ* to tie		pe. *kīch* and *kīṭch*	
dīṇẹ and *dạṇẹ* to scatter	perf. *dṇí*.		

Present *ạ* > *a* in imp. and passive.

chạḷẹ to mix	perf. *chapa*	pe. *chīp* and *chīp*	
fạṇẹ to be sharp	perf. *fīṇ*		
kạḷẹ to take by force	perf. *kapa*	pe. *kīp*	n. *kīṇ*.

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lɯ̄gɣ	to inherit	perf. *laka*	pe. *lák*	n. *lák.*

Present *a* > *ɛ* in perf. and passive.

bājɣ	to tie	perf. *bɛcha*	pe. *bɛ́ch*	
gwūdɣ	to tie	perf. *gwɛ́gi*		
gwūrɣ	to snatch			n. *gwɛ́grɣ*

Present *i* > *e:* and *gwɛ́grɣ*

wēdɣ	to change	perf. *wēla.*		

Changes between *ɯ*, *o* and *u*.

tugɣ	to crush			n. *tʊ́k*
lūgɣ	to turn	perf. *lɯgi*		n. *lʊ́k*
kudɣ	to pull out	perf. *kɯla*	pe. *kʊ́l*	n. *kʊ́l*
nōnɣ	to become little,	*nɯk* little		
kōdɣ	to fasten			n. *kʊ̄dʊ́*
chudɣ	to compensate	perf. *chól.*		

Double forms with different vowels; the second verb is derived from a tense or mood of the first:

chudɣ	to compensate	perf. *chól*		
chōlɣ	to compensate	perf. *chól*		
fɯdɣ	to be tired	perf. *fʊ́t*		
fɛdɣ and *fidɣ*	to be tired	perf. *fʊ́t*		
fūlɣ	to raise			n. *fʊ́lʊ́*
fūlɣ	to raise			
kɯbɣ	to take by force			n. *kʊ́pʊ́*
kɛpɣ	to take by force			
kɯdɣ	to twist	perf. *kʊ́t*		
kɛdɣ	to twist			
kɯ̄gɣ	to plant		pe. *kʊ́k*	
kɛgɣ	to plant			
kudɣ	to pull out	perf. *kɯla*	pe. *kʊ́l*	
kūlɣ	to pull out.			

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel unchanged through all tenses and modes. The meaning of the two verbs is in most cases identical, but in some there is a difference:

dɯ̄gɣ and *dɛ̄gɣ* to move into	*dɯgnɣ*, *dɯgnɣ* and *dɛgnɣ*	to evaporate
dɯntɣ and *dɯntɣ* to want, wish		
gɯrɣ and *gɛrɣ* to tattoo	*gɯnɛ́ɣ* and *gɯgɛ́ɣ* to scratch	
kūdɣ and *kɯdɣ* to go	*mɛ̄tɣ* and *mītɣ* to hold fast	
nūjɣ and *nūjɣ* to know, recognise	*nūdɣ* to butcher, *nūdɣ* to cut	

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pūno and *pękę* to fill *kwālę* and *kwętę* to steal.

c) Changes in the Semivowel.[1]

The Semivowels *w* or *y* are inserted in the stem in order to form certain tenses or modes of the verb.

dōdę to brew beer	perf. *dwęla*	pe. *dwǫ́l*	n. *dwǫ̀l*
fōję to make butter		pe. *fwǫ́ch*	
gūgę to work		pe. *gwǫ́k*	
gūńę to scratch	perf. *gwǫ́ńa*		n. *gwǫ́ńù*
kūgę to stick		pe. *kwǫ́k*	
kūtę to drive	perf. *kwęti*, *kwęla*	pe. *kǫ́l*, *kwǫ́l*	
kūbę to speak		pe. *kwǫ́p*	n. *kwǫ̀p*
lōdę to wade	perf. *lwǫ́t*	pe. *lwǫ́t*	
lōgę to wash [forth	perf. *lęgi*, *lwęka*	pe. *lwǫ́k*	
ńōdù to bear, bring	perf. *ńōt*, *ńwǫ̀l*	pe. *ńwǫ́l*	n. *ńwōdù*
ńūmę to marry	perf. *ńūmi*	pe. *ńwǫ́m*	
ńotę to spit	perf. *ńwoti*		
rūmę to fetch water	perf. *rwęma*	pe. *rwǫ́m*	n. *rwǫ̀m*
tōdę to tell lies	perf. *twota*	pe. *twǫ́t*	n. *twǫ̀t*
yūbę to bewitch	perf. *ywęba*	pe. *ywǫ́p*	
būkę to fear,	*bwūkę* to make one fear, to frighten		
ḍūḍù to suck,	*ḍwǫ́ḍù* to suckle a child		
dūgę to go back	*dwūgę* to come back		
fęchę to ask	perf. *fęcha*	pe. *fyęch*	
fętę to lie	perf. *fęt*	pe. *fyęt*	n. *fyęt*
fęmę to gainsay			n. *fyęm*
gętę to build	perf. *gętę*	pe. *gyęr*	
gętę to sacrifice	perf. *gyęta*	pe. *gięt*	
kętę to dig out		pe. *kyęr*	
lętę to shave	perf. *lętl*	pe. *lyęl*	
mętę to twist	perf. *myęn*	pe. *myęn*	
ńętę to laugh [guest	perf. *ńęti*		n. *ńyęrù*
reję to receive a	perf. *recha*	pe. *ryęch*	
tęnę to strain beer	perf. *tyęnà*	pe. *tyęn*	n. *tyęn*
ṭęḍę to bewitch	perf. *tyęt*		n. *tyęt*
ńętę to milk	*ńyęḍę* to let the milk down.		

In these examples the infixed semivowel has a function analogous to that of the changing of the second consonant and of the vowel: it is a means of forming tenses and modes of the verb; in most cases the passive, and in some also the imperfect and infinitive differ from the present by the infixed semi-

[1] Only the semivowels standing between the first consonant and the stem-vowel are meant here, not those beginning a word.

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vowel. In a few examples — *bwōkǫ, ḍwōḍǫ, dwōgǫ, ṅyēḍǫ,* — a *causative* form (or a form of similar meaning) is formed from the common form by infixing a semivowel.

Double forms, the one with a semivowel, the other without it; the one verb is derived from a tense or mood of the other:

dōḍǫ	to brew beer	perf. *dwǫla*	pe. *dwǫ́l*	n. *dwǫ̀l*
dwōlǫ	to brew beer	perf. *dwǫla*		
jōjǫ	to make butter		pe. *fwóch*	
fwōjǫ	to make butter		pe. *fwóch*	
gōṅǫ	to scratch	perf. *gwōṅa*		n. *gwǫ́ṅǫ̀*
gwōṅǫ	to scratch			
kōṅǫ	to help	perf. *kwōṅa*		
kwōṅǫ	to help			
kōtǫ	to drive	perf. *kwǫti, kwǫla*		
kwōto	to drive			
lōḍǫ	to wade	perf. *lwǫ́t*	pe. *lwǫ́t*	n. *lwǫ̀tǫ̀*
lwǫtǫ	to wade			
lōgǫ	to wash	perf. *lwǫka*	pe. *lwǫ́k*	
lwōgǫ	to wash	perf. *lwǫka*		
ṅōdǫ	to bear, bring forth	perf. *ṅòt, ṅwǫ̀l*	pe. *ṅwǫ́l*	n. *ṅwòdǫ̀*
ṅwōlǫ	to bear, bring forth	perf. *ṅwǫ̀l*		
ṅōmǫ	to marry	perf. *ṅōmi*	pe. *ṅwǫ́m*	
ṅwōmǫ	to marry	perf. *ṅwōmi*	pe. *ṅwǫ́m*	
ṅotǫ	to spit	perf. *ṅota, ṅwota*	pe. *ṅól*	
ṅwotǫ	to spit	perf. *ṅwota*	pe. *ṅól*	
yōbǫ	to bewitch	perf. *ywǫba*	pe. *ywǫ́p*	
ywǫbǫ	to bewitch	perf. *ywǫba*	pe. *ywǫ́p*	
fēchǫ	to ask	perf. *fecha*	pe. *fyéch*	
fyechǫ	to ask	perf. *fyecha*	pe. *fyéch*	
fēḍǫ	to lie	perf. *fèt, fyèt*		n. *fyèt*
fyēḍǫ	to lie	perf. *fyèt*		n. *fyèt*
gēṭǫ	to sacrifice	perf. *gyeta*		n. *gíèt*
gíḍḍǫ	to sacrifice			
kērǫ	to dig out		pe. *kyér*	
kyērǫ	to dig out	perf. *kyera*	pe. *kyér*	n. *kyèrǫ̀*
mēnǫ	to twist	perf. *myen*	pe. *myén*	
myēnǫ	to twist			
rejǫ	to receive a guest	perf. *recha*	pe. *ryéch*	
ryejǫ	to receive a guest	perf. *ryecha*		

*193 { *ṭēḍǫ* to bewitch perf. *ṭyēṭ* pe. *ṭyēṭ*
ṭyēḍǫ to bewitch.

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel or semivowel unchanged through all tenses or modes. The meanings of the two verbs are identical:

bōḍǫ and *bwōḍǫ* to cast iron
kōḍǫ and *kwōḍǫ* to blow up fire
fējǫ and *fyējǫ* to pull.

The function of the inserted semivowels *w* and *y* are evident from the preceding examples: they serve in forming certain tenses or modes of the verb, and from these modes and tenses new verbs are formed, just as in the changing of the last consonant.

In by far the most cases the infixed *w* (which must originally have been *u*, see 22) forms the Passive and the Perfect of the Verb.

[197] [It is remarkable that in Hamitic languages *u* or *o* have the same function:

Haussa:	*fashe* to break	*fasu* broken
	būde to open	*būdu* open
	buga to beat	*bugu* beaten
Ful Fulde:	*omo nana* he hears	*omo nanǫ* he is heard
	omo wara he kills	*omo warǫ* he is killed.

In both these languages the forms in *u*, *ǫ* correspond to the Shilluk Passive as well as to the Perfect, as they express an accomplished state, as opposed to action.]

It is evident that this last process was chiefly liable to lead to many confusions in the use of *w* and *y* *(and the same holds good for the changing of the second consonant)*; once the second verbs, derived from the imperfect or passive of the first verb, came into use, it was scarcely avoidable that the semivowel should not enter the present or any other tense of the first verb, where it did not belong; and again it was easily liable to be dropped where it ought to stand, viz. in a form of the second verb; this was the more possible, as in almost all cases the meanings of the two verbs are absolutely identical. And indeed the natives often do confuse the two verbs, using the one for the other, when asked for the different forms of a verb.

How the semivowel was infixed into the verb, is not clear (but see 25); as they do not always have the same function, the way on which they got into the word may also have been different.

Now it is remarkable, that in all cases, where the *passive or past are formed by infixing w or y* (active present *kēbǫ* passive *kwǫ́p*, active present *fēchǫ* passive

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fyéch),[1] *w* occurs exclusively before *ǫ*, and *y* exclusively before *ɛ*, so that we have only these combinations: *wǫ* and *yɛ*. The combinations *wa, wɛ, we, wi, ya, ye* with preceding consonant[2] do also occur frequently, but never in the said function, viz. where the Passive or Perfect are formed from the Present by infixing a *w* or *y*. This leads to the conclusion that there are two different groups of semivowels which have entered the stem, probably at different periods and for different purposes. The second group has in by far the most cases retained the original vowel before *w* and *y*. But the *first group* has in *all cases the same vowel:* *ǫ* after *w* and *ɛ* after *y;* this can in my opinion be explained only by assimilation; it is not at all probable that here the original vowels were solely *ǫ* and *ɛ*, and that always before *ǫ* a *w* was infixed and before *ɛ* a *y*. I suppose that here originally only *one* semivowel was infixed, viz. *w*, and this *w* partly assimilated the following vowel to itself and partly itself was assimilated to the vowel, in this way: *wa* > *wǫ*, *wǫ* > *wǫ*, *wo* > *wǫ; wɛ* > *yɛ*, *we* > *yɛ*. If verbs with the stem-vowel *i* or *u* infixed a *w* in order to form the passive or perfect, this *w* must have been assimilated to the following vowel *i* and *u*, so that *wi* > *yi* > *i*, and *wu* > *u*.

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Auxiliary Verbs.

da "to have".

ɛ́ dà niyɛ́ he has money; *yá dà jwǫk* I have sickness: I am sick.

"To be".

"To be" is rendered by different words, but in most cases it is not to be translated at all; all adjectives are treated as verbs, and therefore are not connected with "is": "you are great" is rendered *yi duǫ́n*. If the predicate is a noun, and the subject is a pronoun, generally the subject is put before the pronoun without a copula: *yá riɛ́* I am king; *yáná riɛ́* I am king; or the demonstrative *á* is employed: *ɛ́n á riɛ́* he is king.

But frequently the particle *bá (fá)* or its emphatic form *bánɛ́, bánɛ́n* is placed between subject and the predicative noun:

ya ba riɛ́ I am king; *jal ɛni ba riɛ́* this man is king; *fanɛ́ riɛ́* (this one) he is king.

I suppose *bá* does not originally mean "to be", but is the negative particle "not", and the sentences in which it is employed, are properly questions: Am I not king? Is this man not king? The negro generally likes to express an assertion by a negative question.

If the predicate is an adverb, *yà, yɛ̀nà* ("to be") or *bɛ̀dǫ̀* ("to stay, remain") are used; *ɛ́ ya kɛ́* where is he? *yɛ́ yɛ́ia mal* they are above; *yá bɛ̄dǫ wǫt* I am, stay, in the house. Sometimes *bɛ̄dǫ* is also employed, when the predicate is a noun.

[1] This group is called 'first group' in the following.
[2] This group is called 'second group' in the following.

*193 *kámá* and *chámá* "to be going to, to wish, want"; they are used only in the past form.

e kama (also *kɔmɔ*) *bɛ̄nɔ̀* he is going to come, he says he will come, wants to come.

e chama fɩ̄ɖɔ he is near falling, going to fall; *chama* is often shortened into *cha*.

In a similar sense *dwata* "to wish" is often employed.

"Can"

may be expressed by *yēyɔ: ya ba yēi bɛ̄n* I can (could) not come; but its negation is generally expressed by *bɩ kɛ́ń* "there is not a place" (an opportunity): *bɩ kɛ́ń à bɛ̄ná* "there was no place for me to come": I could not come.

The Negation of the Verb.

1. *bà, fà* not;
2. *nɩ̄tí* not yet, not; hardly a distinction is made between the two; both of them negate the indicative of the verb; *a fa kɛ̄ɩ, a nɩ̄ti kɛ̄ɩ* he did not go.
3. *fàɩ, fàɩe* negates a single word: *faɩe yan* not I; *faɩe riɩ* it is not the king; but it may also negate the verb "to be": *faɩe yan riɩ* I am not the king; *faɩe ki wɔt* he is not in the house; *fa jal maduɔ́n* he is a great man; *faɩ ki jal maduɔ́n* he is not a great man.
4. *bɩ, bɩńɔ*, to have not, to be not;
5. *bógɔ̀n, bógɩ̀n* there is not; *ńyɛ́ń bógɔ̀n kí yà* "money is not with me": I have no money; *yà bɩ́ ńyɛ́ń* I have no money.
6. *ɩ̄ɖk* to be absent; *ńal ɩ̄ɖk* the boy is not here.
7. *kɩ́* is prohibitive: *kɩ́ kɛ̄ɩ, yí kɩ́ kɛ̄ɩ* do not go! *kɩ́ wɛ̄r*, also: *yi kɩ wɛ̄r* do not be angry! The personal pronoun may also be suffixed: *kɩ kwɛ̄ti* do not steal! Plural: *wú kú kɛ̄ɩ* do not go! You must not go! *kɩ́ bì* he shall not come.

Sometimes *kɩ́* is employed where we do not see a prohibition: *wá kɩ́ kɛ̄ɩ* shall we not go? But also: *wá fa kɛ̄ɩ? ńān kɩ́ ńwɔ̄l kí tɩ́ń gyɛ̄nù, nɩ̄gà nɩ̄gù* the man who does not lay a hen-egg, I shall surely kill.

ADVERBS.

Most adverbs are originally nouns or verbs.

Adverbs of Place.

The adverbs which are mostly employed are *kɛ́ń* and *kūn;* both are nouns and mean "place". Their primitive forms are *kɛ́ch, kach* and *kū,* both have affixed a demonstrative *n*, *kɛ́ch* + *n* > *kɛ́ń*, *kū* + *n* > *kūn* according to 40. They may as adverbs have different meanings: 1. of place: this place, that is: here; 2. then interrogative: where? On the different tones of these two meanings

see 205a. "Where is he" is in Shi. literally: "is he here?" *kẹń* does not really mean "where", but simply "this place". 193*

Bi kẹń come here.
kẹti wọk ki kẹń go out from here.
kū "place": there.
ẹ bẹ̄da kū he is there;
a lẹ̄ẹ yán kū he was seen by me there.
mal "heaven", "the upper place", serves for "above, ahead":
a rẹia mal he ran upward, upstairs, ahead.
kundọ (from *kū* place) direction: there.
chuni kundọ stop there.
chām left hand, *kẹch* right hand, *ànàn* here, *chínẻ* there, yonder, *chán* behind, *lẹń* this side.

Adverbs of Time.

Here again *kẹń* "this place" takes the first place, the notion of "time" having its origin in "place"; *kẹń a bi* when he came; *kāń* "this time" from *kāke* time: while: *chuni kań chām wa* stay while we eat; *tin* soon, at once; *ànàn, ànàn ànàn* presently, at once, this very moment; *chọn* formerly; *de chań tin* to-day; *ḍuki* to morrow; *awa* yesterday; *awar awa* the day before yesterday; *ki chań* daily; *ki de chań* at daytime; *ki war* at night.

Kẹń á bi when did he come? *ẹn awẹ̄n á ńwọ́lè yin* when were you born? *wọ́ nẹ̄nà yẹ̄ yẹti chań adẹk, ká è bẹ̄n* we were on the road reached three days, then he came: when we had been on the way three days, he came; *ka duóki wọ́n, chuńg a yiga mámệt* when we told him that, he became glad; *ká lẹ̄tí wọ́n, ka é ìẹ̄tè* when he saw us, he laughed; *ka lin wa mẹn an, ka chuńe wọ́n yiga mámệt* when we heard that, we became glad.

Adverbs of Manner.

ne, neya thus; *kíndù* just so; *ádì* how? *ṭyau* also; *chẹt* just, very, surely; *shārg* very; *kẹtè, dkyẹ̀l* alone. Much used is the adverb *kine* thus: it always introduces the direct speech; it does not only follow the verbs which express speaking, but frequently also those expressing "to mean, think, wish, ask":

rii e ko kine, kẹ̄ẹ the king said thus: go!
e fẹ̄chọ kine, ḍgọ̀n ẹn he asked: where is he?
duoki kine, e bẹ̄nọ tell him, he may come!
e dwata kine, wu kẹḍọ wu ki ẹn he wants to go with you
ya dwata kine, wọ chām byẹ́l I wish that we may eat dura.

Frequently an English adverb is in Shilluk rendered by a verb, e. g.:

jwūn kẹḍọ hurry going, that is: go quickly;
a rūmi chámè yá it is finished was eaten by me: I have already eaten;

*193 *kɛ̱t, kāṅ a nɛ̱ti bɛ̱ṇo kɔ̱t* go, while rain has not yet come: before it rains; *wa kɛ̱ḍo chāki pach* we went approached the village: we came near the village.

Adverbs of Cause and Causal Sentences.

Bu kɛ̱ṅ a bɛ̱ṇá yikā dě rèá jwɔ̱k I could not come, *because* I was sick; *bu kɛ̱ṅ dídá, yika búní wàṅò yá* I cannot learn, because I have no book; *ya bugin māga rɛ̱jo, yika búní abāt kì yá* I cannot catch fish, because I have no hook; *tyɛ̱ṅ Nwār chúné gɛ̱n rājo kí wɔ̱n, ki yika kūla ḍɔ̱ gɛ̱n* the Nuer-people hate us, because we (I) have taken away their cattle; *byɛ̱l wɔ̱n recho, ki yika bunì kɔ̱t ki rei gɛ̱n* our dura is bad, because it did not rain on it; *ba yɛ̱ì gwɔ̱k tin, máré* (or *máé*) *dà jwɔ̱k* he cannot work to-day, because he is sick; *ba kwɔ́pè ɣɛ̱n, máé bɔ̱kò* he does not say it, because he is afraid; *yá bú dɔ̱ró, bɛ̱ṇɛ̱n á ḍálé yán yi gwɔ̱k* I have no adze, therefore it is impossible for me to work; *tyɛ̱lá lɛ̱t, bɛ̱ṅɛ̱n à bà kɛ̱ḍá* my foot was sore, therefore I did not go.

Sometimes a causal relation is expressed without a causal particle: *yá fá chigi chāto kɛ̱té, yá fɛ̱dò* I shall walk no more, for I am tired; *wa kɛ̱ti wɔ̱t, fen a yígà mōḍo* we went home, because it grew dark.

Conditional Sentences.

Kɛ̱ṅ chwɔ̱lɛ̱ yín, yi ku kɛ̱t if he calls you, do not go; *kɛ̱ṅ yik ya u lɛ̱ti kí nu, ú nɛ̱kè yán* if I see a lion, I shall kill him; *ú yɔ́k yú bí, yú u ṭɔ̱tá ìyɛ̱ṅ* if you come, I shall give you money; *u yik yí fá gɔ̱gò yi ú fwótè yán* if you do not work, I shall beat you; *ká yik u fyɛ́chè wɔ́n, wɔ̱ kwɔ́nè ɛ̱n* if we ask him, he will help us.

The Condition in the unreal case is expressed by *ré: ká lɔ́gɔ́ ɛ́ yá mánút, wɔ́ ré kwɔ́nè ɛ̱n* if he *were* here, he *would* help us; *ká lɔ́gí yá dà gìn chám, yí ré ṭɔ̱tá* if I had food, I should give you; *ka lɔgo fen dé yá mádɔ̱ch, wɔ́ ré dè bɛ̱ṇò* if the weather had been fine, we should have come.

Intentional Sentences.

Yá kɛ̱tí wɔ̱k bɛ̱ yáf kí ḍɔga I went into the bush, in order to search my cattle; *wo kūlo ḍò wɔ́n gɛ́ mūjè wɔ́n bwɔ́n, kífà kine wɔ́ ṭɔ̱ṭì byɛ̱l* we gave our cattle to the strangers, in order to get dura; *jwání rɛ̱ṅo, kípá yí kú chwɔ́ṅ* run quickly, lest you be late!

Interrogative Sentences.

In a question the position of words is the same as in an assertion. To designate a sentence as a question, either interrogative adverbs are employed, or a change of tone takes place. Those cases are difficult particularly, in which an adverb may have a positive meaning as well as an interrogative one, for instance *kɛ̱ṅ* "place" may mean "here", and "where". Here the distinction can be made by the tone only.

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The most important rule is this: if the last syllable of a sentence has a high or middle tone, a low tone is added to it; this low tone expresses the question:

ɛ́ kwàlà byɛ́l he stole dura	*ɛ́ kwàlà byɛ̂l* did he steal dura?
ɛ́ lɛ̀ɛ̀à kwá he saw my grandfather	*ɛ́ lɛ̀ɛ̀à kwâ* did he see my grandfather?
gɛ́ lɛ̀ɛ̀à rìɛ̀ they saw the king	*gɛ́ lɛ̀ɛ̀à rîɛ̀* did they see the king?

But frequently the question is expressed in quite a different way, by laying a high tone, and a strong stress on the word which is questioned; this is particularly the case with *kɛ́n:*

ɛ́ yɛ́n kɛ́n where is he?	*ɛ́ yà kɛ̀n* he is here
gɛ́ yɛ́n kɛ́n where are they	*gɛ́ yà kɛ̀n* they are here
rìɛ̀ yɛ́n kɛ́n where is the king?	*rìɛ̀ yà kɛ̀n* the king is here
á bì áwà he came yesterday	*á bì áwà* did he come yesterday? (the first *a* in *awa* has a very strong emphasis)
jal an ye da ńyɛ́ń this man has money	
jal an ye da ńyɛ́ń has this man money? (The *ɛ́* in *ńyɛ́ń* with very strong emphasis).	

If the sentence contains an interrogative adverb, the tone does generally not change:

yɛ̀ dà ɖɔ̀k ádì how many cows has he?
ɛ́ gwɔ́ ńɔ̀ what does he do?
a fyêch kí yi ɛ́n, kíne: ágɔ̀n ɛ́n mɑ̀dì he asked him: where is your friend?
á wɔ́t mɛ́n whose house is it?
kípaŋɔ̀ à bɑ̀kí why are you afraid?
ápaŋɔ̀ a kɛ́ɛ̀ why did he go?

In questions introduced by "shall", the subjective pronoun is suffixed and the low interrogative tone is added to the high tone of the pronoun: *kɛ́ɖâ* shall I go? *gwɛ́dɛ́* shall he write?

PREPOSITIONS.

They are likewise originally nouns and verbs.

Nouns:

wich **head: on, upon, for, instead of:**
wiy wɔ́t **on the house,** ***wiy yaɛ̀*** **on the tree,** ***wiy rìɛ̀*** **instead of the king.**

bāń **back: behind, after, besides:** ***bāńa*** **after me,** ***bāń wɔ́t*** **behind the house;** ***bāńg*** **besides him;** ***kwɔm*** **back: on, upon:** ***kwɔm adɛ̄rɔ*** **on a donkey.**

bɔ̄l **and** ***ńim*** **face, front: in front of, before, at the head of:** ***bɔ̄l nam*** **in front of the river;** ***ńim tɛ̄rɔ*** **before the people, at the head of the people.**

kɛ̀lɛ́ **middle: in the midst of, amidst, among:** ***kɛ̀lɛ́ jɛ̀*** **amidst the people.**

*193 *nāch* back: behind: *nāch jal ɛni* behind this man;
būtǫ side: beside: *būte wɔt* beside the house;
yech belly: in: *yey pi* in water;
dyɛr, often shortened into *di*, middle: amidst, in, *di nam* in the water.
ɣa the base, the lower part: under, below: *ɣa yaɣ* under the tree.

Verbs:

witǫ to reach: *wiɣe awa a ba bi* reaching yesterday he did not come: until y . . .
gitǫ to reach: *gitǫ ɣukí* till to-morrow.

Particles which cannot traced back to nouns or verbs:

kí may have very different meanings; its original meaning is: with; *kí mɛn* with whom; *kí tɛni* with a spear;
yi towards, by: *a nɛk yi jal an* he was killed by this man; *kɛti yi jal duɛni* go to the master; *yi* is connected with personal pronouns as follows: *ya* to me, *yi* to you, *yɛ* to him, *yi wɛn*, *yi wun*, *yi gɛn*.

Salutations.

57 Some of the most used forms of salutations are given here. A. is the villager, B. the stranger.

Instead of our knocking the door, the Shilluks, before entering a courtyard, say: *yâ nɛn* I am waiting (may I come in?) A. answers: *bi* come! If the salutation is going on in the open place of the village, as is usual, this phrase is not said.

A. *yí bi* you have come?
B. *yá bì* I have come, or: *yâ nût*.
A. *yí kɛ̄l jwɔ̀k* you have brought God.
B. *yí mí ɣì jwɔ̀k* you have held fast God.
A. *yí nin* did you sleep (well)?
B. *yá nin* I slept (well).
A. *yí kwei* (meaning not known).
B. *á, yá bì*.
A. *wotɛnɛ nût* are the little ones well (existing)?
B. *Nût* they are well.
A. *tyɛni ɣɛ̄l ûn* your women (are well)?
B. *Nût* they are well.
A. *Tɛ̄rɛ bɛ̄di yau?* Are the people well?
B. *Nut* they are. — These enquiries after the well-being of the people in the house can be extended at will, to grandparents, grandchildren, cousins etc.

On leaving:

B. says: *yá kɛ̄dǫ fach* I am going home.
A. *kɛ́ɣ* go! or: *kɛ̄li jwɔk* go with God!

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SECOND PART
FOLKLORE

[p. 95]

I. OCCUPATIONS.

1. Housebuilding.

*539 *Tyǫle wǫt kyẽr, ka tẽk (tẽk), ka lǫbǫ kǫl, ka lẽn tyẽl, ka mǫgǫ kóń tyẽl wǫt, ka chwách, maka tyẽl aiwǫn, ka ḍǫgǫ dól, ka gẽr. Ka maka cháń dbúkyẽl, ka wijǫ lẽù, ka kwẽr dwai, ka gǫ rúù, ka gǫ mẽch fén, ká tẽgùtị ńṑt, ka dól kót, ka tyẽlǫ kyẽr, ka tyẽl tẽk, ka teguti kwóń, ká wẽt mák, ká dól kìtị. Ka dyẽń kẽt, ka tât, ka teguti wórò wẽk. Ka wǫt tiń, ká lẽpò gúlè chẽp, ka kiti, ka shẽnẽ twóch, ká tât, ká lùm ńár, ká bḍḍò dwai, ka yǫta mal, ka ḡẽl mágí, ka lum kìtì, ka e wijǫ. Ka wań kājǫ e dḍńò, ka e kānǫ ki kwẽr, mǫn nṑk wań kājǫ, ka wań kājǫ nẽk, ká dyẽl wẽkè bḍḍǫ. Ka wiy wǫt twák, ka chẽne wǫt ńṑl, ka tádḍẽt (tẽde wǫt) tyẽń, ka wǫt ḡór, ka mǫóṅ, ka tiǫ gwṑk, ka kal tât, ka jẽ dẽká yeje. Ka gyẽnǫ kǫl, ka gǫch fen, ka jẽ dẽńa yey wǫt.*

342 *539 The foundation trenches of the house are dug out, and are smoothed off. Mud is brought, and thrown into the foundation trenches; and beer is poured into the foundation trenches. Now the walls are built; after four days the door-opening is made round; then they build again, and when five days have passed, they begin to make the roof. Poles are brought, they are burnt (to make them hard), and then cut, so that they are of equal length. Roof-sticks are cut, and they are tied up in a circle, and a circular ditch (corresponding to the poles tied together) is dug, and the ends of the roof-sticks are put into it, and buried. Now the roof is constructed; grass is twisted into a rope, with which the poles are tied together. When this is done, the roof-sticks are taken away, and the roof is lifted upon the wall. The junction between the wall and the thatch-poles inserted into it is made tight with mud, the lower roof-ends are tied to the wall, and are tied together. Then grass is cut, and the craftsman[1] is sent for; he climbs on the roof, takes a rope, and binds the grass on the poles. Thus he makes the roof, till only the point of the roof is left. The proprietor of the house now brings a hoe, which is for the making of the roof-point. (When he has given it to the craftsman), the roof-point is made. Then a sheep is given to the craftsman. The surface of the roof is beaten smooth, the dripping-eaves are cut even, a door is made, the floor of the house is filled up with mud, and is made hard and even. A door is worked, the fence is constructed, and then the people move into the new house. A fowl is brought, and left on the ground (as a sacrifice), and the people move into it.*

[1] thatch-maker.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Dolaib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men 342
learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of [565]
grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house.

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The [462]
women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house.

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut [322]
and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse 283
grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass 342
down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick.

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with 342
sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner

[1] I. e. Shilluks.

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shullas call the apron of the house. A thick layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the but ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

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Dhɔ́ɔ́	black, rich earth	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
kwɔ́ɔ́	sandy ground	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	red sand
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́	red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

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kyɔ́	dura	*ɔ́kwɔ́ɔ́*	an eatable gourd
ɔ́kwɔ́	sesame	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
ɔ́ɔ́	bean	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	melon
kwɔ́ɔ́	cotton	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	tobacco
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́	a small, sweet gourd, is eaten.	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	melon.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: *kyɔ́*. The common name for white dura: *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Kinds of white dura.

ɟíɟí is very long in ripening. *ábwíè* maize. 24
mbr has a longer ear than *ɟíɟí*. *rbwj* Durba (panic grass). 224
ábwɟíɟí "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ɟíɟí-ɟíɟí, ábííɟí, ábíírɟí, ɟíɟí kpɔ́ ("kills the elephant"), *ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí-mɔ́ɔ́, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are cooked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *bɔ́ɔ́ɟ.*

ɟíɟí, wɔ́ɟíɟí-ɟí-ɟíɟí, wɔ́ɟíɟí-ɟí-ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí ("the Nubian"?), *wɔ́ɟí-ɟɔ́ɔ́-ɟɔ́ɔ́, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí, ɟíɟí

[241] The Shulla has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

[242] All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water [243] jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as [245] there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shulla has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our garden or at the government stations.

The Shulla plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a doleib palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole [82] which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shulla begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. [112] His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

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wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. 243 [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the withers. 233

233 [192] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuer and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spread upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262.

kwjo a kind of dura-bread or mush.

ʌʌʃʃj a food of dura.

ʌpʃʃj a food of dura.

ʌrʃjʃ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

ʌʌʃʃj a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

wpʌʌnjo a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.

wʃʌʌʃʃj a common dura-food.

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ŋáŋ a food of dura, dainty.
wíŋí ŋáŋ a food of dura.
ŋáŋá cooked dura.
ŋáŋ green roasted dura.
ŋwíŋ dura roasted, then soaked and mashed.
ŋwíŋ dough.
wíŋíŋíŋ a dura-food.
ŋíŋ dura, soaked, and then kept till it sprouts; for making beer. 262
ŋíŋíŋ beer before it is strained.
wuŋy beer.
wuí ŋíŋ strained beer.
yówí a kind of beer.

6. The seasons of the year.

yéy ŋíríí about September, harvest of red dura.
ŋówíŋ about October; end of the harvest, people are waiting for the white dura to ripen.
ŋyuŋ about November — December; harvest of white dura begins.
wíŋ December — January. Harvest of white dura continues.
ŋo hot season, January—February
ŋíŋíí about March
ŋíŋíí about April, "month of rain", beginning of the rains.
ŋíwir about May—July, time for planting red dura.
ŋíríí about July—September, beginning of harvest.

no field work 405 221

7. The months.

1. *yéy, ŋí (wer)* about September. 805

2. *ŋíu ŋíí*	3. *ŋyíí*	4. *líí*	5. *ŋíŋíí, ŋíŋí duŋá*
6. *ŋíŋí ŋíŋ*	7. *ŋówíŋ*	8. *ŋíŋíír*	9. *ŋíŋí ŋír*
10. *líí duŋá*	11. *líí ŋíŋ*	12. *líí.*	

8. The day-times.

wíu i ríwí the first morning-twilight becomes visible.
ŋír morning dawn
wuŋí, wíí morning;
fwí fo wuŋí "the earth is morning"; it is morning.
ŋí ŋíí noon.
ŋíí yí wíí the sun is in the zenith.
ŋíwí o ŋíríí the sun begins to sink, after noon.
ŋíríí afternoon;
fwí fo ŋ. it is afternoon.
o ŋíŋí wíu the sun is setting.
wwí ŋíŋí the sun has set.
fwí fo wír it is night;
ŋí wír at night, midnight.

9. Names of stars.

821

dwɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́mɔ́ɔ́	moon	*ɔ́ɔ́wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	appears after the sun has set.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́	three stars, the Ursuae.	*kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	a star ahead of the Venus.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́	"4 northern stars".	*kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́

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ŋŋŋŋ a kind of mat made of ambach, as a seat for chiefs only.

dhu a sieve of cloth, for straining beer.

wiji grass for stopping up cracks in the wall, to keep out mosquitoes. 352

ojiel a pot.

ŋŋ?

ŋŋ?

11. Handicrafts.

bŋŋ means a skilful man, one who is particularly skilled in some work, and who, therefore, likes to do this work, and is asked by others to do it for them, so that this craft becomes "his work". Of course it is not his sole occupation, except perhaps in the case of the worker in metal. His is a trade held in high esteem, so that he has become the *bŋŋ* par excellence; if the natives simply speak of a *bŋŋ*, they mean the smith or metal-worker. He does not practise his craft in one place, but goes from village to village. The other craftsmen practise their craft only occasionally. But as a rule one man knows and practises only one of the arts enumerated below. 463 [326]

bŋŋ tŋŋ maker of spears; plural: *bŋŋ tŋŋ*.

bŋŋ tŋŋ bi tŋŋ the man who files spears.

bŋŋ tŋŋ bi bil tŋŋ the man who makes the spear-handles straight.

bŋŋ dak tobacco-pipe maker.

bŋŋ yŋŋ bi bil tŋŋ the man who makes spear-handles.

bŋŋ tuuk bi pŋŋ potter, generally a woman.

bŋŋ ŋuŋ ŋŋ who carves, makes figures on gourds.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi tŋŋ who makes the string on which the gourds are hung.

bŋŋ wŋŋ who makes the roof of huts.

bŋŋ bŋŋ bi ŋŋ who makes skin-clothes.

bŋŋ ŋŋ who makes cotton clothes.

bŋŋ tŋŋ carpenter.

bŋŋ ŋŋ who tattooes.

bŋŋ tŋŋ bi ŋŋ who makes clubs.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi ŋŋ shield-maker.

bŋŋ tŋŋ bi ŋŋ who makes shields to protect against clubs.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi ŋŋ tailor, sewer.

bŋŋ tŋŋ bi ŋŋ drum-maker.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi ŋŋ who covers the drum with a skin.

bŋŋ ŋŋ ŋŋ who beats the drum.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi ŋŋ who polishes beads.

bŋŋ ŋŋ bi ŋŋ who makes ostrich shell beads.

bɔ̃ŋte ńálɛ́ń who beats the small drum "*ńálɛ́ń*".

463 *bɔ̃ŋte gɛ́t ki jɔ̀* who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.

bɔ̃ŋte tuɔ́ch who cups.

bɔ̃ŋte ńát ki wɔ́t who dresses the horn of cattle.

bɔ̃ŋte rɔ́ch who castrates bulls.

bɔ̃ŋte ńɛ́r who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.

bɔ̃ŋte kuɔ̃ńɛ̀ wɔ́r the leader in singing.

bɔ̃ŋte kɔ́dɛ̀ ki ɖáń who makes the dancing-sticks.

bɔ̃ŋte tɛ́ɛ́ń kuɔm who makes chairs.

bɔ̃ŋte ɡɔ̃ńɛ̀ who makes the neck supports or rests.

bɔ̃ŋte kúkɛ́ lɛ́ɔ́l who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.

bɔ̃ŋte tuoy kɔ̃l lɔ̀kɔ̀ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.

bɔ̃ŋte tɛ́ɛ́ń ki ɖɔ́ke dɔ̃t who makes mat-doors.

bɔ̃ŋte shuɔ́y ki bɔ̃yɔ̀ net-maker.

bɔ̃ŋte shuɔ́y ki ɡɔ̃ɡɔ̀ door-maker.

bɔ̃ŋte shuɔ́ń ki dybɔ́m salt-maker.

bɔ̃ŋte tɔ́kɔ̀ ɡɔ́ɔ́u maker of iron bracelets.

bɔ̃ŋte fɔ̀ɛ̀ɖɔ̀ lɔ́t one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.

bɔ̃ŋte kyɔ́re tyɔ́le wɔ́t who makes the foundations of huts.

bɔ̃ŋte wɔ́ɔ́ɔ̀ diver.

bɔ̃ŋte dɔ́k ki yɛ́i hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.

bɔ̃ŋte mɔ̃t hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.

bɔ̃ŋte nɔ́kɔ̀ fɔ̀rɔ̀ hippo-huntsman.

oyiŋɔ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326 413

ábɔ́ń hammer.

kɔ́kɔ́t anvil.

tɔ́yɔ́jɔ́l file.

ɔ́bɔ̃k bellows.

chɔ́r a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.

dɔ̀kɔ̃bɔ́ thongs.

tɔ́ɔ́ń chisel.

tɔ́rɔ́k an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291 301

lɔ́w skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.

ɔ́chyɔ̃ɔ̀ loin-cloth for women.

ɔ́bɔ́ńɔ̀ front-cloth for women.

dɔ́t skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

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yǫ̂r skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyǫ́mò ear-rings of tin.
gwǭlǫ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, feet.
gwǫ́lé yíť ear-ring.
yíť́l bracelet for the wrist.
gǭk knee-ring of skin.
ógǭńò brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
gyélǫ ivory ring
achóť ivory ring.
wǫ́ť ivory ring carved in conical form.
owǭǭǫ̀ ivory ring, a small strip.
órǫ́mò ivory ring, big.
orǭk knee-bells, used in dancing.
ótyań a small bell.
ątítúm bell, similar to *orǭk*.
òlóòlóó dancing-bell
òbǫ̀ť cow-bell, used in dancing.
agyǭr small cow-bell.
ǭgo, teggǫ a common name for beads.
amanjûr blue beads, worn by women.
rǭk ostrich shell beads.
gǫ́r big beads, worn on the neck by men.
bǫl ǭǭǫ a kind of beads.
ťǫ́dò a kind of small beads.
yèlò green beads, round, small.
àbàťǭrò a kind of beads.
óńyǭń a kind of beads.
dóń a kind of beads.
bàkǫ́ a kind of beads.
ddémǭť a kind of beads.
aǭék a kind of beads.
dpíù a kind of beads.
óbǫ́ù white beads.
ťątǫ́ń black beads.
kǭn ówǭǭǫ̀ blue beads.
ɣǭrò red beads.
ddwǫ̀gò yellow beads.
wǫ́ń ągàk "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
gāgǫ cowry shell.
tǫ̀myǫ̂gò a string for tying together clothes.
gań a kind of button worn in the hair.
wèńò brown giraffe-tail hairs.
óchîrò white giraffe-tail hairs.
achûť tooth-brush.
dwǫ́p a head-dress.
óchóch a head-dress.
dǭm a head-dress.
mèt a head-dress, "like a shield".
agêrò a head-dress, "like a shield".
nwǫr bleached hair, long.
dshíshwèl a chain, worn as ornament.
gańkú rattle, made of leaves of the deleib, tied on leg or loin.
ógǭńò / *adérò* } arm-ring of ambach.
wǫ́l loin-ring.
shyl gwǫk "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ńwań iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

ǭǭń cow; common name. Plural: *ǭǭk* cattle.
wǫť bull.
rǭjǫ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

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ńarŋ̄jo calf.
ólɛ̄k grey-white spotted.
ńèyọ̀m head white, body black or yellowish.
ógɛ̄k belly and neck white, back and head black.
ńàbɛ̄k one leg white, the rest of the body yellowish.
tàkyèch flanks white, the rest of the body black.
ńàjàk head yellowish, brown spots on the back, the rest white.
ńàjók head black, black spots on the back, the rest white.
ńàkɛ̄r flanks black, belly and back white.
ńàdìń brown-black, small spots.
ólát brown-white, small spots.
ólɛ̄ń brown-white, large spots, females only.
tedùk grey.
ńàkwàch black-white.
àjàlóń
tédígò red-brown.
tàbùr ash-coloured.
tɛtɛń black.
ńàbɛ̄ń white.
ńèńáń striped white and red.

wɛ̄ (wɛt) } (ox) with white feet.
tyɛ̄l rɛ̄k }
àyòkàk black with white tail.
óchɔ̄dọ̀ hornless cow.
wɛ́rɛ̀gọ̀t an ox with one horn directed forward, the second backward.
óbyéch a cow with ordinary, non-dressed horns.
ódɛ̄lọ̀ a cow with horns turned down.
ógwɛ̄l an ox with horns turned towards the eyes.
ódɛ́lọ̀ a cow with horns pointing forward.
ńát a cow with horns cut off.
àgwọ̀gnòm a cow with horns directed straight upwards, like a goat's.
bàń a cow with one horn directed upward, the second downward.
àbàch a cow with horns directed straight sideways.
wɛ́rnàmtài an ox with horns directed straight backward.
ónɛ̄gọ̀ a cow with horns directed straight backward.

II. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SCENES FROM DAILY LIFE.

15. Marriage.

Kwǫpe ńwǫm.

D̲āp̣ e wâjò kí ńāne dāchǫ, ka kôpì kíne: yá wɛ̀ɛ̄ yí! Kíne: bɛ̀ ńò? Kíne: ya 539*
dwata kwǫf kí yin! Kíne: yí kɛ̀mó ńò? Kíne: ya dwata kwǫpe ńwǫm. Kíne: dé yì
rè fa kɛ̄ɛ̄ fach yi tyɛ̄ń dɛ̄ńò? Ka kɛ̄a fach, ka tyɛ̄ń dɛ̄ńò kɛ̄pé. Ká gɛ́ kò: wó bà
kwɛ̀fé wǫ́n. Ká é dúògò, ka e kɛ̄dǫ dyɛ̄l mɛ̄n kwɛ̄be ḍǫgɛ. Ka tyɛ̄ń dɛ̄ńǫ ko: wá
ybi kí kwǫpí, kɛ̄ɛ̄, kɛ̄l ḍɛ̄k. Ka ḍāpǫ bɛ̄ńò, ka ḍǫ (ḍǫk) kɛ̄l, ká é dúògò; ka kɛ̄fì
kɛ̄ńè: kɛ̄ɛ̄, kɛ̄l dŭt! Ka dut kɛ̄l, dute tyɛ̄ń fà jwòk. Ka mǫgǫ tyɛ́ń, ka ɛ̄ɛ̄rǫ chwɔ́l.
Ka wɛ̄ɛ̄ wòbò kɛ̄l yì ɛ̄ɛ̄rò bɛ̄nè, ka ɛ̄ɛ̄rǫ kɛ̄ḍò, ka wɛ̄ɛ̄ dwai kí tɛ́ń, mɛ́n kwàńì wúnó,
ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò kɛ̄ɛ̄ fách. Ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò chɛ̄ńò. Ka ńálè ńwǫ́mí ka kɛ̄ɛ̄ò wǫt kí jāl tɛ́ń. Ńān a
dāchǫ yà gɔ́l gɛ́n kí ḍay tɛ́ń. Ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò chɛ̄ńò, ká ńál a ńɛ̄mí ká kɛ̄l wòk yi wɛ̄ɛ̄té
gɛ́n. Ka ńān a dāchǫ kɛ̄l wòk yi wɛ̄ɛ̄té gɛ́n. Ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò chɛ̄ńò bɛ̄nè; ka ḍeań nɛ̄k, mɛ́n
chám yì ɛ̄ɛ̄rò; ɛ̄ɛ̄rò gɛ̄r, kí mògò bɛ̄nè, kí kwɛ̄n, é gɛ̄r, kwǫn ka chwǫ́pé kí mau
(mǫu).

Ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò dáńò, ɛ̄ɛ̄rǫ bia fach, ka jal ńwòm chyɛ̄k kífà ḍāp̣. Ka kɛ̄pì kíne: kɛ̄ɛ̄ní
jám! Kɛ̄l wɛ̄n, kí lāu, kí yiɛ̄l, gɛ̄n a tɛ̄jì! Ka mǫgǫ ɛ̄ɛ̄r, ɛ̄ɛ̄r fa jâl, ka gɛ fɛ̄ka fɛ̄l
bɛ ńi bɛ̄ńò fách. Ka gɛ dwai fɛ̄l kí dyɛ̄l, ká gɛ́ bɛ̄ńò, ká gɛ bánà kɛ̄ɛ̄ò kal. Ka
kwɛ̄ɛ̄ri kɛ̄l, ka ɛ̄ɛ̄n fɛ́ń; ka gɛ kɛ̄a kal. Ká gɛ́ chɛ̄ńò màl, bán yèchì fɛ́ń. Ká kwɛ̄r
kɛ̄l, ka ch(kè lɛ̄n fɛ́ń. Ká gɛ́ yèchá fɛ́ń. Ka ńāne ńwǫm dɛ̄ńa dá kâl. Ka dyɛ̄l fɛ̄ch,
ka kɛ̄a kal. Ka gɛ pɛ̄ká fɛ́ń kí kàl. Ka yiɛ̄ dyɛ̄l ńɔ́l, ká gɛ́ kɛ̄ɛ̄á wǫ́t. Ka é bánò kí
bútò. Ka ńyɛ̄ń kɛ̄l, mɛ̄n bútɛ̄, ká é bútò. Ká dyɛ̄l kɛ̄l kí mwɔl, ká dyɛ̄l nɛ̄k, ka
wǫ́mán é gɛ̄pò kúbjò. Ka kal mwǫ́n, ká é rùmò kí mwɛ̄ńò, ka gɛ ká (kɛ̄a) wǫ́t bɛ́
chám. Ka ńān gní é bànò kɛ̄ɛ̄ò. Ka ńyɛ̄ń kɛ̄l, ká é chámò. D̲ɛ̄kí ká gɛ́ dwàtò yúk.
Ká gɛ́ bɛ̄n, ká gɛ́ ḍɛ̄ńò, ka gɛ lańa wɛ̄r gɛ́ ḍɛ̄ḍò. Ka gɛ rumǫ ḍàl, ká gɛ́ ɛ̄ɛ̄ńò; ka
kal mwǫ́n kɛ̄ɛ̄ò, gɛ kí wǫt. Ka ḍɛ̄kí ɛ̄ɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄ńò bɛ̄nè bɛ mátɛ̄ kí mògò. Ká bâl gɛ́ch,
ká ɛ̄ɛ̄rò chɛ̄ńò.

Chɔ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄, ka ónwɔ̄k kɛ̄l, ka ónwɔ̄k nɛ̄k, ká chám yi wǫ́mán. Ká gɛ́ dɛ̄gò, ka ńān
gní e dɛ̄ńò kí wɔ̄i gɛ́n. Ka wɔ́kè ńal gní, ká gɛ́ bɛ̄dò. Ka wɔ̄i gɛ́n dɛ̄gò.

Ka ybjɛ, ka kɛ̄l kí ḍeàń. Tyɛ́ń gɛ́n kɔ́fí kíne: ḍāp̣ á rɛ̄ń, ka wiyɛ wɛ̄rò kí mdyɛ̄.
Ká ḍeàń kɛ̄l, kā chuńe gɛ́n mìnǫ. Ka gɛ ko: dɛ̄kí kí ńá gɔ́l ún! Ka gɛ dúògò. Ka
rei gɛ́ wɛ̄ɛ̄ fi. Sha mɛ̄kǫ kamá fatɛ fɛ́ń wɔ́kè tyɛ́ń gɛ́n.

A man talks with a girl, and in the course of their conservation he says: "I 539*
have come to you." She asks: "What for?" He replies: " I want to talk with 584
you." She asks: "What do you want?" He replies: "I want to marry you."

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, [583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); [482 after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard 431] of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brough, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with chld, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatves (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and moher are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

Dūŋ kɛ́ a ŋ́wɛ́, ka ɣrɛ dwɔ́, ka gyɛ̄nɛ kwɔ́, ka gɔ́ɛ́ɔ́ fɔ́, ka gyɛ̄nɛ ŋ́, ka lɛ́ɔ́ tɔ́tyɛ́l, ka gyɛ̄nɛ mɔ̄kɛ mɔ́k, ka gɔ́ɛ́ɔ́ fɔ́, ká ŋ́ŋ wiy ɖāŋ; ka dyɛ́l kɔ̄l, ka gɛ́ɛ́ɔ́[1] loɛ, ka wɔ́ɔ́ bɔ́dɛ kí kɔ́l. Ká wɔ́ŋ́ŋ́l, ka chwɔ́p, ká jɛ́ chɔ̄kɔ̄, ka jam kwɛ̄r gwɔ́ɔ́. Ka dɔ́rɛ́ kɔ̄l, ka tɛ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l, ka kwɔ́r ɔ̄l, ka atɛ̄gɛ kɔ̄l, ka lāu kɔ̄l; ka tyɛ́ɔ́ kɛ́ɖɛ bɛ́ ŋɔ́te kwɔ́ɖɛ, mɛ́n tɔ́t pɛ́m; ka ɣɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k tyɛ́lé gɛ́n. Ká gɛ́ kɛ́ɖɛ́, ka gɛ ŋ́ɔ́dɔ́ kwɔ́ɖɛ́, ka kwɔ́ɖɛ kɔ̄l gɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k, ka wɔ́kɔ́ tyɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́, ka tyɛ́ɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ ko: kɔ̄l kɛ́ɔ́ch! Ka kɔ́ɔ́ch kɔ̄l, ka gɛ́ ko rɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɖāŋ! Ka rɛ́ɛ́ kɔ́, ka ɖāŋ rɛ́ɔ́m, ka rɛ́ɛ́ kɔ̄l, rɛ́ɔ́m kɛ́y bɔ́r ɖāŋ. Ka ɖāŋ a kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka jɛ́ mɔ̄kɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ɖ ɖāŋ, ka jɛ́ mɔ̄kɛ́ yɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɖ ɖɛ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ká pyɛ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l, ka ɣɔ́r (rɔ́r), ká tɔ́t pɛ́m, ká kɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ (tabate). Ka ɖāŋ dwɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l, ka chyɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ chwɔ́l, y mɔ̄ɛ́ɛ́ tyɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ ɖāŋ, ka ɖāŋ kɛ́ɛ́ wɛ́ tabate. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́l ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɖ tyɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ ɖāŋ, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ chwɔ́l, y ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́ tɔ́k. Ká bɔ́l kɔ̄l, ka dyɛ́l kɔ̄l, ka dyɛ́l ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ loɛ; ka bɔ́l ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k. Ka jɛ́ yɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́; a tɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɣrɛ fɔ́ yɛ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka jɛ́ wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka yɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́m, ka ɖāŋ ɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí kwɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka bɔ́ɔ́ a kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɣrɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɣrɛ́ dwɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́. Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka jɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka jɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́. Ka fɔ́l rɛ́p mɔ́ɔ́, ka kɔ̄l, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ĺ jɛ́; jɛ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka jɛ́ rɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ chɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka mɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ dwɔ́l, mɛ́n kɛ́ɛ́ kwɛ́m ɖāŋ kí kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ká ɖɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l, ká mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, kwɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɔ̄l, kɛ́ɛ́ kwɛ́m ɖāŋ. Ka kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dwɔ́ɔ́, ka kɛ́ɛ́ kwɛ́m ɖāŋ, ká mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́, ka wɛ́ɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄l, ka chɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka wɔ́ɔ́ chwɔ́p, ká bɔ́l fɔ́ɔ́k, ka ɣrɛ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ká yɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́m, ka ɣrɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ká dwɔ́ɔ́ fāŋ, ka ɣrɛ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ kí

[1] *gɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ loɛ.*

*539 *kwǫfe ywǫk. Ka mǫgǫ gwǎch yi ʈɛrǫ bɛ̱n. Ka wɔ́l, ká wɔ́té gɛ́n dwai. Ka mǫ́gǫ tygi, ka bū́l gɔ́ch ki̱ bɛ̱rò. Ka wɔ́ʈ chwɛ́ʃp, ká dyɛ̀k nɛ̱́k; ka jɛ̄ nɛ́nò. Dyki̱ ka ywò gè ywɔ́k, ká ɖɔ̀k ánwɛ̱n ká nɛ́kè kàl, ka ɖɔk aǹwɛn nɛ̱ke de (der) fach. Ka ʈɛrǫ bɛ̱nǫ bɛ̱n bɛ̱n bɛ̱n; Chɔ́l gɛ̱r! Ka feń yíɣɔ́ bɛ̱rò, ʈɛrǫ ywɔ́ń, ka ɖɔk aǹwɛn nɛ̱́k ki̱ fɛ̱l yi ʈɛrǫ. Ka pɛ́ki̱ yɛ́ch, ka bur gɛ̱n kwɔ́ń ki̱ bū́tì wiy ɖāɲ. Ka atíwi dryù̀u ki̱ lwɔl ki̱ obírò ki̱ fɛ̱rɔ́, ki̱ tɛ̱mi̱ dryù̀u, ka gɛ nɛ̱́k ki̱ yey bur. Ka tyńe ɖɔk ka gɛ kɛ̱̄l, kwɔń feń, gɛ lɛ̱́tò yi ʈɛrǫ. Ka ywɔ́ke e dɛ̱̄ńǫ. Ka kɛ̱̄l ʈɔ̄ʈe yi rɛ́m, ka kɛ̱̄l ʈɔ̄ʈe yi bat, ka riǹǫ pɛ̱̄ńè bɛ̱̄ne. Tygi a kwɔń ɖāɲ kɛ̱li chí̱n, ki̱ wich, ki̱ tygl, ki̱ mútò.*

*539 766 When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought, [804] they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave.

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard; his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Oboyǫ (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the [768] people are beaten (touched) with the oboyǫ. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead

man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter. 539* 766

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2] 539* 765 [768]

17. Inheritance.

Dāṇ kgá a ɓ̄, wgtg nát, ka jámḡ kwán yí ńal dugń, ka ńal ɓ̄ṇ wòṭé bḍḍ. Ká ḍ̀ok kwán yí ńal dugń bḡn, ka ńal dugń ɯ yígé dīṇch, ká ḍ̀ok fḍńè ḡn, ɯ yígg rach, ka ḍ̀ok kwań yí ńal ɓ̄ṇ. Ka gg ńākṇ, ka ḍ̀ok kwań yí ńal ɓ̄ṇ. Tīrṇ bḡnṇ bḡne bḡne, ka kwṇp kímí, ka ye kíne: ḍ, grg uwo, ena a tiónt; yi chama ńṇ kḡtí kí ḍ̀ok? fḍńè ḍ̀ok! ɯ bḡnṇ kwor, ɯ chḍ̀ yi kḡtí? Ka ḍ̀ok fḍńè ɓ̄rg; ka ńal dugń wḍkè mógé, ka ńal ɓ̄ṇ wāke mógé. Ka kwṇp kím chyè, ka gg rṇp kí ákyèl, ka ń kín fén, ka gg rīṇpṇ. Ńal dugń wḍkè mánḡńò, kífa ɓnd jáń kàl; ka mánḡk wḍkè ńal ɓ̄ṇ. Ka ńí kīṇ kwor gḡńí, chḍ̀ḡ, ka ńal ɓ̄ṇ e bḡdṇ, fa chìndḡ. Ńal ɓ̄ṇ ḍṇgg ńḡmḡ kí ḍachṇ. Chḍ̀ḡ, fḡka fot.

Tygń ggḡ ka owiy jal gni e bḡnṇ, ka e kṇpṇ kí akyèl, ka ómḡn e kṇpṇ kí akyèl; ńwḡkí ggn fa mḡk jal gni, wgtg jal gni, ḍīṇ dugń; mayí ggn e bḡdṇ kí jal dugń; kínnu chḡt.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

[1] That is: for hammering the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] Not everybody is buried so ceremoniously as this report tells, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox buried projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a king* *vide page 128.*

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dâŋ lípè, ywódé, ɛ bû wɔ̀k, ka kɔ̂l, ka chíkì kɔ̀lɔ̀, ka ńan ɡni e rɛ́ńɔ̀, ka biɛ̨ bɛ̨ kwɔ́p: yá nɛ̨ka ɡâŋ a wɛr! Ká bâl ɡɔ́ch, ka tʃɛ̀rɛ̨ biɛ̨ wɔ̀k, ka tyɛ̀ń a mɛn kɛ̨ɛ̨ bɛ̨ yɛ́ké jam, ɡɛ kán. Ka tyɛ̀kɛ̀ bɛ̄nɛ̨, leń riɛ̨; ka ɡach yák, ɡyɛn mák, ka byɛ̨l kɔ̨̂l. Ka tʃɛ̀rɛ̨ bɛ̄nɛ̨, ɡɔ̀k a kɔ̨̂l fɔ̄ɛ̨ Jɛń. Ka ńí y dɔ̀k leńe riɛ̨, ká ɡɔ̀k dùɔ̀k. Ka ɡɔ̀k aryɛ̀u ɡɔ́ń yi jāɡɛ̨, ka mūje riɛ̨, ka riɛ̨ e wɔ̂rɔ̀, ká à kɔ̀: kɛ̨ɛ̨, chól! Ka tʃɛ̀rɛ̨ chùdɔ̀, ka mɛn e kānɛ̨ ɡeań, ka mɛn e kānɛ̨ ɡeań, ka ɡɔ̀k e tûmɔ̀, ɡa pyārɛ̨. Ka chwɔ̀k wûr, ka e bɛ̄nɛ̨, ka biɛ̨ yi jāɡɛ̨, kíne: kwɔ́p bɛ̀dà dì? Kíne: kwɔ́f á ʃùm. Ka ɡɔ̀k kɔ̨̂l, ka ɡɛ ʃyɛ́r, ka ɡɛ mūjɛ̨ ki dyɛ̀k, mɛ̀k kwache tyɛ̀ń riɛ̨. Ka tyɛ̀ń riɛ̨ yiɛ̀ńɔ̀, kíne: ɡāŋ rach! Ka nɔ̀kì ki ɡeań mɛ̀kɛ̨, ka ɡɔ̀k kɔ̨̂l, ka tyɛ̀ń riɛ̨ e bɛ̄nɛ̨, kɛ̨ɛ̨a Fashōdɛ̨ ki tyɛ̀ń ɡāŋ, tyɛ̀ń ɡāŋɛ̨ ʃɔ̄ɛ̨ ɡɔ̀k abích. Ka riɛ̨ kɛ̨lɛ̨ ɡɔ̀k abích, wɛ̀ɛ̨ akyɛ̀l ywɔ̀k ńál ɡní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the "army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the dura is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and says: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Jal mẽkọ, jal Mwọmọ, jal mádḭch, ka nḭkè yi rḭ́ḭ́ Yọ. Ka tyẹ̀n gḭn á ywọ̀ṅọ̀. Ka jẽ ṡḭ lui yi fõṭẹ bwoń, ka gẹ ṡḭ makẹ, ka gẹ chọ̀n wọt, ka jẽ e lḭ́gọ̀ pyar abí-kyḭ̀l, ka mẹkẹ ḭ̃ḭ̃ẹ, ka gẹ dwọl; ka gẹ rumọ dwọl, ka gẹ tyẹ̀n; ka gẹ rumo tyẹ̀n, ka bũl kḭ̀l wọk, ka ḭ̃ḭ̃ẹ kḭ̀l, ka nḭ̀k, mẹn gẹy bũl; ka bũl tḭ́n wọt kḭ́ bọr, ka bũl tḭ́n wọt, ka ḭ̃ḭ̃ẹ kḭ̀l, ka nḭ̀k; ka ywọgẹ ywọk, ka pyar abi kyẹl kḭ̀l wọ̀k, ka gẹ nḭ̀k, (kẹ́n) ḭ̃ḭ̃ẹ a nḭkè yi rḭ́ḭ́. Kã gni anan, ka Chọl e buọgẹ bḭ̃ṅe.

A certain man, a man of Mwọmọ, a very good man, was killed by king Yọ. His relations mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), these were caught by the relations of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

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20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

*539 *Jal mɛ̄kɩ̨ e ńwɔ̨mɔ̨. Ka ńan a ɖachɔ̨ bɛ̄nɔ̨, e kānɔ̨ pí; ka jal gni wɛ̄rɔ̀, kɩ̨ne: à, ga pi ńɔ̨? Ya bɩ̨ kɛ̨ch. Ka ńan a ɖachɔ̨ ka kwōna wɔ̨k. Ka gɛ̨ nɛ̨nɔ̨, ka gɛ̨ tōrɔ̨ yi kɛ̨ch; chama ńi butɔ̨ fen, ka ńiŋ̨ báńà mɛ̀jù yi kɛ̨ch.*

Ka gɛ̨ kɛ̨ɖɔ̨ bɛ̄ kwɔ̨tɔ̨ ki byɛ̨l, ka ńan a ɖachɔ̨ lōńa wɔ̨t (ɣɔ̨t), e kānɔ̨ gin cham. Ka gɛ̨ bɛ̄nɔ̨, gɛ̨ kātɔ̨ byɛ̨l, ka gɛ̨ pɛ̄ku pén; ńan a ɖachɔ̨ kúchè gɛ̨n, ńan a ɖachɔ̨ pɔ̨nɔ̨ ki gɔ̨re wɔ̨t. Ká gɩ̨ ńàmù, ka ńi ko: á, ɣwá, chɛ̨ (cha) duɔ̨n a wań mɛ̄yi (mɛ̄i), ńwōl ɣná! Ka gɔ̨ ńwōle. Ka gɛ̨ yūjɔ̨ ki byɛ̨l. Ka ńan a ɖachɔ̨ fɛ̨chɔ̨ kɩ̨ne: ńimla, a kɩ̨di? a ya re wa reɛ̨? Jal e ko: ɛ̨ ńawɔ̨-tyau! gɔ̨ń ɖɔ̨ga! Kɩ̨ne: kɩ̨pańɔ̨? Kɩ̨ne: chā re a wɛ̄kɛ ya kɛ̨ch? ko: ɛ̨, fatɛ yin a kōbi awa kɩ̨ne: ga pi ńɔ̨? Ka ńal gni kɛ̨ta wɔ̨k; ka wɔ̨n chwɔ̨l, ka e bɛ̄nɔ̨; e ko: á, pyeche ńa wun, wɛ̄ke ya ɖɔ̨ga! kɩ̨ne: kɩ̨pańɔ̨? Kɩ̨ne: ɛ̨, pyeche yau! A pyey ńān gni, kɩ̨ne: ńān! á kɩ̨dí? A kōp ńate, cha wɛ̄kè yɛ̨ ɖɔ̨gɛ̨! Kɩ̨ne: ɛ̨, kúchè yán! Ńa tyau, tē kwɔ̨p! Ya kɛ̨la pi awa; a kōbí kɩ̨ne: gɛ̨n a pi ńɔ̨? Kɛ̨ń gni anan; ɣna (ɣɛ̨na) kɛ̨ɖá. Kɩ̨ne: ńɛ̨! A tōre yi kɛ̨ch, a kɛ̨ti gɛ̨ bɛ̄ kwɛ́le byɛ̨l, a kɩ̨ta gin cham wɔ̨t, gɛ̨ tɛ̨̄k. Fatɛ kɛ̨ń gni anan? a bɛ̄ni, a kōbi kɩ̨ne: ówá, cha duɔ̨n a wań byɛ̨li! a ńām gɛ̨n, ɣná kōbá, kɩ̨ne: yá nɛ̨n! A kōbi: ńa tyau! gɔ̨ń ɖɔ̨ga! A kōba kɩ̨ne: bɩ̨́h! na yín a kyɛ̨t áwá, kɩ̨ne: ga pi ńɔ̨? Fatɛ kɛ̨ń gni a bɔ̄n anan? A kɛ̨la gin cham; a yɛ̨́dé. A kōbe wiy ńān ɣní: yi kwata kapańɔ̨? Adi? chōl byɛ̨lá a kwōl yi yín! A kōbe kɩ̨ne: kɩ̨pańɔ̨? Yā dɛ̨, a wɛ̄kɛ ya kɛ̨ch! Yi cha (yá) kūwa! ɖɔ̨gi gɔ̄ńa yin. A kɛ̨ɖɔ̨, a kɛ̨le wɔ̨t, mɛ̨n lɛ̨́gɛ́, a lɛ̨́gɛ́ lwɔ̨gɛ ɣrù, a ɩumi kwɔ̨p.

[515] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him
*539 water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was
angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon
593 the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were
586 troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down,
but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in
[674] the same house) went to steal dura. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen dura. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle."[1] She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

[1] This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man 539*
went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask
your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father 586
asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how 593
is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know."
The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have!' Then I said: 'Here am I!' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!" After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!" [1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal wīkę ńí bīdo gwīlę; ka kōpa ḍāne gółę́ kíne: ḷ, ńān, ya líńa ṭal![2] *Ka* 539*
ńane ḍachę ko: dīch! Ka e ko: bíh, ṭāl dīch ṇ! ḍāṇ yiga máchwé yí ṭàl. Ká ì
ṭāḍę. Ka e kędę, ka kwen ṭhwí, ka óbíí ṭwgra mal, ka gę ńí yárí, ka gę ńí kīńí
pań. Ka kwgne chīgę, ka wiy pań rum yí pygn, ka kwgn ṭīkę, ka lwgl dwgi ṭīke
ńa-gęl gęn. Ka mgn a gīpe wółīnę; ka e bīdę gęn óbíí.[3]

Ka gin cham e ṭum kí chàm, e bīdí yau, ka ńan a ḍachę kīṭa wgk, ka pań
ńwālę, ka gę yódę́ e ṭīk, obęi ṭwgwę. Kíne: bôl, y ya tich adi? Ka ńí butę pań, ka
ńí ḍwoṭa mal, ka ńí gāyę, kíne: bíh, hì! Kwgp a bań duīgì. Ka ńa gęl gęn ko:
ó gin ṭhìì? Kíne: ḷ, faṭe gin ńí kwgp! mì ńa-ḍāṇ, chwgla: ńí chwé chwgla yí ńí
chām óbíí, ka ṭāla gin cham a tin, a ṭīga obęi pań. Kęń gní anan, dę chwgla yin
chwé yí obęi. A kōbí ńan a ḍachę kíne: wiy ńāru, yí nęks mgre ńę chín? Ya fa
dīgę ṭal kīte. Kęń gní anan; a ḍwoṭí ńan a ḍachę mal, a ṭāgę gin cham, a chāmí,
ka chwńí mìnì.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will 462
cook in place of you." The woman said: "All right!" He said (to himself): 539*
"Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the corn of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will come later", or: "do later, cooking": I will cook after, instead of you.
[3] He remained thinking of the foam.

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He went and poured much water on the flour (to make bread), so that the foam floated on the surface. He skimmed the foam off and put it into the hole near the grinding-stone. When the bread was done, he covered the hole with a skin, and the bread he put into a large gourd for his wife, and what was left (in the pot), he scratched out for the children. (He did not take any food for himself, because) he was thinking of the foam. (He thought the foam was the best of the food, therefore he reserved it for himself).

When his people had finished eating, he sat quite still, waiting till his wife had gone out. Then he uncovered the hole and saw that the foam had gone, it had dried off! He said: "Dear me! what shall I do now?" He lay down, he got up again, he was quite perplexed. He could not say one word ("talk refused to return"). His wife asked: "What is the matter?" He answered: "Why, it is not a thing to be told; mother of my children, I thought because you are so fat, I thought it was because you used to eat foam, so I cooked the food today, and I put the foam into the hole. That is the matter. I thought you were so fat from eating foam. His wife said: "Father of my child, what greediness has been troubling you?" He replied: "I shall never cook again." That is it. The woman arose and cooked food, he ate, and was pleased.

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

[illegible] kpé wéhpé yí jwòh, ho jì dwoú, ho jì bíjì, bíno: [illegible] o kwéj wùr bí jwòh? Ké jì ò bíbíj: [illegible] o wéhpé bíkí yí jwòh? Ké dyjì dwoú, ho [illegible] ílwoù jwòh, ho yíj dyjì ájì, ho pí wùrj ry, bé dyjì o wjh, rynwj hwjy fòt, ho chém yí [illegible]. Ké [illegible]. Ké [illegible] bíj jwòh é dwjé bí ry, ho wjwòjwj dwoú. Ké wjwòjwj bíjwj, ho o kíbij bíno: bjwí bí kwjr, ho o ho: bjwí bí bíj, ho o ho: bjwí bí ílw, ho o ho: bjwí bí dyjì! Ké dyjì bjì, ho [illegible] o bíjr fjì, bé dyjì ehíjí wij [illegible], ho dyjì yríj bíh, ho yríj wómò bíyò; ho [illegible] bíjr fwch, bé jwòh ò wéhò.

When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness? (Is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and: "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!" When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

23. Another Report on Sickness.

Jwòh wéjéj ehéj fì dwéhj. Ké wjwòjwj dwoú, ho wjwòjwj bíjwj, ho o ho bíno: bjwí kwjr, wùr bwoú ywj. Ké dyjì bjì, ho ílw bjì, ho ewwjì bjì, bé yéhj bjì, ho bj bjì, ho ywch bjì, bé líí bjì, bé bjwj bjì, ho ewwjì bjj fòt bí ídéjr, ho yríj ílr wwl. Ké [illegible] bjì, [illegible] yríj, ho ò yjì yjò ehíjr ídéjh, ho ò wéhéj ehíjr ehwj; ho ewwjì wéjj, ho ewwjì o jì. Ké yj [illegible] wéì, bé dyjì yríj bíh, ho wéì yjòch wéì yjò; ho wéwj ídì, ho ehéwj ídì, bé ehéj ídì, ho yj bwoú wéjr ìjì. Ké ywj ídì, ho ewwjì yí, ho wéhò ídw jwí, bé yjì wéhjì jò. Ké wéjyj réjr, wéíbwéjr, wéíj yjòrò, ho yj ìwéch éíjr, bé líí bíh, bé bíjì bíh, ho ywch bwéíí, ho bíjr yjì yí yò. ho [illegible] yí yò, ho yí bíjr ywj bwjì, yj ehéj fòt; ho bj bwéíj jò, ho bwjr bwéíj jò, ho fíéj bwéíj jò, ho réíj bwéíj jò, bé dyjì bwéíj[1] jò.

Another sickness is called *dwéhj*. When this falls on a man, the sorcerer is sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then

[1] These all are the fees of the witch-doctor.
[2] *bwéíí yì jò.*

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*539 755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a curtain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; then they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of those three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The head is cut off, and those things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medicine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *ɔjɔŋ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the bow, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

[858]

14. Sicknesses.

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ɔwɔ̄ŋ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
ɔjɔ heart-ache, pulmonary [disease.
ɔŋɔ̄ŋ cold, catarrh.
ɔŋɔ̄ŋ insanity, lunacy.
ɔwɔ wɔ̄ɔ giddiness.
ɔŋɔ̄ŋ teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
ɔŋɔ dropsy, hydropsy.
ɔŋɔ pains in the buttocks.
ɔŋɔ̄ŋ rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
ɔjɔ guinea worm, Furunkli of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
ɔwɔ̄ŋ swelling of knees and [elbows.
ɔjɔ leprosy
ɔbɔ a disease of the head, the hair comes out in corner-rows of cheeses inflammation.
ɔjɔ̄ŋɔ̄ŋ the skin peels off.
ɔ̄r caries.
ɔɔ a kind of light leprosy.
ɔɔ̄ɔ ɔɔ̄ɔ swelling of the shin-bone.
ɔɔ salt-cheese, "leprosy".
ɔjɔ small-pox.
ɔ̄ɔ a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
ɔ̄ɔ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; elephylis.
ɔɔ̄ŋɔ inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger cut off.
ɔɔ̄ɔ inflammation of the joints of the toes.
ɔɔ guineaworm.
ɔ̄ɔ boils.

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ebjiki the same as *dwojí*, but it is curable, *ewoyí* is incurable.

dwiki a kind of leprosy on the feet, takes a long time to heal.

wíjo the skin becomes rough, squamous.

jiwí-ebbe diarrhoea.

vibe diarrhoea.

ebjoj blindness.

ápí-ebji eyelashes get red, fall off.

ebjiy lameness.

ebjo thigh-bone is affected, it is mortal.

dwoi disease of the outer ear, chiefly of children.

yudjoj itching.

ddwobi "a cripple who never walks".

ddibj bunch-backed.

byjo a disease of cattle and men, pains in the back.

IV. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

25. The Election of a King.

Ŋɔ́ rɪ̱.

Kɔ́ rɔ́ (rɔ́) rɪ̱, ní dwɔ́ kwɔ́rí ɡɔ́ŋ, ka wɪ̱ŋ́ ɛ́ɛ rɪ̱, ka ɡɛ wɪ̱ŋ, ka ɲí kɪ̱ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ɔ, ka ŋ́ɔ́ kɪ̱l, ka kɪ̱ɡɛ́ mɔ́ɔ, ka bɔ́k. Ka wɪ̱ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́, kɔ́ ɡí mɔ́ɔ, ka mɔ́ɔ́ bɪ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́k, ɡɛ́ɛ rɪ̱; ka chɪ́kí wɪ̱ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ŋ mɔ́ɔ, ka ɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ wɪ̱ŋ́, ɡɛ́ɛ rɪ̱, ka chɪ́ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ɔ mɔ́ɔ, ka ɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ dɔ́ŋ́ wɪ̱ŋ́, ɡɛ́ɛ rɪ̱; ka wɪ̱ŋ́ chɪ́kí ŋ́ɔ́ mɔ́ɔ, ka mɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ ɡɔ́, ɡɛ́ɛ rɪ̱; ka wɪ̱ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ mɔ́ɔ, ka ɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ dɔ́ŋ́, ka pɪ̱ɡɛ́ mɔ́l, ka ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ŋ́, rɪ̱ ɛ́ɛɛ! Ka ɡɔ́ɔ́ kɪ̱ŋ́, ka ɛ́ɛɛ pɪ̱l. Dɪ̱ɡí ka ɲí kɪ̱ŋ́, ka ɲí wɔ́ŋ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́; kɪ̱ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ ɛ́ kí, ka ɡɛ́ ní ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́ pɔ́ɔ, ka ní ɡɪ̱ɪ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́; ka ɡɛ́ kɪ̱ŋ́ wɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ, ka ŋ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɡɛ́ wɪ̱ŋ́ Bɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɲɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́ŋ́ ɛ́ pɪ̱ŋ́kí kɪ̱ɡɛ́: ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡí ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́? kɪ̱ɡɛ́: ɛ́ɛ rɪ̱ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ.

Chɪ̱ɪ́ŋ́, ka ɲɪ̱k dwɔ́i, ka ɡɛ́ dwɔ́i Mɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ kí Tɪ̱ɪ́ŋ́. Ka ɛ́ kɪ̱ŋ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́, ɡɛ́ɛ ɲɪ̱ɡɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́, ka kɔ́ŋ́f kɪ̱m, ka ɡɛ́ɛ kɪ̱ŋ́, ɡɛ́ɛ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, ka pɪ̱ɛ́ɛ ŋ́ɔ́k, ŋ́ɔ́k ɛ́kɪ̱ŋ́. Ka ɲí ní ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ɪ̱l. Ka kɛ́ɛ ɡɔ́ ka ɲí kɪ̱ŋ́, ɡɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ ŋ́ɔ́k. Ka ŋ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ní chɪ́ɪ́ŋ́, ka ɲí kɪ̱ɡɛ́ kɔ́l, ka ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́ní mɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ yɔ́ŋ́ŋ́. Ní rɪ̱ɡɛ́ ɡɔ́ ɲɪ̱ɪ́ŋ́ wɔ́ɔ́; ka ɲɔ́ɔ́, kɔ́ɔ́ rɪ̱ŋ́, ɛ́ chɪ́ŋ́ŋ́, ka ɡɛ́ kɪ̱ɡɛ́ kɔ́l. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ní ɔ́ŋ́ɪ́ kí ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́; ka ɡɛ́ ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́, ka ɛ́ɛ rɪ̱ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́ kí wɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, ka ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɪ́ yí ɲɪ̱ɪ́, ka ɡɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́. Ka kɪ̱ŋ́ ka ɲɔ́ kí Tɪ̱ɪ́ŋ́, ka ɲɪ̱ɡɛ́ ɛ́ kɪ̱ŋ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ chɪ́ŋ́ rɪ̱, ka kɔ́ɔ́ kɪ́ɔ́ chɪ́.

* 539 When a king is to be elected, they bring the descendants of the Nubians,[1] and the sticks of the princes are broken. And some people go to the Nubian country, and bring some flint stones; they are put into the fire; then the fire is 643 [563] blown up; and a stick (of the princes) is thrown into it, into the fire; if the fire remains black, then that one (the prince or pretendent who threw his stick in) is not the king. Another stick is thrown in (by another prince); if the fire burns (flames up) a little, then this one is not the king. Again another stick is thrown in; if the fire burns a little high, that one is not the king. Another stick is thrown in; if the fire dies, that is not the king. Another one is thrown in, and if the fire burns with a big flame, and blazes up, then the people laugh: "This is the king (the prince who threw in this stick, he is to be king)."

[Hɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́r says concerning this: "According to an ancient use which existed before Nyikang's time, a number of little stones according to the number of princes which have been proposed for election are thrown into a fire. Each stone has its name; now the one whose stone remains in the fire without cracking becomes king. This test is repeated so long till only one single stone is left.]

After that the people come (from different villages); they sleep in the bush,

[1] The Shilluks say: "When Nyikang brought his people into the Shilluk country, he brought some Nubians with him; these Nubians live in several villages among the Shilluks up to this day; they are known by the Shilluks, but in their outward appearance they do not differ from the Shilluks." According to the report given above they seem to play or to have played rather an important role in the constitution of the Shilluk dynasty. It appears that the Shilluks have been in some political connection with the Nubians.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

the next morning they come near and enter the village. The people of the stones (those who brought the stones) come and turn to a certain village, and a cow is sacrificed; they go into the next village, and a cow is sacrificed (in each village which they pass, a cow is sacrificed). So they come to *Tuhorda*. On arriving there, the great chief asks them: "Who has been elected by the first stone?" They answer: "This or that prince" (calling the name of the elected one). 539* 643

That is all, and then the chiefs are brought (are sent for); they all are brought, from *Mwyang* to *Ttugg* (the chief from each district, from the extreme north [*Mwyang*] to the south end [*Ttugg*] of the Shilluk country is sent for). And they all come, that is, all chiefs come, and they talk about the matter. Then the people go to the village (of the newly elected king), they surround his village all around; after that they pass the night in the bush. Early next morning they go into the village again. Their spears are taken from their hands. They go into the enclosure (where the new king lives). The women cry. The king remains in the hut. The chiefs, the descendants of the kings, are called, they too go into the enclosure. The door-stick (of the hut) is cut off with a spear. They rush into the hut, and take the prince (the new king) out. He gives them a cow, the cow is killed by the chiefs, and they eat the meat. Then they take the new king to *Tahdiy*, and they adorn him with beads, with dancing beads of the king. And they hoist a long pulover. 539* 634 643

16. A second report on the Election of a King.

Jiik dwoi; ko tjeg bjeg, ko gg ebgdg, ko bwgy bjwd. Ko rig mith, dwoi fbrd, ko bgl fim dwgd, ko rjm djdi bgl, ko bgl gyd Nikuk, gyd dwgd. Ko tjeg lbwd, ko jwgd Ibm, ko Nikuk Ibm; rig do mdig. Ko rbwd, ko gi ljdi rg gi tjeg bjm, ko bgg bol, ko bwgd gi bbie rig. Ko e rbm, ko rg bgg lim, lbm jjagg, ko tjdi jjagg bd wdbd, ko bgm mwd gwdk ugjdi-mbdi; bgm mwd, ko e rdg. Ko wgm tjm dwoi, ko tjgd Nikuk ko gg dwoi Ahurwaar, jjag Nikuk. Ko gg bjm, gg bjdo Nikdag bj Dbb, d gwdjgd bj ebwgm wwdg gg gbr; gg twwjg rgg ddjdig, gg bgd. Tjeg ko: Nikuk a bi. Ko djdi bgl, ko jwl mdjdg pdjp, ko bgl, ko lim bid mbk, ko tmdmb, ko ebjg fim bj gg. Ko tjeg bjmg bjbm bjbm, rig gm dbr, ko tjeg bgbd bmgm jwl gwl, d db bgg. Ko rbwd, ko tjgd Nikuk bjmg, gd bgbg ebmdjrg, ko tjeg rgd, rig e mdjg bj mm a dbdbg, gg rbdg bjfo tjgd Nikuk, bjfo gg a fwdt gd tjgd Nikuk, fwdbg tjeg bjmr; ddm a gjdb, bd ebjg mbd, ko ddmr mj gjdb ko ebjg mbd. Ko rig ebgdg: Ko gg rgdm mgd, ko gbwd bgl, ko gbwd ebmdjp, ko rig bgl mjdi, ko tjeg e bjmg bjbm bjbm bjbm, jjagg bjbm; ko ebjg djdi gyd dwgd, ko tjeg lbm. Ko ebgdi: gi bg gjdi bj gi mbdi! Ti bg mjdi bj jbl! Mbdi fwd jjagg mdig! Ko rig gbwdgm mwd, ko tjeg fjbm fwd, rg bjdjr bjbwd; dg bbdi rig gm 539*

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*539 *bëëy. Ke e bëëy kipo: Shëël, mënë pëm kipo! Ëë ëë wii këëb bwë! pë mënë kë rëo kë dëëb. Ke ëëp pë: wwi wwi wwi kipo. Ke ëwë kël, ke ëbwëp këëe këbe rëë. Ke ëëb kël, wëbi tëpë Nëbwi. Ke jwi pwi pëë, ke e këëp. Ke ëwë ëbwëp, mëë ëwë bwëp. Ke rëë e këë kë lëo mëëëp, lëo ëwë, ëwë jëëp. Ke ëëy e këëë, mëë këëë ëëp pëo, mëë këëë ëëp pëo*

*539 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they
(43 assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for.
[778] They are brought from Akurwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dëk, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!"[2] Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the middle of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their middle, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[3] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

173 [According to Hofmayr (Anthropos V, page 111) this girl is always
614 taken from the clan of the Kwa-ohal: "The Kwa-ohal come from the
(43 Bahr el Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declared to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were enslaved. . . . pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, leaves, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of this girl. This girl is now called nya bwar (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] or: "some days"?
[2] or: "the Bahr Bahr bar"?
[3] cf. page 178, n. 2.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

There are several other clans which have the privilege of performing certain ceremonies in connection with the election of a king. One has the duty of fanning the king with a feather of the king of birds, another has to secure the dura sticks with which the party of the king defeats the party of the enemies.*] 614 643

people of Nyikang, lest they be beaten by the people of Nyikang; for they (the latter) beat all people, and every one who is beaten, is put into a separate place and has to pay a fine to the people of Nyikang. All the people try to run into a house. 539* 643

Now a cow is brought, the cow is speared, and the king is brought out. All the people come, all the chiefs, and they place the king outside the door of the great court; the people pray. The king is given these commandments: "Do not do any wicked things! Do not kill people! Govern the country of the chiefs in peace!" And the king rises, and all the people go down, they kneel on the earth, but the wives of the king kneel beside him. And he says: "Ye Shilluk people all, look at me! This is the country of my father and my grandfathers; you will live a peaceful life through me!" And all the people say: "Our father, our father!" A cow is brought, and is speared on account of the prosperity (for the good speed) of the king. And cattle are brought, and given to the people of Nyikang. And the man (who was bound) is released, and goes home. Another cow is speared, which finishes the matter. And the king is covered with certain clothes, big clothes, royal clothes. Now the people scatter, each one goes to his own country.

17. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

Ko tjeg ká ká dwier ká kpi, kpi bwáw, gyjjó. Ko tjeg e kpáj kjeg, gé ghr, ke jjó e lówij: gówo gjó gjáp, kwiléí gówo dwáw, kpi tjuph, kpi kwer ríéj, ŋ do ríéí ŋ twaqqa, ŋ chwáj ríéj. E lówij: gówo gjó Nikáang, kpó ow gwjjó gé, wij ka gjáp ké kwáj-p! E ke: é, kwaqqa gjáp, wuk kpi ká djóth, ŋ kpe kpó é gjóo; wjéó djóth, kdjó-ép-kdáng! Ko dyjé djó, ke chwaqqa, ke gyjdwij djó, ke ríéí, ke dwaw e kpáj, ke ríéí dwaw kpí, ke gyjé wjó gé ghr, ke tjeg kjeqq, ke jjó e chwáj, ke kpi tjuph, ke gé ríówij tjuóqq, ke jjóóo dwaqó, ke kpi gjóód, ke e ke: jjkpé, kpí wuth, ke e ke jjó dwáw: kpí wuth, dwáw. Ko gé dwáw. Ko gé ríówij dwáw, ke gé kpí, kdjó ká tjuóqq; ke jjkpé ke kjaw: ríéí? E ke: é, dé ow ká kpáj gjóo? Ko e ka gé gwaw, ke gwaw kpí, ke jjó chjóó, ke gé kpáj ke Shwáíríéj. Ko ríéí dwaw, ke ke: jjó é ká. Kjaw: owo, wij ká? Wo kpíí ríéí? Wé kpíí jawd kwaw. Kjaw: gé kdó? Kjaw gwjóó ríéíkpé. E ká: djóth! Ko ríéí e kówij ówij (ówij) dwaqó, ke wdóó jjóó, ke wjóó. Ko jjóó e ríéí, gé chówij ká gwaw. Ko gé djóóó. Kjaw: owo, ká wdó? Kjaw: é, wdóó jówjó! Ko jjóó e kjóóó, ke wwjóó tjuóó, ke gé ríéí, gé wdóó. 539*

17. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

*539 *Kjwe: ó, djoh, bij, bjlé jwjé! Ko yi bjwy. Ko yi wwje fiip pyo, ba bil pjoh, ba ŋwy chjéij bj bil. Ko yi ŋjyi: wwo yjó ŋwy, ó, wó dójh, dj bjj pwé wéij.*

The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyah-antelope. And all the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people, (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyah-antelope, which belongs to the king: If any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of men, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it?" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right?" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "We have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?" They reply: "Many." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now?)" The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay?)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people: "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" *

18. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A bjj ŋwy bj ŋwjé bj pwé, pwjé bwéin, ba ŋwy ciéij, ba pwé bjl, bá ŋwj ŋjwj, ba ŋwy wwjé fwéh. Ko jjwy chwéij, ba pwé ŋwjé bá i wjwy, ba o bwjwj wéj, ba o bo: bwwo yjó ná? Ko bwéin, ba o bo: wwjé ná ba wwjé wéj, ba wwjé ná ŋwjé, ba pwé bwéinh, ba yi bjwy pjo bwwo Bwéinhj.*

* The djoh antelope belongs to the king, one of the little chiefs for the king's wives are made.

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The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the chief is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda.

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country beginning from south.

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1. *Thiij*	2. *Ñjumbij*	3. *Dooj*
4. *Dyr*	5. *Ñolbudi*	6. *Wiiii*
7. *Dyil*	8. *Fiñiddi*	9. *Aryjiir*
10. *Ayumjuij*	11. *Ajiipij*	12. *Fiddii*
13. *Ohiyiiiwijiir*	14. *Obai-Diipij*	15. *Afijiuii*
16. *Fuuiduii*	17. *Ouijuii*	18. *Tuijrij*
19. *Auiin*	20. *Dur*	21. *Adijij*
22. *Ilji*	23. *Afiiiji*	24. *Auirijuiji*
25. *Kuijij*	26. *Obuii*	27. *Miiiiii*
28. *Fuuiij*	29. *Oyiji*	30. *Wiu*
31. *Fiiii*	32. *Fiiiju*	33. *Ilij*
34. *Ñiiiij*	35. *Biji*	36. *Fiiir*
37. *Biii*	38. *Ayiiij*	39. *Yiu*
40. *Iuji*	41. *Kuijm*	42. *Fiiiiij*
43. *Ayuijij*	44. *Ñuyir*	45. *Giiiiij*
46. *Fiiiuii*	47. *Lijmij*	48. *Kiiji*
49. *Giij*	50. *Kuiiiii*	51. *Aiji*
52. *Ijiiuji*	53. *Biiiji*	54. *Miii*
55. *Ahujuii*	56. *Oyiju*	57. *Fuiiii-Oiiyij*
58. *Ñiiyuii*	59. *Ayuijuji*	60. *Tuij*
61. *Tiuij*	62. *Ahiruuir*	63. *Aiir*
64. *Mijuij*	65. *Mujuij.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

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The Shilluk are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal.

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyiir, of Doleib Hill*, who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

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614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people.

The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Diff."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

[Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 773 1. *Kwo-Ajal*, was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang from his earlier home. They live at Nyelwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. *Kwo Mol*, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above *(mol)*. They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Diff.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. *Kwo Lek*, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their dura. They quarrelled over a lek; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing dura. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lek they fought over it. So violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lek over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Diff.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

[This last remark is no doubt right, as both 2 and 2a are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mol which is identical with that of our kwa Lek. W.]

3. *Kwo Oman*, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Ogot. — Diff.: was founded by a man named Oman; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Oman was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

4. *Kwo Mon*, was founded by Mon; Mon was found in the Shilluk country

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by Nyikang and became his servant. They help to build the house of Nyikang at Wau. They live at Ogot. — Identical with 3?

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jok, was founded by Ju, a half-brother of Nyikang on his father's side. Ju built the house for Dak. The Kwa Ju build the three houses of Dak in Filo on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, an ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Maisam.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by Nyadwai, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at Apio and Adit-deang. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of Nyadwai was a servant of Abudok.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by Gwar, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mrs. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chet-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by Nyikang, a servant of king Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — Diff.: it was founded by Olam, a servant of Nyikang. Olam was captured by Nyikang in the river, and brought out. Nyikang settled him in the country. Olam is said to have been a man of tremendous appetite.

9. Nuga, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Nuga*. He was found near Dolaib Hill by king Abudok. The name *Nuga* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Rej (or rij, i. e. king), was founded by Nyikang. They all go to the crowning of a king. Their village is Filo.

11. Kwa Tuki, was founded by a person that Nyikang *discovered by the river*. They taught the Shilluks to build the tuki (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the tuki the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the tuki, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of Nyikang. They live at Didigo.

12. Kwa Chwal, was founded by Chwal, who was found in the Shilluk country by Nyikang. They live in *Foge* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: Chwal was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jok Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at Ojodo, and help to build the house of Dak. — Diff.: it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.

14. Kwa Tuga, was founded by Tuga, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. Nyikang married Tuga's sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Ojiji, was founded by *Ojiji*, a servant of Nyikang. He taught the

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Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the tuki. They live at *Fope* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fope* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide *11*.

16. Kwa Oyüti, was founded by *Güti*, a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. Kwa Dük, was founded by Dak, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first Dura stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owichi. — Diff.: Dak was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Abudok.

18. Kwa Ochöllo, was founded by Ochollo, a servant of Odak. They build the houses of Odak, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Ochollo was the son of Dak; they build the house of Ochollo, and also the king's house.

19. Kwa Nölöjö, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith *(löjö)*. He furnishes the name for skilled workmen. They live at Nyelwak, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fope* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried hippo meat.

20. Kwa Ölöa, was founded by a man who once sat near Nyikang like a buzzard watching for meat. They live at Nyelwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. Kwa Obögö, was founded by Obogo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with sudd, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Obogo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the sudd, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Obogo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fope* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. Kwa Ogöjö, was founded by Ogok, a servant of Nyikang. They get their name from the fact that they were the herders of the sacred cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. Kwa Nöwual ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwa Rot. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish hippo meat to the king. — Diff.: it was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peaceably, because the Kwa Dok had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chal. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. Kwa Ölöf, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help in building the house of Nyikang. When a king is crowned, the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmayer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being decimated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is repeated at each new election. The girl is called nya *Kuer* (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of taxes). Vide also *15*.

25. Kwa Ijiŋ, or Ochi, was founded by Ochu, the son of Lobo, a servant of Abudok, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Abudok, their residence is in Owichi. — Diff. it was founded by Okola, the husband of Lobo; they were the parents of Ochu; servants of Nyikang.

26. Kwa Bilia (Biliŋ?), was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

27. Kwa Ordiŋ; are the same as 23 (?) Are found at Yoaj.

28. Kwa Ijiŋ, was founded by *Ijiŋ*, a servant of Duk; they were found in the Sobat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dukot. They build the house of Duk. Their residence is at Gur.

29. Kwa Nimgiŋ, was founded by *Nimgiŋ*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Gur.

30. Kwa Owen, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owen means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Figa Nyikang*.

31. Kwa Ordiŋ, was founded by *Ordiŋ*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Duk. Their residence is in Nigo and Wobo.

32. Kwa Wiri, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind *(ohore)* from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

33. Kwa Nishino, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

34. Kwa Nai, was founded by Nai, a servant of Duk. They help to build the house of Duk that used to be on the mission ground at Duleith Hill. They are found at Obai and Abiŋep.

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35. *Kwo Dwai*, we founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak as are found at *Fope* Nyikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Nyikang. He was Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Nyikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Nyi-Dwai.]

36. *Kwo Apidi*, we founded by *Apidi*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a foreigner that Nyikang found here. They live in Obowa, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: they build the house of Ooholle in Diteng.

37. *Kwo Nidani*, we founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Ohai, ad build the house of Dak.

38. *Kwo Nikiyo*, we founded by *Nikiyo*, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him in this country. They build the house of Nyikang; their residence is at Dilligo.

39. *Kwo Dwi*, was founded by *Adwi*, a Dinka, who was a servant of Abudok. They are found at Oichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang.

40. *Kwo Okwai*, we founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Nyikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: he was a Dink, and was found by Duwat.

41. *Kwo Jalo*, was founded by Jalo, a servant of Odak. They live at Aditdeang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Duwat.

42. *Kwo Ogwat*, we founded by Ogwat, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tuga is their home.

43. *Kwo Omal*, was founded by Omal, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 2, and should not be counted as a separate division.[1]

44. *Kwo Wai*, was founded by *Wai*, who crowned Nyikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okun and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. *Kwo Oliyo* was founded by *Oliyo*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakugo, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. *Kwo Dwaat*, was founded by Duwat, a servant of Dak. They are the *chief* of the servants of Dak; they live at Filo.

47. *Kwo K'o*, was founded by Oko, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house at Nyikang. Their home is Arambwat.

48. *Kwo Tipiy*, was founded by *Oyiyo*, a servant of Nyikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is in

[1] They may, however, be a subdivision of 2, as Omal means "descendant of Wal."

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Pupe Nyikang. — Diff: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

49. *Kwo Ołjyi*, was founded by *Ołjyg*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Nuba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Detwuk. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

50. *Kwo Mŭ*, was founded by *Owŭ*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Adit-dong.

51. *Kwo Ołjo*, was founded by *Ołjo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyalwal. — Diff.: Oboo was brought here by Nyikang.

52. *Kwo Chwai* ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chwai, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyalwal.

53. *Kwo Ełiáq*, ("meat"), was founded by *Ełiáo*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

54. *Kwo Fyge* ("skin"), was founded by *Ofyge*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyalwal.

55. *Kwo Wich* ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Lŭri-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their home is at Nyalwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

56. *Kwo Ełiję*, ("intestines"), was founded by *Ełiję*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyalwal.

57. *Kwo Nołgáq*, was founded by *Ołgá*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

58. *Kwo Nyiągh*, was founded by *Ołągh*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obai.

59. *Kwo Ayiddy*, was founded by *Ayiddy*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

60. *Kwo Anŭt*, was founded by *Anŭt*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Fotoo.

61. *Kwo Nyerŭ*, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal clan. The king is chosen from among them. Their village is Yeyin, Vide 50.

62. *Kwo Ołgá*, was founded by *Ołgá*, a Nuba, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

[1] These and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwo Odpiq, was founded by *Odpi*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwo Wiliq, was founded by *Wiliq*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his dura, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wuho was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwaga.

65. Kwo Nikki, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Diff. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwo Yi, was founded by *Yi*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Otwo. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Ochello.

67. Kwo Gon, was founded by *Ogon*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tenga.

68. Kwo Mwai, was founded by Mwai, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Ugot. Vide 55.

69. Kwo Kam, was founded by Kam, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fupa* Dwai. — Diff.: he was brought in by Duk, and was his servant.

70. Kwo Okaji, was founded by *Okaji*, a son of Dokot. They help to build the house of Duk. Their home is at *Fupa* Dwai. — Diff.: he was of Arabic descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tenga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hoe.

71. Kwo Bol, was founded by Bol, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Maiwan. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bol once fought against Mol.

72. Kwo Nyiqik, was founded by *Ogik*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they sing the bells.

73. Kwo Nyiqik, was founded by *Ogik*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they sing the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwo Nyiqqo, was founded by *Ogqo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; thus he got his name. They are found in *Fabak*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fabak*.

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30. The Shilluk kings.

1. *Ñjidáj*	2. *Dái*	3. *Sáái*
4. *Ádjáj*	5. *Odáá*	6. *Dyergi*
7. *Bungá*	8. *Dídjí*	9. *Abájíá* (queen)
10. *Tíjó*	11. *Olunjo, Ólóo*	12. *Ñdudú*
13. *Ñdjííá*	14. *Ókéla*	15. *Ñdudúdú*
16. *Anji*	17. *Abuja*	18. *Audo*
19. *Abjok*	20. *Ñdjíá*	21. *Kwajkor*
22. *Ajoá*	23. *Kwiyikwejo*	24. *Yjo*
25. *Akjí*	26. *Kór*	27. *Fudjíjí.*

A. E. S. has the following list (according to Father Beaulieu at Lul, and Dr. Giffen at Duleib Hill).

1. *Nyakong*	2. *Dag*	3. *Odaga*
4. *Kudit*	5. *Dokudo*	6. *Baj*
7. *Tugo*	8. *Nya Dwai*	9. *Nya Abalido*
10. *Mako*	11. *Nya To*	12. *Nyakong*
13. *Obao*	14. *Nya Gwaiao (Nbwaji)*	15. *Nyadok*
16. *Abaat*	17. *Abalido*	18. *Awin*
19. *Abaj*	20. *Nadok (Nyadok)*	21. *Kwad kair*
22. *Ajong*	23. *Gwin bun (Kuor bun)*	24. *Yor Adodit*
25. *Akol*	26. *Kor Wad Nadok*	27. *Fudjiet Wad kwad kair.*

31. The Burial of a King.

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Ñjíj ko aj wdaá, aj kíjo wuj. Ko ghwá chwíjo, ko fyjwá yíóh, ko rór, ko wwwá wówg, ko yyg dwwá, ko gg ádjí, gjóo á ñíbíjíá kjá, ko gg kwwá fóo. Ko díjí gwá bá gá ñídjí ñíí ñaíwto. Ko gg rwwg bj ñídíg, ko rúj kjá; o bíchó ñjwg, ko kíjo wuj, ko rwá bj ñwg kwwá. Wjwnjo[1] wwjgo ko gg kjá, ko gg kíjo wuj; ko wníjíg wníjíg wníjo, ko wníjíg wníjíg ñjwíj; ko wwjo gíjo bj wníbíj bj díb, ko wóóo gíjo bj wíbíg bj díb. Ko wuj wdá, díj ko gg wwjo gwjo kjío gjwwj. Ko gg kíjíg wuj, wwdo dwwá wwjgo. Ká gá íb, ko kíwg, ko rwá gg gjííá íjwj. Ko gg kjííá wníj wuj; rwá á gjóo, ko gg díjóo ñíá. Ko gííá dwwá kíjo wuj[2] Ñíwg, ko wuj[2] Mwjwg, jíjwj kíjo kíjo. Ko gg kwíjo, wwjo o kíwj gíwá; a wwjo gjwo, ko díjí gwá ñíjíá kíwá ñíjwíí, ko gg ñwwíjo.[3] Ko gg kíjoo: rúj o wwá. Ko íjwg gwwjá, ko gíwá wníjíg gíóh, ko fyjwo o ñíjóo, go ñíjg. Ko ñíá rúj kjíj gwwá wníjíg, ko kíwá fwá; á kíóo, ko gwwjá gwwjá. Ko íjwg kíjwg kíjoo kíjoo kíjoo. Ko íjwá ñíjíá gg gíóo, ko gg íwwíóh, ko gg kíjo gá gwá, ko ñíwjí kíjo gá gwá gíóo, ko ñíá kíjo gá gwá gíóo, ko gwjíj kíjo gá gwá, kj íjwá, kj íjo. Ko jí kjá, gjóo wwjgo, wwjo ñíwjí ñíóoo dwwá, wwjo ñíwjí ñíóoo jwá, jí wwjgo íjíóh, ko gg kíjo gá gwá, gg íwíjíj, ñíwjí gjóo fá á íjíóh, kj íjwíj gjóo fá á íjíóh; wníjíg jwo jo gwá, wníjíg jwo gwá gwá. Ko gwá kwwá, ko

[1] wníjíg: reading V., and reading W., i. e. from V. room W.

[2] *gjwwwíjíg: ñíwíjíg.*

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*539 *wolí de nam, ko yṳ́ ag twiyè ŋ ʃí kɛ̀ṳ́ ɔg yéjí. Ka yè kooŋ kɛ̀ṳ́ yí yṳ́ wíŋ. ko yṳ́ a twoyo, e mudè kí jè kí yɔ́ŋ, kí jom líŋ, ko ɔg ŋwo nom.*

539 766 643 When the king disappears (that is, dies),[1] his body is laid in a hut. A cow is speared, its skin removed, and cut into strips. When they have finished this, trees are brought, they are hewn with a certain ax, and then they are driven into the earth. With the strips (of skin) they unite these trees to a bier. When the bier is ready, they bring the body of the king — but without the people knowing it — lay it on the bier, and put it in the hut again. The body is adorned with a leopard-skin. Two girls are brought, and are put into the hut, where the body of the king is. One holds his head, and one holds his feet. Each of the girls is given tobacco and a pipe. Now the hut is walled (all openings are walled with mud), so that there is no way for the air to enter. They (the two girls) remain in the hut, and die there. The people wait two months; about this time the worms (who have eaten the flesh of the three bodies) have turned into bugs, and they come crawling out through the roof of the hut. Now (the people know that) the flesh (of the three corpses) is consumed and only the bones remain. Then all the chiefs of the Shilluk country are summoned, beginning from Tingy,[2] and reaching to Mwyno; all, all the chiefs. And they come, each one brings a cow; when they come near Fashoda, they gather these cows at one place; and the cows are speared. Now it is said publicly, "The king has disappeared." And the people weep. One of the cows is skinned, the skin is tanned and made into a bag. The bones of the king are put into this bag; and they are buried in a secret place. But still the mourning goes on, all, all, all the people mourn. And spears are gathered, a great many; they are tied together, and put into a boat; and cattle-bells are put into the boat, and beads, and pots, and dishes, and goods. And two people are brought, a man and a woman, fine people, they are laid into the boat, they are bound, their hands and their feet are bound; one is laid in the back part, and one in the front part (of the boat). The boat is rowed into the middle of the river, there the boat is pierced, so that water enters into it. The men who row the boat, get into another boat, and the boat which they have pierced, sinks down with the people in it, and all the goods, together with the people, perish in the river.

31. The Man who took the Law into his own Hand.

*539 *Ad wíjíŋ, ee rìŋ, ebwyìn Bùè Dè Ajè Bùè Dìtòòŋ, ko yṳ́ yìŋ, Bùè ìjìè; ewyè bìŋ ebwyìn Ohòòŋ. A ŋwyè kí Ajìè. Ko yṳ́ yìŋ kí Bùè Nàbwòòŋ. Ko ewyè bìŋ ŋwo líjìŋ, ko lìì yí Ajìè kí ŋìè, kí i ŋì. Ko Ayòòŋ ebìè yí rìŋ, ko ewyìn wòòl, e kí Ajìè Dwyè.*

[1] Of a king it is not said: "he dies", but "he disappears". — It is said: the king does not die of his own accord, but when he is very old, or sick, and the people think that he dends to some at hand, his chief will strangle him with a cloth.
[2] or Tingy.

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk De Jɔk Bun Dänyimɔ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Ochangy. He carried on the law-suit with Ayik, in the court of king Nyakwachɔ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayik with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwɔŋɔ (which was the village of Ayik) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayik) were caught, and Ayik was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kɔŋ mak nam, ka ŋɔŋ kɔŋ[1], ka ŋɔŋ nimɔ ŋat, ka kɔ̈i ndu ŋat, ki rech e bɔŋ, ka kɔ̈i mɔŋɔ kɔ̈ rech, ka ji ŋɔŋ, ka ji chɔ̈mɔ. Ka wɔŋ ri, ka mɔŋɔ kɔŋ, ka ŋɔŋ mɔŋɔ, ka mak ka kɔ̈i, ka e mɔdɔ kɔ̈ ŋɔŋ. Ka ŋɔŋ rɔŋɔ wɔ̈ɔ, ka ŋɔŋ ŋɔ̈ e dɔ̈ŋɔ, ka ŋɔŋ kɔ̈i ŋɔ wɔ̈ɔ, ka mak ɔ̈ɔ̈i. Ka ŋɔŋ kɔ̈ wɔ̈ɔ, ka jɔ̈ɔ kɔŋɔ, ka ŋɔ ŋɔ̈ɔ: mak a ŋwɔ̈ɔ ɔ̈i? Kɔŋɔ: e wɔ̈ɔ! Kɔŋɔ: dɔ ŋ ya kɔŋ? Kɔŋɔ: wat. Yɔ̈ɔ! Ka yɔ̈ɔ. Ka e ka: ɔ̈ɔ̈i, kɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ ɔ̈ŋɔ. Ka kɔ̈ɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ, ka ŋɔŋ kɔŋɔ ɔ̈ɔ̈, ka mak ɔ̈ɔ̈ ŋ jɔ̈ŋɔ, mak ɔ̈ŋɔ. Ka e chɔŋɔ ji, ka jɔ̈ɔ dwɔ, ka e chɔ̈m; ŋɔŋ ka: ŋ, mak ca dɔ̈ɔ. Dɔ̈ɔ̈ wɔ̈ɔ̈ ka mak wɔ̈ɔ̈ kwɔ̈ɔ, ka chɔ̈m ŋ ŋɔŋ ŋam. 539*

Ka jɔ̈ɔ e chɔ̈ɔ̈ŋɔ, ka ŋɔŋ kɔŋɔ, ka e ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ kɔŋɔ: wɔ̈mɔ ŋɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈, ŋ ŋɔ̈ɔ ŋɔ̈ɔ wɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ, ŋɔ̈ kɔ̈ɔ̈mɔ kɔ̈ ŋɔŋ wɔ̈m kɔ̈; kɔŋɔ: ŋ ŋɔ̈n ɔ̈ɔ̈i? Ya ŋɔ̈mɔ kɔ̈ɔ̈l. Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, kɔ̈ɔ̈kɔ̈ wɔ̈ɔ̈n! Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ mak a chɔ̈m kɔ̈ ŋɔŋ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈n? Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, e chɔ̈mɔ, ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ mak ŋɔŋɔ. Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈i! Ka e kɔŋɔ̈ŋ, kɔŋɔ: ŋɔ ka chɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ. Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, wɔ ka ɔ̈ɔ̈ Ilɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ. Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, ŋɔ kɔ̈ɔ̈.

Ka ŋɔ kɔ̈ɔ̈, ka ŋɔ wɔ̈ɔ̈ Ilɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ, kɔ̈ ŋɔ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ, kɔŋɔ: wɔ (wɔŋ), ŋɔ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ ŋɔ kɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ kɔ̈ɔ̈ŋɔ ɔ̈ɔ̈n; kɔ̈ɔ̈l a chɔ̈mɔ ŋɔ, kɔ̈ɔ̈l kɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ. Kɔŋɔ: ŋ, ŋɔ chɔ̈mɔ ɔ̈ɔ, ɔ̈ɔ̈n? Kɔŋɔ: wɔ, kɔ̈ɔ̈kɔ̈ ŋɔ̈n. Kɔ̈ɔ̈ e ka: ŋɔ, (ŋɔ̈ɔ̈), kɔ̈ɔ̈ chɔ̈l kɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ, kɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈? Ka e kɔŋɔ, ka e chɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ, kɔ̈ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈; ka ŋɔ kɔ̈l kɔ̈ɔ̈ rɔ̈ɔ̈, ŋ ŋɔ̈ɔ̈ kɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈, ka ŋɔ rɔ̈mɔ.

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chief came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chief said, "Skin it!" And it was 539* 226 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people swept".
[2] then the people might bathe.

*539 622 687 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate." So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came; the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ke ʃiŋ ɔŋ̃ Tɔ̃ŋ̃, ʃiŋ ɔ ɲɛ̃ŋ̃, ɔbɔŋ̃ Nɔ̃ɔ̃ŋ̃. Ke wɛ̃ŋ̃ ka ɲɛ ɔŋ̃ ʃiŋ, ɲɛ ʃiŋ[2] ɲɛ wɛ̃ŋ̃ ɔkɔ̃, ka ɲɛ ɔŋ̃ ɲɛɲɛ̃ŋ̃ wɛ̃ŋ̃ ɲɔ̃ɔ̃ ʃiŋ ɔkɔ̃ŋ̃. Ke ɔŋ̃ ɔ kɔ̃ŋ̃ kɔ: ʃiŋ̃, ɲɛ ɔŋ̃ ɔɔ wɛ̃ŋ̃, ɔ ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɲɔ ɲɔ̃ŋ̃? Kɔ: ɛ̃ŋ̃ɔ ɲɔ̃ɔ ɲɔ̃. A ɲɔ̃ɔ ɲɔ̃ɔ ɲɔ̃, ɔ Fashɔ̃ŋ̃; ɔ ɛ̃ŋ̃ɔ Tɔ̃ŋ̃ ɲɔ̃ŋ̃, ɔ kɔ̃ŋ̃ Tɔ̃ŋ̃ kɔ: ʃiŋ ɲɔ̃ ɔ ɔ̃ŋ̃ɔ ɔ ɲɔ̃ ɔ̃ŋ̃ɔ! A kɔ̃ɔ ɔŋ̃ ɔ̃ŋ̃ ɔ̃ŋ̃ ɲɔ̃ŋ̃. A ɔ̃ɔ ɔ ʃiŋ̃, ɔ kɔ̃ŋ̃ kɔ: ka wɔ̃ɔ ɔ ɔ̃ŋ̃, ɔ ɔ̃ŋ̃.

King Tugɔ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyɔ̃ɔ̃ŋ̃. *539 And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen 683 without horns, called chɔ̃, they used to dig the ground of that place with their 173 heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Fashɔ̃ŋ̃. Tugɔ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief. [2] From ʃiŋ̃ "to lie".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

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Kpé kɩ̃ ji ka ɲɩ́ɩ́, ka ji kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ka ji ɲɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́. Ka ɲɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ka ɲɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́! Kɩ́ɩ́: kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. Kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́! Kɩ́ɩ́: kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́!* Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. Kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́! Kɩ́ɩ́: kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́!* Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́. Kɩ́ɩ́: kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́!* Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́? Kɩ́ɩ́: ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. A, ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ɲɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́? ɲɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́? Ka ɲɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ ka ɲɩ́ɩ́. Ka ɲɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ka ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́, ka ɲɩ́ɩ́ ɲɩ́ɩ́ kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́: ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́. Kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́: ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́? Ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. Kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́: ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. Ati, ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́! Kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́: ɩ́, ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́. A ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́, ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́

3:Westermann E-9 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

539 that the king said (turning to the accused one), "Well, now you also tell your
691 talk." He said, "My father died while I was a little child; but the cows, I do
686 not know anything about them. I was not told; that is the reason, therefore I
692 refused to give them." Then the king gave his judgment thus, "Well, so it is,
you are a man who refused (to give what is due); why did you refuse to give the people their cows? Your matter is bad. Go, and pay a girl as amends, and you (turning to the accuser), man, give him five cows." The debtor gave the girl, he brought her to the village (of the accuser). When the people of the village had assembled, he (the accuser) said, "I have been indemnified with a girl; this is the matter now." The people say, "All right." Then he goes to strain beer; and he calls the people. They come; he presents the girl to the people to be examined (whether it is a sufficient pay). And they comment, saying, "Very well, we are friends now."

They go away, the cows are brought, and the girl is recognized by them. [A man has married somebody's daughter; after some time the girl, his wife, dies; now the father of the girl has to return part of the dowry which has been paid to him for his daughter. But in the meantime the father of the deceased wife has died too, and his eldest son has become his heir. The husband of the dead wife goes to this man, the brother of his dead wife, and wants his cattle back. But this man, denies knowing anything about the matter, pretending his father did not tell him before his death. They therefore go before the king, who decides: the heir has to give his brother-in-law another girl instead of the deceased one; and in return the brother-in-law is to give the heir five five head of cattle, which is about half the usual price for a wife.]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

V. HISTORICAL TRADITIONS.

36. Nyadwai.

Ko ŋij ŋiŋiŋ, ŋwaŋki Nadwai, ŋi ŋdiŋ ŋwa. Ko ŋwa ŋiŋiŋ ŋdiŋ ŋin, jal ŋiŋiŋ ŋiŋ ko Ogum. A ŋiŋ Ogum kjuo: kjuoŋ? Kjuo: kuje ŋa ŋij? Kjuo: ŋ' ŋin ŋi ŋuje? Wjiŋ ŋuŋ! Kjuo: ŋjuk ŋin. A ŋiŋ. 539*

Nadwai a ŋjuo, Ogum ye Jiŋuŋ. A ŋiŋ kjuo: Nadwai ŋjuŋ. A ŋiŋ kjuo: ŋiŋ! Ko: a ŋij Ogum! A ŋiŋ Nadwai kjuo: dwai Ogum! A dwiŋ, a ŋjuŋ ki ŋjuk, a ŋjuŋ ŋjuŋ, a ŋjuŋ ŋuje, ka ŋjuŋ ŋjuŋ. Ko a ŋuŋ ŋuŋ ŋuŋ. A ŋwaŋ, a ŋjuŋ ki ŋuŋ ŋin ŋi Nadwai, a ŋuŋ ŋjuŋ ŋin.

A certain prince called Nyadwai, was fishing. And he wanted a certain fish, the fish of Ogum (a fish which Ogum had caught). Ogum asked, "Why (should I give my fish to the prince)?" The people replied, "Is he not a prince?" Ogum said, "By whom will he ever be elected? He has such a big head!" The people replied, "Well, all right (do as you think best)." He refused. 173 539*

But Nyadwai was elected king, while Ogum was at Mauya. There he heard the talk, "Nyadwai has been elected." When he heard it, he said to himself, "Ogum, wa?" (Ent. Nyadwai), -said, 'to, 'himself) ,, ""Ytu -vowels/'ogum?"- "some time later Nyadwai sent word, "Bring Ogum!" Ogum was brought; the king gave him cattle, built him a village, he married a woman, and his village became large; he got many children. But one day he was called by Nyadwai, Nyadwai killed him and all his children, and he destroyed his village.

37. Golit.

Ko ŋij Golit ka a ŋjuŋ, ka ŋjiko ŋiŋ Piju, ka: ye dwaro yay ŋum. Ko jaka ŋjuŋ? a ŋjuŋ kjuo: ŋum yiŋ ŋuŋ ki ŋi! Kjuo ye ŋjuŋ. A ŋiŋ ŋjuŋ: a ŋiŋ ŋuje ŋi, a ŋjuŋ, a ŋjiko yay ŋum ki ŋiŋ ki ŋjuk. A ŋuje ŋiŋ, a ŋiŋ ŋi ŋin, a ŋjuŋ: a ŋiŋ Lwakiŋ, a ŋiŋ ŋin, a ŋiŋ ŋum ŋuŋ ŋjuŋ, a ŋjuŋ ŋuŋ Piju a ŋiŋ ŋy ka, a ŋiŋ ŋiŋ Ŋjuŋ, ŋi ŋjuŋ ki ŋi Oro. 539*

The prince Golit came, and settled at the mouth of the river Piju; he said (to the chief there), "I want to settle (on the island) in the middle of the river." But the chief who ruled there refused, saying, "I myself like the island in the river, I refuse!" Then the prince gave him a man (slave), and so that the chief sprinkled the house with water (that is, gave them permission to go on the island). The prince went on the island, and settled down there to steal cows. He sent his men to capture people (and their cattle), he captured all the people 173 539*

* Instead of the usual *ki*.
* "the chief of the neighbourhood", i. e. the ruling chief.

173 *539 down, and after that went to Lwangdong, and captured this village, he brought all the cows into his village. After that he brought Dinkas of Ngok,[1] and settled them in the place (of the village Lw.), he built them the village of Nyajik; and those people too used to steal the cattle of the people.

38. Nyimo.

*539 *Ka rig Nimo, pg bj ne rig mjbg, ka pg aj chwgl, ka pg aj rydch,[2] ka lafe wil pin, ka lafe Nimo aj kip, kepe pj ka rig gui. Ka Nakwach e wbrj, ka aj djgg kjig.*

Ka pbrg kpgr, á ndlr, Otudi, pa wgt Nakwachg. Ka e jjgg e djch, dg ka wer, ka dgg aj kip pj ainrjn; a kibj rig kjne: g tich adi? A gjg bj bini mdikjdj, mgn gjne rg, kjfe ka kjkj: pg[3] aj kjn pj[3] jn.

173 *539 The prince Nyimo was, together with another prince, invited to a meal. They had their clubs with them, and (in the course of the festival) the club of Nyimo was taken away from him by force, it was taken away by that other prince. When his father, king Nyakwach (who was also present at the festival) saw that, he was very angry,[3] and he went home alone.

He built for his son a big village, Otudi, this was to be the village of the son of Nyakwach. And he (the son) reigned well, but he was a coward. His cattle used to be robbed by his brothers. The king said, "Ah, what is to be done?" He gave him a great number of slaves to protect him, on account of his fear. They were to help him.

39. Nyadoke.

*539 *A rja Nkjlbi, a jkpj, a kibj kjne: á, pa gjpa färe mgk! A gjpa pär Pibg. Wjgn kjdli kate Dpk! A gjpa pbrg Dpk. A kjt gpn bj Dpkg, a jkpj, a aj mjpj kpgk, a aj ainrj pj Dpkg, a aj kwikd pj Dpkg. Ka Dpk aj gjgr kpgk, e kjda rkg (rkg) Dpkg. Ka aj djb kgg, ka Dpk aj djgg bj jang, ainrj kb wak, ka kgg aj mjdkj. A aj kmij bir, mgn ainrj kpgk, ka kpnr kigj pky kir, ka Dpkg aj ybi, a ainrjn rkg dpk.*

173 *539 Nyadoke was elected. While he was reigning, one day he said, "Well, I will build my village in the bush!" He built the village of Pibo. Again he said, "Let me reside beside the Nubians!" He built a village in the Nubian country. He lived together with the Nubians, being their king. He used to kill elephants, the Nubians used to ask him for the elephants' meat, he gave it to them, and they ate it. So he was the king of the Nubians. — When the Nubians are without rain, they are accustomed to put on all their adornments, and go out into the

[1] *Ngk*, a Dinka-Gumuz south of the Sobat.
[2] "and they were called, and they were invited."
[3] *pa* relates to the slaves, it has therefore the meaning of a plural.
[3] because his son allowed his club to be taken away from him.

bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadɔ̈ke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

Riŋ Dɛ́ɔ̈ŋ̀ ká ɔ̀ mɔ̄ɔ́, mɔ̄ɔ́ʔ fɔ̄ŋ̀ Dɔ́, ka ɡɔ̄l yí Dɔ́ɔ́, Dɔ́ ní rɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄l wɔ̄ŋ kit. Ka e ko: bɡ̄ɔ̄k, dɛ́ Dɔ́ a ɡɔ̄ĺ yɔ́n, y ɡɔ̄ɔ̄k ɔ̀ɔ̄l? ɛ́ rɔ́ (ɣɔ́) wɔ́ ɡɔ̄ɔ̄k! Ka ɡɔ̄ŋ rɔ̄, ka e ko: yɛ́y kit! Ka kit e yɔ́ɔ̄k, ka ɡɛ́ɣɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ fɔ́ɔ́. A mɔ̄ŋí Dɔ́, a kɡ̄ɔ̄ ɡɔ́n, a ɡɛ́rí ɣɛ́ pɔ́rɔ́, ɣɛ́ lɛ́ɣɛ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ŋ́; a chɔ̄ŋí ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ fɔ̄n ɡɔ́ ɣɛ́ Aɡɛ́kɔ́.

A kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄r, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɣɛ́ bɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka bɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄ŋí, kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́n, a lɛ́ɣɛ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́, a ɡɔ̄rí pɔ́ɔ́k, ɣɛ́ɣ Awɔ́rɛ́jɔ́ɔ́k. Ka Chɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: a rɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, a rɔ́ɔ́k mɔ̄ɔ́? A ko kɔ́ɔ́: bɡ̄ɔ̄k! Kɔ́ɔ́: Chɔ́ɔ́, bɛ́ɣɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̀ɔ̄n? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄r, a ɡ̄ɔ́ ɡɔ́ nɔ̄m, ka Chɔ́ɔ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí yù mɔ̄r kí bɔ̄ɔ́le pɔ́rɔ́.

Pɛ́y mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́lé Oɔ̄ɔ̄ɡɔ́, ka Chɔ́ɔ́ ní kɔ̄ɔ́ kí jɔ́r, ka Chɔ́ɔ́ní chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka rɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ rɔ́ɔ́, Chɔ́ɔ́ dɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́; a rɔ́ɔ́ Akwɔ́ɔ́. Ka Akwɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́; ka lɔ́ɔ́ chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɛ́ ko: bɡ̄ɔ̄k, wɔ́ ɡɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ dí? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́l Oɔ̄ɔ̄ɡɔ́, a chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́n kɔ́ɔ́: mɔ̄r ɛ́ kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́l mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: y ɡɔ̄ɔ̄k ɔ̀ɔ̄l? Kɔ́ɔ́: y ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ nɔ̄m! Kɔ́ɔ́: bɡ̄ɔ̄k, Akwɔ́ɔ́, dɛ́ bɔ́ ɡɔ́n? yí kɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: yɔ́ kɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́? Kɔ́ɔ́: ɔ̀ɔ̄? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́. A kɡ̄l ɡɔ̄k, a mɔ́k ɡɔ́ɔ́ Oɔ̄ɔ̄ɡɔ́, a kɡ̄l ɡɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ Wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k, a kɡ̄l ɡɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ yí Aɡɛ́kɔ́ɔ́, a kɡ̄l ɡɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́, a kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, a ɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́p ɡɔ́ɔ́. A kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ Akwɔ́ɔ́ fɔ́ɔ́, a rɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ ɡɔ́ pí, ká í chɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka Chɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: rɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɔ́k, ba bí kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́! Ka chɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ́ɔ́l, chɔ́ɔ́ a kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́, ka rɔ́ɔ́ kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́, ka mɔ́ɔ́ kɡ̄ĺ kí ɡɔ́ pí. A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: tɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́! A kɡ̄ kɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɡɔ́k a kɔ̄l kí mɔ́ɔ́. A mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Aɡɛ́r, a mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́k pɔ́ɔ́ kɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: a rɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, a chɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɡɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́? A ko: bɡ̄ɔ̄k, kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ɔ́? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̄r, a ɡ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ nɔ̄m.

King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adɔkɔng.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwɔk.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.

[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.

[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom, it was to be filled with "holy water" (*yɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́k*), which was used for different religious rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.

[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

173 The king replied, "Why, yo Shilluks, is that your talk now?" He took the pot
*539 and thrust it (angrily) into the river. Thus the pot ("the way to the pot") was lost to the Shilluks in the front of the village of the king.

There was another village, called Ongugu; the Shilluks (of this village) fought with some foreign tribe, and were chased. Another king was elected, but again the Shilluks were chased. Then Akwet was elected, and Akwet went out to conquer (this tribe). But his army was defeated. When he came home, he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do?" He came towards Ongugu, and the wives of Dokot, he asked them, „Where has the silver pot been thrown into the river?" Some man replied, "Why do you ask?" He said, "It is to be brought out from the river." The man exclaimed, "Oh dear, Akwet, is that true (is that what you are going to do)? Will you not mine the place where it lies?" The king said, "I shall not mine it." The man replied, "All right." They rowed boats, they rowed them towards the place where they were. Cows were brought, one cow was caught and given to the village of Ongugu, another cow was caught and given to Wajwyk, another was given to Adjokyag.[1] Then another cow was brought, and the people went to the river, a prayer was spoken, the cow was sprayed (sacrificed), and Akwet went to the bottom of the river, he dived under the water; he stayed there a long time; the Shilluks said, "The king is away, he does not come back." The sun was rising, and when it began to sink, the king came from out of the water, he had brought the silver pot from the bottom of the river. He said, "Now raise an army!" The army was to defeat Dinagjel (the Dinka country near Rook). They destroyed it, its children were captured, the cattle was taken away together with the women. He conquered Agar too, he conquered Chai (near Romirei), he defeated the whole country. When the Shilluks saw that, they said, "What king is that, that he is always continuing in warfare?" He replied, "Oh dear! is that now your talk, yo Shilluks?" He took the silver pot, and thrust it into the river.[2]

41. Nyakwach.

*539 *Rig Nakwach ka e jjiij, ka wajo Nakwai ndjpi kipo ndjo; ka ntiwjo wajo wajo Nakwai ndjpi; ka e chwajig kipo: wowo a pjh ntiwk, bi tjwj? Ka tjwj bjwg, i kwij tjwj; ka e bwjgg, ka ndjpo kwl. Ka e chwajig kipo: bi tjwj? Ka tjwj bio pjg. Ka e ka: yh (yhk) pjl, ó kidi? A chiijo kipwa? Kipo: wy ndwij! pi wjko ng ki jil? Kipo: gwj (yjdg) o ka ndjpi pjm? Kipo: ka wjka ki ndjo; pjjlo ka chjgjm wo, o biiko ndjpi pjm. Kipo: jjjkij wjdig? ó ilwo pgo ki jjkjó, wo, wo ndjki ndjpi! Pwjo gu, o kwio ndjpo pgo? Kipo: ndj, ó, djwk! Wig pjl pgo o fjjjo fim. Kipo: Nakwacho, o ki oi chjjo ki jjkjó. Wig tjo wo g ndjki yi wapo? A dwajk tjwj.*

[1] The cows were offered as sacrifices, one by the village Ongugu, and so on.
[2] From that time the silver pot is temporarily lost to the Shilluks.
[3] "wrong to-morrow", that is, in future time.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Sheikh F223

A bilij Nakwoch kjwo: gin fin ij djok. Ko mwaqjo, wajo ntuk, chwaj yo wa wij A chwajo gj (yi) Ibuchidij: o lajj gjo (gjo), o gjo bjlil gjo, o kwaio kwi gjo, wajl jlki gjo ij Ibuchidij. 539 ff.

Ko jwi wajlij o bajlo lijij, ko kwio wij wj pijjj, ko kwo wj bjlij, ko wj ukki. Ko wj chjlio kiwij, ko wj ukki. A bizj ko (tiir) wa wij, ko o ko: bjki! o tiok ukki? I djok gwo! A chjlio kiwij ij kwo, o wukk djok yi wij, o bjl gj Ibuchidij, ko pwok o dijwj i Ibi Ibi.

Ko wajlij wwl dwajl ko o bajlo, ko djok gbidj yi wjo, ko djok bjjjl. Ko wij o jjbidj kjwo: djok gwj o bjl? gjlli Nakwoch. Kjwo: bjki, ij wwl o gwajl ukki? I, bwajlj rwoh. Dijok ow, wwi bajlo gjo.

A bjlil gjo, o gjjwij wwjaj kjwo: djok bjl yi bjio? Kjwo: bjlil Ibuchidij. Kjwo: ij? o chjwij wajaj, o bjwj gjio kjwo: wwi wwl gwi? A bajj ji, o chjjo, ko o wjwo, ko ttwo ko wj wajjl wj, gj wj bjlil bjlj: ko wj pijjlo, ko gj wj bjwj kjwo: ukki? A bjjo wwl dwajl, o bjlio gjo, o wajgl gjo. A bjwo gwoh, o gjwj gjo kjwo: yi (yiki) gjl, o bjki? mwaljj o tjio wwo ukki? Kjwo: ij wjki? Kjwo: yi wwio iwo? Kjwo: yi wwl dwajl. Kjwo: bjki! wajlil o tjwio? Ko o jjwajlo, ko bli wajl, bio o wjij: o fo ukkwij bj gio ukwo, o jwajlij. A bjwj wajh, o chjwi gio, o bilij kjwo: wwl, bwaj gio o wjil wajlio? Yi ij ukjlo, gjlli wajgl tjio! Chwjlil gio o wi wwl wwwbjwl, dij g'ttio! Ko: I, chwjlil gio wwl dwajl, o gjjl dioio bwajj! I, yi rwoh. A bajj yi djok, o wj bjwbj gio, gio wj bjlij gio wbjlij, o gio wj bjwj.

When King Nyakwoch reigned, he killed the children of (his brother) Nyadwai, because he feared their enmity; and his brothers who had been born by the women of Nyadwai's village, he also killed. Then he called out, "You, who are my real brothers, you people come!" The people came carrying their spears. When Nyakwoch saw them, he was afraid and remained within his enclosure. Again he called out, "Come, you people!" And the people came to him. He asked them, "My children, how is it that you are walking thus (armed)?" They replied, "We are angry, why do you kill people?" He answered, "Why should I not kill them? I killed them because of their enmity, (and do you not remember that) their family chased us away? Therefore I have killed them. If at a future time they should have come to power, surely we should have been killed. Is it not for this reason that I killed them?" The people replied, "Well, oh, all right, their family has punished." Again they said, "Nyakwoch, you formerly refused to be elected as king.[1] By whom should we have been avenged (if not by you)?" (V3 539 ff.

The people returned home. Nyakwoch said, "Restore the town wall; and my nephews, the children of my brothers, shall be called 'children of the king'." He called them (his nephews) to Fadoda.[2] They went, and he picked some from among them, and the rest he took to be chiefs of Fadoda.

A certain man (one of these nephews of the king) went one day and slept with

[1] This seems to point to the preceding story.
[2] The chief town of the Shilluk, namely, and residence of the king.

173 *539 the wives of the king. He paid the fine for adultery. But again he did an evil thing, and had to pay a fine. At last the king got tired of this, and he said, "Why, what is that? oh, never mind!" When this man once more did adultery, the king had all the cattle of that (man's) village seized and brought to Fadorlo; so the village was left without a single cow.

The oldest son of this man (of the evildoer) went and found the cattle (of his father) in a pasture.[1] He separated those belonging to his father from the rest and drove them home. When the king heard that the cattle were away, he asked, "Why have the cattle been taken away?" he said Ipakwach. (When he heard that this same man's son had taken them) he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do with this boy? oh, his affair is very bad! Well, never mind, let him go with them."

When the boy came home with his cattle, his father asked him, "From where has the cattle been brought?" He answered, "I have brought it from Fadorlo." The father said, "All right." He assembled his sons and told them, "Kill this boy!" The people went away, they chased him, to run away. And the pursuers came close to him, they were just near enough to stab him, then the boy (stumbled and) fell down. They said him, "Run!" (They did not want to kill him). But his oldest brother stabbed him, and killed him. When they came home, the father asked them, "Children, how is it? How did you deal with your brother?" They said, "He is killed!" The father asked, "By whom?" They answered, „By his oldest brother." The father exclaimed, "Why, my son has been killed by you?" He rose up, went into his hut, and remained there. He did not eat any food, he wept. And he came out again and assembled his sons, saying to the oldest, "My son, is it not you who killed my son? Your descendants shall always be killed by the spear! I thought you would protect your brother, and you have killed him!" Again he said, "Oh, I thought, you, the oldest son, had a heart which was wise! no, you are wicked."

Then he went to the cattle, he separated those: some he brought to another village, and some he hid.

40. The False Prophets.

*539 *Wani a lipai ein, ke pa ehpai; ehp ehpilij ehmajin Ohsik, ehp ehpai ehmajin Ebik, ehp ehpai ehmajin Nikinij. Ke pa lipaq, ke Chpik ej lonkelij, ehmajin ej; ke pi ej Ko. Ke ipaq ehipaq, ke pa hajij Ehonkinij, ke ej e ko: hijk! a ein dok ell? Ke pa lonkij, ke kinke ej hilpai, ke ej ewja wawa, ke ej e kinij: ke dpik hilpai, ke ej ehong ehing, ke i ehjik ki mwajk, ke ehipai pikki pajik, ke pajik hajik Ohkij, ke ehpai kiip ehing, ke ipik lonkin, ke tonk lonkin; ke i hajik, kpi pi pin. Ke pai e Ebik pilik mwak,*

[1] where they had been brought by the king's people.

3:Westermann E-5 (9918) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

to pati pen, e ŋ; to pol e Ohoß to ŋß, to e ŋ; to pol e kiliŋ Ñiwin, to e pen-e ŋiß ŋiwi; ki ŋß pich, to ŋiŋ ŋiŋiŋ. 53f

Ko wuiß ŋiŋiŋ, to ŋyal e wiŋ, e wuß Ohyiß yi ŋyß; e ŋaß ŋwi piŋ Ñiwin, e ñowo ŋiŋ ŋyaß Ñiwin; to Ohyiß ni pßß yi Ñiwin ŋoŋ ŋiß, to Ohyiß to- ŋoŋ pwuß yi ŋyß, to wuiß wiŋ ni ŋoß. A ŋyaß ŋyß, e ŋaß ŋiŋ ŋß.

Ki e certain time the "kings" came, they used to dance (the dance of Nyikang); one "king" called himself Ohwa, one called himself Deß, and the third called himself Nyikang. And they came (into the villages of the Shilluks); the Shilluks used to pray to them, calling them "kings", — it was in the time of king Ko —, and the people danced. 193 53f

They (the "kings") went to Fashoda. The king said, "Why, what is the matter with these kings?" And they (the "old-be kings) went, and took the wives of the king by force. The king was much perplexed, he was in great confusion. They stole cattle too. Then the king became very angry. He sang a war-song early in the morning, he tied his head-necklaces round his neck, put his arm-rings on his arm, fastened bells about his wrist, he took a spear, he took a gun, and he went, he went towards them. And the man who called himself Deß he shot with the gun, he fell upon the ground and died. And the man "Ohwa" was speared, and he died; the man who was called Nyikang died, he turned towards the bush. Then the drum was beaten, and the people danced (for joy).

(About this time) a north wind blew, and the dura was burned, the Shilluks were seized with hunger. The people went to the Nuer country, to buy dura of the Nuers. And the Shilluks were beaten by the Nuers, in the time of this strong famine. The Shilluks say, ("In this time) some were starved, and some gave away their children for dura." — But when the next dura-harvest was brought, the people were relieved.

[In the first part of this story it is related, how some impostors pretend to be the ancient kings, who have come into this world again; the people believe in them and pray to them, and the "false prophets" take advantage of this to rob the people, all their proceedings are brought to an end by the king.]

43. The Prince who refused to be King.

Ki ŋiw dwyß, ŋwaß ŋiß, to ñowi yi a ŋin, to e ŋoŋ, to ŋiß, o ŋaß, o pßß 53f
piŋ Ñiß ki ŋiwin. Ko ŋa ni ŋiß (ŋaß) ki ŋin ñiwi; ŋwo ñuß ŋa ni ŋiß ñiwi yi. Ko ŋo ni ŋiß ŋiŋ ni ŋaß ŋiŋ: ŋwi ŋiß. Ko ŋa ñiß ki ŋwaß Ñiß; o ñiwi pwß, o pßß ki ñiŋ, o ñiß ñiŋ ŋin o Ñwi. A pßß ŋin. A ñiß: ŋ, yß ŋaß ki ñiŋ. ŋo ñwin ŋin. A ŋin (ŋin) wßß, o ñiŋ ŋin. A ñiwi ŋiŋ ŋwß, o ñiwi

* Then worshipping them.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

[9] 539 *gyelo. Ko rij e wiroj, ko ajik kjl pi ghr, ko djok chil po pyier ainaya, kj jl pi pyiroy; rij lijol; a dwajk ainak, a chjlo chil kl djok, kj jl, a kiloj rij kjno: ani kjolj, ainki pi kjr.*

The oldest son of a king whose name was *Alqhi*, was brought to be elected
[73] king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were
[9] 539 going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound durra for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) our prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, which he called Fwet ("home"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I
[68 301] don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out of elephant-tusks.* When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten more; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and more as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him show, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

[9] 539 *Jol wijlq Abkoj Bikki, ko e kjno, ainano rij, e chjlli, ko Chjlq yiri, wajo ano ko kjolo rij anano; ano yiri kj go. Ko jol wijlq kjoqkj: i, fajo rij? A rilq kiq? A chjqlki ano, yi kjqir? Ko jol gai e kjno, ko pjiko tiok yi, kj kjyo pjio. Ko yi kjpi, ko Abkoj Bikki kjlok, ko e kwjgo, ko e wjo. Ko jol gai ko: yi wjoo kjo? Mo yi kiiko yiro, ebo pinno rij? yi chjqjio ciq kjjio? Ko tjwj ko: i, ano chjio jiok yi gjiqo ano? Ko Abkoj-Bikki e kjno, ko tjioo fim, ko go yjqi. Tjwj kodi yano. Gjyj jim! Tjwj kodi yano. Ko jjqyj kiiq: yjjno wang? Ko wang yjio yano kjqo. Ko i wjoij, ko Chjlq ainy: i, fajo rij? Ko Chjlq ko: wjo? Ko tjioo ying, a pqr.*

A man whose name was *Abkoyo Bikio*, came and wanted to become king.
[73] He was a short man. The Shilluks commented, "This man shall be king now, we
[9] 539 are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, *Abkoyo Bikio* came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

* Formerly only the king was authorized to wear ivory bracelets.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akunyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remained silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said, "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing.

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45. Queen Abudok.

*Kyi Dyikjo ba fot a bidi; a ba rij; ba Chuly wijo wdwa; rij bayyo. Ka tyy bjwo pi Abidjok, ba a ba: ‘A wijo wyo a wuom pi bjolo rij. A bidi bjwo: bodwi rij? A bodwi, a rijwi. A bajlo, go Abudok, a dwwi jjwo, a wdjjk, a wdidi, a pijyi yajo lly: ba a gjwo dwpi, a pijyi, ba wijjo a ddjyi, a ba yuo. A bjil wijwo jjo, a pijyi, a pjjwi; a bjjj Bachidjo, a uwi yy fot. A bidi bjwo: ‘A Chuly a wjwi yi bwo rij. A bidio wjwo bwo rij. A bidi: ‘A, bwo rij ry a lijyi wdjyk, ba wj yjdi bj bidio yjbri, jbri wj dwyi dlyi, ba a ryuly. [‘A dyi bot bjwo, a dyi yjdi. A bidio wwyji a rijwi. — *Kwyi Abidjok.*

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In the time of Dyikjo the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elevated. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. They said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks). If they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become many, just as the branches of the calabash plant become many in the bush.[3] Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok.

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away

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[643 158 187]

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] Become a king's to thank him?

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angily, she collected certain seeds, dried and pounded them, and brought them to Fashoda as a symbol, to show the Shilluks how they would be surpassed in number and in power by the descendants of the royal family." This story again shows that the royal family is not originally Shilluk, but of foreign origin. — But perhaps it was simply because she was a woman that the Shilluks did not want her to rule them. In the list of kings given by Bashelaar Abodok is omitted.]

5:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F723 Shi12ak F723

VI. WAR STORIES.

46. War.

Ke wy wijiu, ke wy ujiwi ki yü, ke ji dwuyu, ke wy wuwy yü, ke wy yihi jui wijiu, ye lyuw, lyuw lok, ke e ke: ure lajiu lapi? Wy lajiu fiip lowei. Kiye: wuw o ye lapi? Kiye: ure yü Pawiduwi. Kiye: fiu ñuj? Wy ye pawiu Chiju. Kiye: yi Ayijiuy? Kiye: ñuwj! Kiye: dijuk! A lajî wijiu, o chiip wuyu pawiu wijiuy. Dwuyu, o lajî wijiu Ayijiuy, o yihi fiiyu, o ñuwu yi wuyu ki dyiji, o lowjü wijiu, o wijiwi ki Dwiyuyi, o lijuw dijuki, ke wy wuwyj ki lijuj, o ñuwu yi ki dyiji; o lajî ijiki yuwu.

A lowu lüu, o lajî ñuwj, o lajiu lüu ki Ajiiyuy, o wijü Chiji yi lowei, o chiyuyu ñiwy, o wüji lowei Tiwiy. Ke Gyiwuwü, fiiyuy i yiwuj. Ke chiip fiui yü lowiu, kiye: dijuk yiwu, ure fu wüi. A dwuji lowei, o ijiuw ki lajiu Nilwüü, ijuw wüwüj, o lowj ki wuwüj, o wüyi, ke chiyü wuwu, i yüi.

A lijwi, o yiiyi Ohüü, o lijüj yuwu, ke wujiu dwei wüji, o lajiu, o Ilüi Tiwiy, o wüyi yiiw, o wüiyi yiiw, o dwüyi, o ijiuj Tiwy, o wüiyu Tiwy, o lijwi, o ijüi Ki-Ilüüj, o wüiyi ji, o yüi Wü, o wüiyi Wü, o yüi Yiji, o wüiyi Yiji, o dwuyi Yiji, o yüi Wüwüwei.

A dijyi fiiyu Iwi, o yüüj, o dwüyi, o yüiy wuy Fiüi, o ijüuj yuwü, o yüiw Tuiiyu, o yiiwi Ijuiiw, o yuwüj ki ijüi, ki ji. A lajiu, o dijyi Fiujwei; o yüüi Dwüyi, ke Dwüyi i yiiwü. A wüyu yuw, o wüiyu wuwji yiw, o lajiü. A wüiyu Mwuwu, o ñuwi yüiyu Chiji, i ñuwj yi wüji (wüji), ñuwj luuyu, ñuwu luuyu, yüiwu luuyu, lujuj luuyu, yuyu luuyu, lowei luuyu, wuji (yuy) luuyu, lowü luuyu; yuwi i ñüiiy, i wüüj yi wüiyu.

A wuji wüj, wüj Ahüj, o lajiu lüu, lüu Gyu, ke Lowü chiiyu. A lüu lowuy, Ahüüiiwy, o yüüw wüi, o wüiyi yiiw, o lajiu ji Jüü, o chiiyu lüu iwu, o ijüu wüiu Ki'u, i yüyu, o lüu Lüu, ke yuyüuw lajiüj, ke ñuwü lajiüj, ke ñuwü lajiüj. A yüiyu wüj Ki'u ki yuwu ñüüi; ke ñuwü y ñüiwu, ke yuyuwy ñüiwu, ke ñuwüü ñüiwu.

A lüiu lowuy yi lowei wüjiu, o lüiwu, yüiyu lowei wüüjüü, yi lüiwü, yi lüiwj ki Ahüüjüu, ke Chujiy ñüüj; kiye: wüiwy ñüüj? yüiyu Tiwüü, yu ki Nüüüüj, [1] *yu Ahüüjüuy wüüi wüyü.*

Yüü lowei wüjiuy lajiü wüü, yüiyu Ilüüüü? ke Ilwüüü lüiwy, ke ijüiu yuyi ki Tiiüj; o ijüi yuyi, ke Chujî wüiu yuwü.

Ke ijüiy ñuwyu, ke lowuy lüi: Ahüüjüuy wüyü? Ki lüü yüüü, ke Chujiy chujuy lüü; ñuwüu wüiwy. A lüu Tuwüü, o ñüiu ñuu.

We were travelling, we slept on the road, and when the people (whom we had sent to look for the way) came back, we (found out that we) had lost our way. We found a man, a spy, a war-spy. He asked, "Where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the country of the Shilluk people." He asked, "From which district (of the Shilluk country) are you?" We replied, "From Panyidowi." He (asked), "From which village?" We (replied), "From

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[1] Just in, English.

[2] The Abyssinians.

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the village Chaa.* He said, "Do you belong to Agiddo? We replied, "Yes, we do." He said, "All right." He took us and brought us to some other village, Dowan, then he brought us to Agiddo. He found out the chief, who (received us and) killed a goat for us, and then he accompanied us. We slept at Bokyang. When the next day came, and it had become afternoon, he killed again a goat for us; the people (my companions and I) sat down.

A war signal was given. The people went, and there was a fight at Amum. Shilluks were killed by the strangers, the Shilluks were chased throughout the country till the strangers came to Tonga. And the chief Gukwach surrendered; he was betrayed by the strangers, they said, "Alright, we are friends." The strangers turned back, and marched straight towards Kyelwak. There they turned on an island (in the Nile), and while they were sleeping there, many of them were killed by the Shilluks, and many too were chased into the river, a great number.

After that they came and sat down at Olang; they remained quite there for three months, then they went and attacked Tonga (again), some of the people they killed, and some they caught as slaves; they returned and marched towards Tiero; they captured Tiero and came marching towards Kiwe Fiho, they caught people there; they came to Wu, they captured Wu, they arrived at Kyeh and captured it; from Kyeh they returned and sat down at Wiyadwal.

They returned to the Dinka country, but there they had no success, and so went back, and sat down at the mouth of the river Poh. They turned to the next village, and then went (across the river) to Tedigo. The chief Dutin surrendered, he paid tribute in cattle and cows. From there the enemy turned back to Padang. He chased (the Dinka chief) Dingjol, and Dingjol surrendered. He was killed, together with his children. The enemies went away and captured Wayang. While they remained in the Shilluk country, the country suffered very much, there was no grain left, no cattle, no fowls, no dura, no clothes, no shields, no drums, no houses, no cow houses; the land was ruined to extremities.

In that time a king was elected, king Abol, he fought a war, the war of Gur, and the people of Lwak (with their king Abol) were chased. Then came the strangers, the Amum,[1] they convicted the king and caught him. They arrived at Bul, and remained there. The (Shilluk) king Kir[2] continued reigning during this time. And the Lir people[3] came and brought fowls, and cattle, and grain. The king Kir[2] reigned well, so that the cows, and fowl, and grain became many.

Almost that time the fame of some other white people was heard of; they were coming, they were very strong white people, they came and fought the Amum; when the Shilluks heard that, they laughed,[4] and it was asked, "What is their name?" And they turned out to be the Turks and the English. It was said, "The Amum will surely be killed now."

[1] the people the Dorsiqiya.
[2] or Kiir. [3] The Kordofan Nuba from Jebel Eliri.
[4] for joy.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were Abyssinians. The Abyssinians came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks ran away to their villages. 173 539*

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Annuak have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

27. Tribal War.

Kal ciyal e lipur bin yal, ka kal ciyal e lipuy, ka ka lil. Ka ŋiy e ŋil, ka ŋiy ni ŋiŋ. Ka ŋiy ŋuŋ ni ciŋ ŋil. Ŋir (ŋiŋ) ji yi ŋir, ka ka ŋuŋ, ka ji ŋiŋ ciŋ, ŋiy ciŋ. Lel ciŋ, ŋiŋ e ŋuŋ kin ka ŋuy ŋiy, ka yi ŋuy ŋuch. Ka ŋiy ŋuŋ kiy ni ŋiŋ ŋuŋ ki ŋuŋ. Ji ni kin ka ŋiŋ ki ŋuŋ. Ji ni kin ŋuŋ ki yuy kuŋ. 539*

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the women come. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time. 539* 628

(After a war) the people come to it in wait during the night.[1] — The people are accustomed to sojourn in the house, in a guard.[2] [594]

28. The War of Nyokar.

Ad ŋuŋ ciŋ ŋiŋ Yidlic, ŋuŋ Dor, ŋi, ŋi, ka e ŋiŋ, ka ŋuŋ Tyiŋ, ka ŋuŋ. Ka Tyiŋ ŋiŋ, ka yi ŋuŋ. Ka ŋuŋ yi Yidlic, ka e ŋuŋ ki ka, ka ŋuŋ Diŋgil. Ka ka ŋiŋ yi Diŋgil; ka ka yiŋ ŋuŋ, ka ka ŋuŋ; ka kin yuch, ka e yuŋ. 539*

Some man whose name was Nyokar, the son of Dor, was very, very brave. He went and turned towards Tengore (in the Dinka country) to capture. He destroyed Tengore and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was followed by Yidlic, he too seized an army and marched against Dinggil, but his army was chased by Dinggil, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. Yidlic went home and reported what he had done. 173 539*

29. The War of Dong.

Ad ŋuŋ ciŋ ŋiŋ Yiŋ, ka ŋuŋ i kin ki Dongi; ki Yudlic. Ka kin ciŋ, ka Yiŋ, ka kal e ŋiŋ, ka ji ŋuŋ yi ŋuŋ. Ka Qiŋ[illegible] ka e ŋiŋ, ka e ka: kin a ki ŋiŋ ciŋ, ki ciŋ ciŋ. Ka e ŋuŋ, ka e kuŋ ki [illegible] ji ki ŋuŋ, ka kpur 539*

[1] This is Shilluk passage. If one tribe has some had done the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.
[2] An hour of today Shilluk when going out.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

*539 *gin gin, ko ga wyk, ko ker kgin yook, ko e kiny, ko ji wyk go yyin ainge. Ko Dyk kwacky, kwacky ker, ko tyyk e kiny, ko kgy kki gin, ko fin gei e ching. Ko tyyk ching, ko ga wkyi: e kkjk, e tjin wyk, fin wip ker.*

173 *539 There was a certain man with the name of Dong, his village fought with Dowat; the name of the village was Twoldit. The war began, it began at the village Yooj, the army fought, and ten men were killed. Then a Dinka man (a recruiter) was brought, he made a charm, saying, "The war must be fought in the morning, early in the morning." So Dong arose early in the morning, and laid an ambush on the way; and when the people (the enemies) came out, he attacked them and killed (many of) them. The army of the enemy went back into the village, and when they came again, they killed fourteen men of Dong's. Then Dong begged, he begged for auxiliary troops; and an auxiliary army came. With them he went after the enemy, and the village (of Dowat) stopped fighting.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

VII. TRADITIONS ON ŃIKÁŃO.

30. Nyikang's Parents.

*Ochyółó ga Ołwa, ga

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Dyang Ablik (*fast white*). The white cow gave birth to a cow-child whom she named and named Kola (*Kola*); Kola begat Uwak Ba or Gumo (*Gumo*), who begat Makwa or Wad Mad (*not old*), who begat Ukwa (*Ukwa*). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dilji, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dilji, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, while his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incoherent gesticulations regarding them.

Nik-Kuya (*Nyikang*), the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Dwera. The eldest son of Nik-Kuya, was called Nyikang (Nik-kang or Nyikang, — *Nyiang*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Dwera.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyikang and Dwera as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyikang, with his sisters Ad Dul, Ad Unkor, and Bun Yong, his brother Unai and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. There they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1000 A. D., or later.

Nyikang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creatures and their offspring form the Shulla race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyikang's family.

The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shollos.

Nik-Kiaya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kiaya is pleased to take her sacrifice of men or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shollos*.

By Dr. T. Lambrix, of Doleib Hill.

Nyikang, Dyowal, Ju, Odi, Otin, and Kei were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omma from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwot. Nyikang and Dyowal were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Dyowal," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and married unto to the country of the Dinka, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dinka, and the Dinka said, "Death! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Okugi, kept always there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow did not hear." Then Okugi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the fellow came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dinka people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came to and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for cows." So they came and stopped here in the bogan of the Shollos.

*i.e. Shollos.

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31. The Early Wanderings of Nyikang and his People. His Fight with the Sun.

[539] *Ko [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] ko Kirjin. [illegible] a [illegible] Nikiki; a [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] ko [illegible]. A [illegible] Dyangi kano: Nikiki, [illegible] [illegible]? Kiyo: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible]: Nikiki! Kiyo: [illegible] [illegible]. Ko Nikiki a [illegible] [illegible], ko [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Nikiki. Ko Nikiki a [illegible], a [illegible]; Nikiki kano: [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] kano: [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Dhi.*

Ko Dhi [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] kano: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Dhi kano: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Dhi, a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Dhi [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] kano: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible]. A [illegible] kano: [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], ko Dhi [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible], ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Ko Nikiki a ko: [illegible] [illegible]? Ko a [illegible], ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] Fulada. Ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] Nikiki, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Nikiki; ko a [illegible], ko [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], ko [illegible] a [illegible], ko [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] (Dhi) [illegible]. Ko a ko: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], ko a [illegible] kano: [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]? Kiyo: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Kiyo: a [illegible]? Kiyo: [illegible] Nikiki. Kiyo: [illegible] [illegible]? Kiyo: [illegible] [illegible] Nikiki. Kiyo: [illegible]? [illegible] [illegible] Nikiki. A [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]; a [illegible] Nikiki kano: Nikiki, [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] (Dhi), [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikiki kano: [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] Dhi, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]; a [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible]; a [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible].

A [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ko [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikiki kano: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] kano: [illegible] [illegible]? A [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]; a [illegible] kano: Nikiki, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Chwejiki [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] kano: Nikiki, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

A [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] Fijin, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] Dhi, a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible].

A [illegible] Nikiwil, a [illegible] Fijwadiji, a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] Tidiji Dhi; a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible] Wiwa, Gidiyang, Pandiwil (Gidiyang, Alimwil), Wirik, Gwydan; [illegible] Nikiwil [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible], [illegible] Nikiwil, a [illegible]; [illegible]. Chaiji [illegible].

A [illegible] Dhi, a [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible], kano: a [illegible]? A [illegible] Nikiwil, a [illegible] kano: [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible], a

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Ŋaj Dwogo ki jiyi. A ŋiwaj, a ŋaj Dwojok ki jiyi: a ŋaj Ŋidi ki jiyi: a ŋaj Tuyo ki jiyi: a ŋaj Obugo ki jiyi, a ŋaj Kudu ki jiyi: a ŋaj Kubwoky ki jiyi. 539*

In ancient times the people came to the country Kawa, this is the country into which Nyikang came. Here they separated, he and (his brother) Dwera. Dwera said, "Nyikang, where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to that place there." Again he said, "Nyikang, look behind!" And Nyikang turned round, and looked back, and he saw a stick for planting dura, which Dwera had thrown to him. When Nyikang came back to take it, he asked, "What is that?" Dwera replied, „Go, that is a thing with which to dig the ground of your village!" And Nyikang came, and sat down in the country of Turo. This is the country of his son Dak. 539* 773

And Dak used to sit on the ashes of the village and to play the tum (a stringed instrument). But his uncles (the brothers of Nyikang) said, "The country is to be ruled by Dak alone? (being jealous of him). His uncles went to sharpen their spears. But it was told to Dak, "You are going to be killed by your uncles!" Then Nyikang went to fetch an anthill, he hewed it, and made for it hands (so that it looked like the statue of a man). Dak went and sat down in the same place again, and began playing his instrument. His uncles came and stabbed him — that is, the anthill statue; Dak went into his enclosure (ashes). Nyikang came and said, "My son has been killed by his uncles." His uncles were afraid saying, "Let every man stay at home four days. When four days have passed, we may mourn him." The morning after four days were gone, all the people came (to mourn), there were a great many. Suddenly Dak came out from his enclosure and went to dance the merle dance. When his uncles saw this, they ran away, and the mourning was finished.

Nyikang said, "I will go!" And he came and went along a river, a certain river called Falako. And the people settled on this river. Here the cow ran away, the cow of Nyikang, because of her calves, her calves used to be spanned by Nyikang. She went and came to the country of the sun. And Ojol ("the gray hawk") went to search for hay; he found the cow among the cows of the sun. He said, "I am searching for a cow." Gaw, the son of the sun, said, "Man, what do you search for?" He replied, "I search for a cow!" He asked, "What cow?" Ojol said, "The cow of Nyikang." Gaw asked, "Where has it come from?" He answered, "From the country of Nyikang." Gaw replied, "Ee, never! Here is no cow of Nyikang." So, Ojol, turned back and told Nyikang, "Nyikang, we have found the cow! among the cows of a certain man, he is awfully tall, just like Dak; on his hands he has silver bracelets." Nyikang said, "Raise an army, and find the cow!" Dak went and attacked Gaw, he drove

* Wherever Nyikang came to a new place, he killed a cell.

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him on the ground. He cut off his hands, pulled the bracelets off them, and chased the enemy's army; he came to the sea. But there the army of Nyikang was chased, and it was utterly destroyed. Then Nyikang himself came; he took an adze and aimed it towards the sun. He hit the sun, and it returned to the sky. Nyikang went and took the bracelet, with it he touched the dead of his army, and they returned to life.

The people came, they came to the head (source) of a river, there they arose and approached the junction of the river (in boats). They found the river full of cold. Nyikang said, "Where does this come from? what shall we do?" Their way was barred. Then Obugo[1] arose saying, "Nyikang, I have finished eating. Spear me under the cold!" He said again, "Nyikang, now I shall part asunder the cold, and if you come to any place where the cold is, you just follow after it." So Obugo was stabbed under the cold, and the cold broke asunder, so they came to their place together with the cold.

He settled (with his people) in Ashyiro-gwok, but he found the country occupied by the white people, therefore the people returned to this side of the river. They settled at the head of the Pijo (i. e. Sobat), Dak passed on to Wij-Pala. The army went home (it scattered because the war was finished).

He, Nyikang, built the following villages: Ryalwal, Pupwojo, Alwale, Tudiga, Pala. The people went on and built Wau, Ochoro, Panyikang Ongo, Akurwyar, Moro, Ongwag, these are the villages of Nyikang. Nyikang went saying, "Ah, there are still Shilluks left?"

Then Dak ruled, he went away[2] (after him his son) Odak ruled, he went away[2] while hunting game. The people were perplexed, and they said, "What is that?" Nyikang returned saying, "Bring a cow, that we may make a line." When that was finished, Dwom ruled after him; when he had finished, Dwech ruled after him, after him Dekot ruled, then Tugo, then Okwac; then Kodi, then Ryakwadu. (For the complete list see page 121).

(A somewhat different report of this warfare is given by P. W. Hofmayr in "Anthropos", 1910, V, page 331); it runs thus:

Nyikang heard of a country in which all utensils and even the tools were made of silver. He made up his mind to go into this country with his sons and numerous armed people. The name of this country was wang gwo i. e. the country where the sun sets and sleeps, and where the sun is so near that it may be seized with the fingers.

Nyikang arrived in the silverdrive country; in truth, numerous cattle-herds were grazing here, and the young people were richly adorned with silver rings and silver sticks. Nyikang and Dog entered a hut, where a young woman was working. She was exceedingly beautiful; the Shilluk

[1] Obugo means "silver"; cfr. also page 130.
[2] i. e. he died.

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borrow had never seen her equal. Dag asked the woman, whether she would like to marry him and go with him into his country. The woman was frightened, she sprang up, carrying the black follows. But Dag replied, "Though we are black, and without silver ornaments, we shall show you that our arms are stronger than those of your men and that we may well venture to ask you for marriage." Thereupon the woman showed them the direction where her husband with his servants herded the cattle. Nyikang and Dag turned thither.

It was just growing dark and the herds were coming from the bush, the men with their costly silver ornaments following. Dag at once rose, went to meet them, and even a great fighting was going on. The man who were the heavy silver rings was defeated, and Dag stripped the ornaments off him.

In the heat of the fight and on account of the scrambling men all the Shilluks fell down. Nyikang ordered water to be brought, with which he sprinkled his fallen warriors, and they all came to life again. Even the cow he sprinkled that it might not have so hot, and presently it ceased bawling. Finally the Shilluks were victorious and drove away the cattle and men of the enemies. These people are the Qundulul (Kwa Jal).

When they had arrived in the Shilluk country, Dag once more proposed to the woman to marry her; but he was again rejected.

Nyikang offered the prisoners in his country cattle, but they declined. He offered them Shilluk women, but again they declined. So he gave them the privilege to seize and keep a number of Shilluk girls and to collect spears, sheep, and fat in the whole Shilluk country, as often as a new king would be elected. As this was a lasting privilege, they consented to accept it.]

51. Different Doings and Adventures of Nyikang.

Nyikang ni bâ (bada) ŋiâ ŋuâ. Ko jî mâjîn ni lîpwa, ŋâ mâŋâ bî ŋuâ. Ko ŋuâ ni ŋîmo ŋîm. Ko ni bîjî Nîkwâ, ko Nîkwâ ŋîdî, ko e lîpwa, ko e ko kîmo: Dîdî, ŋo ŋîdî ŋâ jî mâjîn. Ko Dîdî e bîjî, ko Dîdî ŋîdî, ko Dîdî e lîpwa, ko e ko: ŋâ ŋîdî ŋâ jîjî ŋîdî. Ko Nîkwâ ko: ŋ, ŋîdwâ! ŋa ŋî (ni) jî e ni wîî ŋîm? Kîmo: ŋ, ŋuâ ni wîmo ŋîm! A ŋîjî Dîdî, e kîmo ŋâ jîjî ŋuâ, ŋâ mâŋâ bî ŋâ. A bîjî Dîdî e ŋîjî, ko ŋîjîm ŋuâ mîmo. Ko jîjî ŋuâ e lîpwa, ko ŋa bîjîn kîmo Dîdî; ko ŋa mîîn, ko ŋa bîjî ŋîmîn.

Ko jîjî ŋuâ e bîjîn bî ŋîmîn. Kî mîjî ŋîm ŋâ Nîkwâ, ko ŋa bîîŋ kîmo: Nîkwâ, bîjwâ mîjî, mîjwâ? Kîmo: mîjîn wo ŋo ni bîjî mîîn. A bîîŋ Nîkwâ kîmo: ŋ, do mîjî ni ŋîm wîî? Kîmo: mîjîn wo ni ŋîm bî ŋîm? A bîjwâ Nîkwâ kîmo: ŋîm bîjîn. Kîmo: ŋ, ŋîm ŋ ŋîm bî ŋâ bîjwâ? A bîîŋ Nîkwâ kîmo: ŋ, bîjîn. A bîjîn, ŋîmîn (Dîdî). A bîîŋ kîmo: bîî ŋîm? Ko Nîkwâ ŋ bîmîŋ. A bîjî jîd ŋuâ, e bîjî mîmo, e mîjîn bîîn, e bîjwâ

*539 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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therefore he went home, and said (to his son), "Dak, there are certain people, I do not know what to do with them." Dak went, but he too could not manage them. So Dak came home saying, "I do not know what to do with these people." But Nyikang said, "My, why did you let the people go?" He answered, "Well, the boat went down to the bottom!" Dak returned and found the people again fishing in a boat. Dak turned himself into an egret and sat down in the middle of the river. The people came and were driven to the side of Dak; so he caught them and brought them into a (his) village (settled them).

These people now lived in a village. And Nyikang was building a house. They asked, "Nyikang, are these your houses? Our houses (the houses of our father) are not thus." Nyikang replied, "Eh, how then are (your) houses built?" They replied, "Our houses are built with human beings." But Nyikang protested, saying: "I have no human beings (for that purpose)!" They replied, "Why, you have a lot of people here with you everywhere!" But Nyikang said, "No, there are none!" The man (the chief of these water-people) went; — his name was Olealo. — (But he came again) saying: "Bring a man!" But Nyikang refused. The man went and brought his own son; then he mixed mud, he marked the place where the house was to be built, he prepared the mud and dug out the foundations of the house. He said, "Bring mud!" And it was brought. He said, "Stop now!" He seized his son and struck him with a club, until he died. When Nyikang saw this, he said, "Ah, Olealo, you are doing a wicked thing! how can you kill that man!?" Olealo replied, "Why?" Nyikang said, "Well, it now will remain a custom of your village, always when a house of Nyikang will be built, a man will die because of Olealo." The people remained there. Nyikang said, "Ah, Olealo, your people will always die in building this house!" Olealo replied, "Never mind, they are many, they will not be used up."

Nyikang gave him certain goods belonging to himself, with which to build the house (of Nyikang). And he said, "The house shall be built with a black heifer, which shall be eaten in the night; during the night it shall be eaten." One family — they are followers of Nyikang — eat the broth, and one family eat the meat, one family eat the meat on the skin. It is finished; this report is at an end.

Nyikang used to go to the river junction (of Sobat and White Nile), there he used to find some people who were cooking, a man with his sister. When Nyikang came near, they ran away into the river. Nyikang did not know what to do, and he called Dak. But Dak refused. He begged him. Then Nyikang went, and gave his daughter to Dak, as an indemnity for the mother of Dak. Now Dak consented, he went and found the people. They ran into the river, but Dak also drove a boat into the river and he drove them out onto the bank. They attempted to escape into the river again, but he seized the girl; he put

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her into his boat and came home. But her brother followed her, and they both remained in the village. (Dak married the girl), and she bore a son. After some time they stole away, the man and his sister. Her son was left in the village.

One day Nyikang went to fish with a hook. And a man (below the water) always used to break the fish-hook in the river, the name of this man was Oshwa. He, that is, Nyikang, now went to dig out the jech-plant, the jech of Ochamdor, he twisted it into a rope and tied the fish-hook to it, he fastened a piece of bread to the point of the hook, and so he caught the man in the river, he came out — it was a man! His sister came after him. They remained in the village, they used to eat calves, the calves of Nyikang, and they used to eat the corn which was cooked for making beer. At last Nyikang became angry, and said, "Row this man to the place of Witer, a place where he may eat buffaloes." (He was rowed thither, and) ate buffaloes. His sister also went there and she used to say, "Give me some meat!" He became angry with his sister, and they fought. And (while fighting) they rolled into the river, they tumbled down a steep slope, and so went into the river again.

Some people used to go fishing, to a place called Olam. Nyikang got into difficulties with them, and Dak went. He met them, and they were caught by him. Nyikang said, "Give them to me!" But Dak refused, saying, "They are my slaves." Dak took them along with him and brought them into his village. He gave them big cattle, and the spear Alodo with which to kill the cows. — When people bring cattle to Fashoda it is their (these people's) property.

There were some people, descendants of the white men; they became slaves. They used to give fowls. They were people found in the country before Nyikang was brought from Akuruwar. They used to catch hens, and to offer them to Nyikang as a tax, in the middle of Dok. — That is all, this report is finished.

Some people were fishermen, they used to go to the river, to the river of Abudok, they used to eat the calves of hippos. The name of this river was Nyewek. When Abudok came, he asked them, "From which place are you people?" They replied, "We are fishermen." Abudok was silent. And while they were eating meat, flies settled on the meat; but these people would not suffer it, they were proud. Abudok said, "Why do you refuse that meat?" They replied, "We are afraid." He asked, "Of what?" They answered, "Of the flies." He said, "You are proud, are you not?" They replied, "We do not eat anything on whose back there are flies." These people were taken home by Abudok. And Abudok said, "Ah, you will continue thus! You are the descendants of pride." They stayed there, they became adherents of Abudok, he gave them a settlement.

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53. The Man who sacrificed Himself.

Kɛt a ŋɛn Ńikań, a kɛ̨ŋ Atulɔ́ ki wɛ̨te ŋɔ̀ŋ, a yɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́ nam ɛ́ rɛ̨ɔ́ yi ɛ̨ɔ́. Ka Ńikań a ɲɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̨. Ka jɔ́l ma ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ a ɲɔ́ɔ́ŋ kɛ̨ne: Ńikań, yí rɔ̀ ɔ́ɔ́ń? Yi jɔ́ŋ́ ki yɛ̨? Ye ko: ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, yé jɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ yɛ̨. Ka a ko: kɛ̨ɔ́ ye rɔ̀ɔ́ŋ́ ki ɔ́ɔ́m, yé ɛ̨ ɔ́ɔ́, ko ye ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ki ɛ̨ɔ́ń, ko rɛ̨ɔ́ń wɛ̨ɔ́ń nɔ́m, ɛ̨ɔ́ ɛ̨ ɔ́ɔ́ɛ̨́. Ka Ńikań ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɲɔ́l ɛ̨ɔ́, ko ɛ̨ɔ̀ɔ̀ wɛ̨ɔ́n nɔ́m, ko ɛ̨ɔ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́. Ka Ńikań yɛ̨ɔ́ ki yɛ̨.[1] 539*

When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulɔ́ with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino,[1] asked thus, "Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?" He replied, "Yes, I do not see a way where to pass." The man said, "When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away." And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage. 539* 773

54. Nyikang and the River-people.

A kɛ̨ɛ Ńikań wɛ̨k, a wɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́, a yɔ̀ɔ́ yɛ̨, ríńa wɛ̨k yí lɛ̨ɛ̨k, a ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ kɛ̨ne: ɲɛ̨k, wɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ (kɛ̨ɔ́) yí yɛ̨́ wɛ́n! ɲɛ̨k ɛ̨ɔ́ ko: kɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́? Kɛ̨ne yɛ́n. A kɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, che yɛ̨́ ɛ́ ɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́ pɛ́ń, ka yɛ̨ ɛ́ ɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ yí Ńikań. A ŋɛ̨n, a wɛ̨ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́n, a kɛ̨ɔ́ yɛ̨ pɛ́ɛ́k, a ɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́n, a lɛ̨ɛ̨ɛ̨ ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ́, a wɛ́ yɛ̨ tɛ̨ɔ́, yɛ̨ ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́m yɛ̨ɛ́. A lɛ̨ɛ̨ɛ tɛ̨ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́m, a wɛ́ yɛ̨ Ńɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ́ɛ̨; ko ɛ́ ɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ́ Ńikań. Chɛ̨ɔ́l yɛ̨ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́r Wań, kɔ́ɔ́re yɛ̨́ lɛ̨ɛ̨k. 539*

Nyikang went into the bush capturing; he saw (at a distance on the river) a boat, he ran from the high grass to a place where the grass was burned, then he called, "People, let me get into your boat!" The people asked, "Why?" He replied, "Just let me go in." When he got into it, the boat went to the bottom (was about to sink, this being caused by the witchcraft of the people in the boat); but Nyikang pushed it up again; then he came and caught them. He brought them into a village; he taught them to pray; they became his slaves (his subjects); he gave them the spear and taught them to pray. So they became the people of prayer. He let them reside at Nyibodo; they keep the (religious) things belonging to Nyikang. They are called the descendants of Wang, the descendants of the boat of the grassless plain. 539* 773 783

55. The Lost Cow.

Kwɔ́ɔ́yɛ́ɛ́ e kwɔ́ɔ́yí ɲɔ́k, ɲɔ́k Ńikań, ka ɲɔ́ań akɛ̨ɛ́l e wɔ́ń, ka e kɛ̨ɔ́ɛ̨ kal ɲɔ́ Dɛ́ɛ́ŋ́. Ka e lɛ̨ŋ́ɛ̨: ɲɔ́ań ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́? Kɛ̨ne: ɲɔ́ań ɛ̨ɔ́k! Ka Ńikań wɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ́, ka e ko: yap ɲɔ́ań! Ka 539*

[1] Vide 51.

*539 *a kaŋ̀ kan de ɔkwɔ̀, ka ɲɛ̀ kaŋ̀, ka ɲɛ̀ kaŋ̀, ka mɔ̀ɔ̀ ɔwɔ; a kaŋ̀, a wɔ̀ɔ̀ ʃɔ̀ɔ Dɪ̀mɔ̀. Ka ʃɔwɔ́ ɲɛwɔ́ŋ a wɔ̀ɔ̀ ʃɔ́ɔ́, ka ʃɔ̀ɔ́ ɲɛ́ ɔɲɔ́ŋ; a ʃɔwɔ́ŋ: ɲɛ́ kaŋ̀ka kan ɔ? Kɔ́ɔ́ ʃɔ̀ɔ Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́ kɪ ɲɛ́ʃɔ ʃɔwɔ́. Ka ʃɔ́ɔ́kɪ́ ɔwɔ́ a kɔ̀ɔ̀ kɔ́ɔ́ ʃɔ́ɔ́, ka ʃɔ̀ Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɲɛ́ kɔ̀ɔ̀ ʃɔ. Ka a kɔ̀ɔ, ɔwɔ́ɲ ʃɔ̀ɔ Chɔ̀l. Ka ʃɔwɔ́ kɔ̀ɔ́ kɔ́ʃ ʃɔ́ɔ́. Ka ʃɔ́ɔ́ Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ: ʃɔwɔ́ a kɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲɛ́? Ka a ko: ʃɔwɔ́ á ɔwɔ́ʃ ʃɔ́ɔ́. Chɔ́ɔ́ɲ ɲɛ́ Kwɔ́ɲɔ́l, kɔ́ɔ́ Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́.*

*539 Kwɔ́ɲɔ́l herded cattle, the cattle of Nyikang; and one cow disappeared, she
773 went into the cattle-yard of Dimo. When Kwɔ́ɲɔ́l came home, Nyikang asked, "Where is the cow?" He replied, "The cow is away." Nyikang became angry, he said, "Search for the cow!" So he went westwards ("to the place of the sun"), he walked and walked, till he had been on his way a year; he arrived in the country of Dimo. There he found the cow, she had gone into the village, and was lying within the yard. They asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I come from the country of Nyikang, to search for a cow." The next morning he went into the cattle yard, and drove the cow of Nyikang away. And he came and approached the Shilluk country. He drove the cow into the cattle pen. Nyikang asked, "Have you brought the cow?" He replied, "The cow is here in the village." Therefore he was called Kwɔ́ɲɔ́l, the servant of Nyikang.[1]

56. The Liar.

*539 *Ɔjɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ ɲɛ wɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ, ka ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ ʃɔ́ɔ́; ka ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ ʃɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ, ka ɔ́ɔ́ ʃɔ́ɔ́. A kɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́, a ʃɔwɔ́kɪ́ kɔ́ɔ: Ɔjɔ́ɔ́, ɲɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ kɪ́ʃɔ ʃɔ́ɔ́? Ka: á, wɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́! kɔ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́n ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́. Ka Ñɪ̀kɔ́ɔ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ko: ɲɛ́, ɲɛ́ ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɲɛ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́ɔ́. A ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɲɛ́ ɔwɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɪ́ ɲɛ́ɔ́; a wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɛ́ ɲɛ́.*

*539 Ojulo was a friend (of Nyikang). When he went somewhere and came back,
773 he used to tell all kinds of stories (lies) to Nyikang. Whenever he came to a country, he brought home a lot of stories. One day Nyikang asked, "Ojulo, why do you always lie so much?" Ojulo replied, "Ah, friend, let me lie! That is what makes me feel well." And Nyikang laughed, he said, "Man, you will always continue in this, you are a liar indeed!" And so he continued, he used to tell stories, he bought the story-telling with the shoulder of game, which he gave to Nyikang.[2]

57. Nyikang's Quarrel with Duwat.

*539 *Ñɪ̀ɪ̀ɪ̀ wɔ́n Okwɔ́, ɔwɔ́n Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ, ʃɔ́ɲɔ́ Shɔ́ɔ́ɲ ʃɔ́ Ṭɪ̀ɲɔ́, ɲɛ́ɔ́n kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́ɲɔ́l. Kɔ́ Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a wɔ́ɲɔ́ kɪ́ Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ, Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ wɔ́ɲɔ́ Dɔ́ɛ́, Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ wɔ́ɲɔ́ Dɪ̀mɔ́. Ka Dɔ́ɛ́ a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɪ́ Dɪ̀mɔ́ kɪ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́ Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ko: Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ; Dɪ̀mɔ́ ʃɔ́ɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́. Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́ kɪ́ Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ. — Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a kɔ́ɔ́, a ko: Dɪ̀ɲɔ́ɲ, dɔ́ɔ́! yɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́! Ka Ñɪ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a kɔ́ɔ́,*

[1] Compare with this story No. 51.

[522] [2] By giving the shoulder of the game he had killed, he "bought" from Nyikang the privilege to tell lies. (This is meant as a joke).

ŋ́ chiŋ. Ko Dwoŋ̀ ŋ́ŋ́o lɔ́ŋ́ Ñikaŋ́ kjɔ́: Ñikaŋ́, ŋ́kjɔ́! Ñikaŋ́ ŋ́ lɔ́ŋ́. Kjɔ́: kjɔ́! Ñikaŋ́ kjɔ́. Ko ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ kjɔ́ kjɔ́: Ñikaŋ́, kaŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ kj kaŋ́ ɲɔ́! Kjɔ́ Ñikaŋ́ ɲ́ŋ́ Shilluk, ɲ́ (lɔ́k) Ñikaŋ́ kj ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ Dɔ́k kj Ñɔ́ɔ́l, ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́. — Ko (Wɔ́) Ñikaŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ kj ŋ́ŋ́k. 537*

Nyikang, his father is Okwa, and his brother is Dwoni. The country of the Shilluks was (at that time) Turo; there they lived in one place. And Nyikang became angry with Dwoni: Nyikang had a son whose name was Dak, and the son of Dwoni was Dimo. And Dak quarrelled with Dimo behind (or: on account of) the calves of Nyikang; they (the calves) are the dura, the dura of Dwoni, and Dimo beat the calves. Therefore Nyikang became angry with Dwoni. Nyikang went away. He said, "Dwoni, stay here! I go." And Nyikang went away walking. Dwoni ran after Nyikang, saying: "Nyikang, stay!" But Nyikang refused. Again he called, "Look!" And Nyikang looked behind, and Dwoni threw a digging stick towards him, saying: "Take this stick to bury your people with!"[1] Nyikang came into the Shilluk country, (and it became) the home of Nyikang and his son Dak and Ñɔ́ɔ́l; he had (there) two sons. — One son of Nyikang became a man who used to fish. 537* 773

58. The Fish Ochole.

Jɔ́l ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ chɔ́ŋ́ŋ́o Ochɔ́ŋ́o, kjɔ́ŋ́o ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́ kjɔ́ Ñikaŋ́. Kjɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o Ñikaŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́, ko ŋ́ kjɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o, ko ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́ kjɔ́: kjɔ́k! Ko Ñikaŋ́ ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k, ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o kj kɔ́k, ko ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ kjɔ́ kj ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́, ko kjɔ́ŋ́o ɲ́ɲ́ɔ́; ko ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́ɔ́, kjɔ́: kjɔ́k, ko ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o Ñikaŋ́, ko ŋ́kjɔ́, ko ɲ́ɲ́ ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o. Jɔ́l ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o ɲ́ɲ́ɔ́. Ñ́ ŋ́kjɔ́ŋ́o ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́ɔ́, ko ɲ́ɲ́ ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o. Ko Ñikaŋ́ ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́kjɔ́, ko kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k, ko jɔ́l ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k, ɔ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k. 539*

Ɲ́ɲ́kjɔ́ ko Ñikaŋ́ ɔ́ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́. Ko jɔ́l ɲ́ɲ́ ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o, ɔ́ ŋ́kjɔ́ŋ́o ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́o, kjɔ́: kjɔ́k! Ko ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o ɲ́ Ñikaŋ́, ko kɔ́k, ko ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ kjɔ́ŋ́o, ko Ñikaŋ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k. Ko Dɔ́k ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ŋ́o, ko ɔ́ ko: Dɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, ko ɲ́ɲ́o, ko ŋ́kjɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́kjɔ́ kj ɲ́ɲ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ kjɔ́; ɲ́ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k ɲ́ɲ́k, ko ŋ́ kjɔ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɔ́, ŋ́ kjɔ́k. Dɔ́k ɔ́ ko: ɲ́, ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k kjɔ́ kj ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́? Ko: ɔ́, ɲ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́! Kjɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́kjɔ́ ɔ́kjɔ́; ko ŋ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́, ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́ kjɔ́ŋ́, ɔ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́k ɲ́, ɔ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́.

A kjɔ́ Dɔ́k, ko ɲ́ ko (kjɔ́) ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́; ko ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ŋ́, kjɔ́: kjɔ́k! Ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́, ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́; ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́k, ko ɔ́ ko: ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́k ɲ́ɲ́! Ko Ñikaŋ́ ko: ɔ́, ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́, ɲ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́k ɲ́ɲ́! Ko kjɔ́ kjɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ɲ́, ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́ŋ́ kjɔ́: kjɔ́k! Ko ɔ́ kjɔ́ (ɔ́ kjɔ́) ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́ŋ́, ko kjɔ́k ɲ́ɲ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́. Ko jɔ́l ɲ́ɲ́ ɲ́ɲ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ ko: kjɔ́, Dɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, kjɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́k, ɲ́ ko ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́. Ko kjɔ́ŋ́ ɲ́ɲ́k ɲ́ɲ́, ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́ kjɔ́, ɔ́ ɲ́ɲ́o ɲ́ɲ́o, ɔ́ kjɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́k.

A certain man whose name was Ochole (that is "Shilluk"[2]) was a slave of Nyikang. When one day he accompanied Nyikang to the river, he became a fish and he lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!"[2] Nyikang did not know what to do; he went home, made a fish-spear (a harpoon), and tied a fish-line 539* 773

[1] Vide page 159.
[2] a much used exclamation of surprise.

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*539 to its end. He went to the river again, the fish lifted his head above the water, saying, "Ioh!" Then Nyikang stabbed the fish, but he missed him; — this man was a jerk.[1] He once more lifted his head out, and Nyikang tried to stab him, but again missed him. At last Nyikang was tired, and he went home. When he came home, he found this same man gathering cow dung.

The next day Nyikang returned to the river bank; this man also returned; he lifted up his head out of the water, crying, "Ioh!" Nyikang stabbed him, but he missed him, so he went on till the afternoon, then Nyikang went home. He called Dak, saying, "Dak, son of man, there is a big fish in the river. I have failed to catch it, I tried to stab it, but I failed." Dak replied, "Well, what fish can there be in that small river?" Nyikang said, "Well, you just go and see it, it is a fish with a very strong voice. I stabbed it, but I always missed it. I do not know what to do with it, son of man."

Dak went, he went to the river. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Ioh!" He stabbed it, but missed it. He came home, saying, "I do not know how to stab it!" But Nyikang replied, "Oh, my cousin, you have not yet tried properly." Dak made his spear handle straight, and went again. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Ioh!" In this moment Dak threw the spear at the place where the splashing of the water was, and the spear fell on the fish (hit it). Then the man (the fish) arose, and said, "Ah, Dak, your talk is bad, you are a cunning one!" He (the fish-man) went home, he became a subject (of Nyikang), he (Nyikang) built him a village, and called its name Abongo, he built it beside the brook Dak.

39. Nyikang and the Sorcerers.

*539 *Nikaa ka e ongang, ka e kajig fiyo ongang, ka e ka: ŋ, wa kiliŋ kiŋ? Ji kjiŋ, gi ajwijo, ka Nikaa a ŋiŋ, ka e ka: kjiŋ, y ji ŋiŋ ŋiŋ? Ko: ŋ! Ko e kjyy yjowo, ka Nikaa kjyy ŋiŋiŋ, ka yee ciwo, ka ji gwi kjiwo, ka yy wokjd. Ko yy kjiŋ yeeh, ka yy yjiyo yiŋ ŋiŋ (yyo).*

Ajiy yo kwo ŋiŋiŋ, yjy Twajjo. Ko wiki ŋiwi, ŋe wow, ongiyi.

*539 When Nyikang was capturing (men), he went to a certain country, and he said, "Ah, what shall we say?" Because these people were witch-doctors, and Nyikang got into difficulties (trying to capture them). Again he said, "Why, what shall I do with these people? Ah, I have found out!" And he turned into a wind, and then he turned into a cloud-shadow, and covered the earth (so that it was dark and the wizards could not see anything); so he caught them. He brought them, and built them a village.

These are the descendants of the woman, they live at Twolang. Nyikang gave them a cow, a cow of the river, an ongang.

[1] *jerk* — "Dad".

60. A War against Turtles.

Ŋiɛ wɔŋɔ́ ɔbwɔ́ɔ́ Mɔ́i, ɔmɔ́ɔ́ Ñikɔ́ɔ́. Ko ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ; ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ wɔŋɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ wɔŋɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ko ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́. 539*

*Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ wɔŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ko Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́. Ko ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Cho ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́; ko ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. A ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́; ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ (ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́), ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Kɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. A ɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́? E ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! A ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́. Ko Dɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́! Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́

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* 539
773

went; it came to fighting during the night, the air was full of fireflies. It was the country of the fireflies. They fell upon the men, and the men died. When Dak fought against those people, he told his warriors, "Make green torches!" They made green torches; when the army came near the village and set down there, the fireflies came; Dak said, "Light the torches!" They set fire to the torches, and when the fireflies came, Dak had the green torches thrown at them; thus the enemy was destroyed by Dak, he caught them all.

When the people (the warriors) came home, Moi, the brother of Nyikang, said, "Dak, take the royal cloth (become our king)! You are a man of many thoughts, you know all a[illegible]ers!" Dak took the cloth, and he ruled.

He raised an army to wage war against a certain tribe, he destroyed them, and they became his slaves.

While Dak was absent, a house was built (by Nyikang and Moi); and when he returned, Nyikang told him, "Dak, we have been building a house (for you) during your absence, but there are not sufficient poles." Dak replied, "But what does that matter? I shall build my house with *nabag* poles." So it became a custom for the people to build with *nabag* poles.

61. Praising Nyikang.

* 539

Ko tuthyr ko e chwyn, ko thi ko typh, ko e lapk, ko e kpy. Ko ko ochyl. A kpo tyry, o wajo dyk, o kpl dyk, o gpr pat. A wang gpry, o chip jk kirl, mych chip Moyang, mych chip Thi.

Our grandfather,[1] he reared, and he surrounded the enemies on all sides, and he went, and fought. He killed the enemies; then the (Shilluk) people came, they caught the cattle (of the enemy), they brought the cattle. They built houses in the country; when they had finished building, he appointed watchmen (men who had to watch the boundaries of the Shilluk country against their enemies), some on the northern boundary at Mwomo, and some on the southern boundary at Tonga.

[1] i. e. Nyikang.

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VIII. PRAYERS AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

62. A Prayer to God.

Wiłił yin, yiwo jwoh, ły gy łwiłłł yin łj wwr. A łłr jł łjłł ełłł. Łjn. Ko 539*
ełłłj łj łjłł łłw, ełłłjł ri, a ełłwj łj wwj, ełłwł ri. Łłj gj ełłłł yin łj gin ełwn a
wj wełłł jł, łj yił a wj wełj, łj wił a łłwł yin. Łłwł ow jłłłł wełj, yiwo jwoh; yiwo
łjł łww Nłłłłwj; jwwj wwrw a ełłłj łj jwoh; yiwo łjł łwwł, łj ełłwł Dłł. A yłjgy
rywł, rywł fo wełjł yin? Nwwł ł ełłjwj jwwł jłłłł, jłł łł, rywj fo łwjj yi; yiwo
jwoh, łły gj wj łłwwj wełw? Fwjr yin, yiwo jwoh, łj gow yjłł Nłłłłł, łj ełłwł Dłł?
Łły wił fo wwjgi ełłj? Fwwj yin y łłłł wełł.

Ełłjj, łł jłwł ełwwjy, łł wełł łwełłł, łw łłł rw łwwr a rw łw jwoh, łj gł wwjw ry.
Ko yłj jłłłł wjł, łwwy łyłłj, łw łłłr yłłł wjł, łw yłł łwłwłwłw; fo łjł yi jł. Ko
ełwełł wełłłjł, łw łjyr fwł, wwjł jwoh.

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people 539*
kept by thee all days? And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I 782
walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray 755
for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thee: If she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who lifest up (the sick)."

That is all; and the cow is spared; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("is w'th God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off, (it is cut into strips, these are tied together and the whole) is tied round the leg (of the sick one). And the right foreleg (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste of it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground: it is the thing (property) of God.[1]

63. A Prayer for Rain and the Ceremonies connected with it.

Tyył a wjn ej łłwł, łw yj łłn łłn łłn, łłłn łł yjp łj łłłjł, łw yj łłwg, łw 539*
rłj a włr, łw yj wwyng, łw yj ywłł łj łwr łwłrg, łj łwr łłłg, łj łwr łwr, łj
ełłłp. Ko rłwn yj ywjł, łw yj ełłłł, łw łyył a yłł, łw jłwł łłł, łw jłwł ełwełj,

[1] This is said to be the only prayer to jwok. It is prayed on any occasion when a trial, as sickness, famine, war, falls on the people. The prayer is said by "old people", by the chief, or some other respected person of the village. The Shilluks were taught it by Nyikang.

*539 [illegible]

The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for seed, then they
*539 come and hammer the temple of the "king", they prepare the seed, and make
782 stripes on the temple with red ochre, and with black ochre, and with white
796 ochre, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance.
After this dance is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring
out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people
dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing)
they pray to the "king"[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has
been spoiled by the people; Loupdaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our
grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyikwai, to Akolo, the children of
Nyikango."[3]

64. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten,
they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[1] it was a
very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground,
then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house
of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought
out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the
spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank.
They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that
they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to
dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the
789 people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!"
233 He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear,
and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are
milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!". They take
the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The
sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Dare", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

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bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a stick is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the sacbach beans are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (or the family, the clan of the sorcerer).

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are milked, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

62. Preparation for War.

Lete kpe i ehkpi, ejowpy ej de dwoti, bei ffiñ gyin, ke e kpwy, ke ehpñ gwoteh, ke tpñ gwoteh, ke gwi kpwy, bei ehkpi kpi. Ke tpñ ewlo gwin, ke tpñ ehkpñ ewlo gwin; ke ehkpñ tmbiñi ej. Ke gwi e kpwy, ke kpin yñ ehkpi; ehpin ye mwil, e tmwjy bwejñ tpñ. Nbwj mwil yñ ehkpñ, ke ej ehkp ewlo, ke ñdwe e ej ewoh ej ehkp ewlo. Ke jñ ehkpy bj dfpñ. Ke tin, ke gwi bfjñ: fpke fin. Ke ewmpñ bwlin, ke tkpñ fin, ke pyjy bfñ, ke ewjy mjñ, ke ewlo bfñ ewjñ, ke ej ñpñ kpin jñ. Ke wioh ewmpñ ke kwin yñ ejowfpñ, ke ej ñpñ fkp gwi ke ewm gbñ. U[1] yñ wioho ewmpñ y ehjwy kwnin fwp gwi, ke yñ kpwy: fwp gwi de ehpñ, bwej' ejowfpy. U yñ wioho ewmpñ y ehjwi kwn ewñ kin, yñ kpwy: kwn ewoh! Ke ejowfpy e ffñ bfñ, ke gwoh bfñ, ke ñfñ, ke ewjky ehñki bfñ, ke ejowfpy kwfin, ke ....,[1] ewjky bfñ, ke wjñ, ke ewjky ehñki (ehpñ) ewjñ. Bf kp yñ ejowpñ gwi, ke e ke: dfpe! Dwoñ ffpy kpwy! Ke ffpy kpwy. Ke ewñ kwbwñ, ke py ffñ ej ffpy. Ke e kwfin. Ke wioh ewpwpñ ke y kwbwñ fwn. Ke yñ ffñ, bei yñ ffñ ej ffpy.

539[6]

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are bestowed (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (said given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the

539[6] 721 787

[1] K.

[*] 537 [721] 787 country, it is said: 'The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;' that is the talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own army, they say, 'It is a bad war!' In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery over cows, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again; then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now), he says, 'All right! let all the people come!' The people come, the contents of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated. [722] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes [*] 538 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that 723 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to homes them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; these amends consist in a number of cattle.

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IX. STORIES ABOUT SORCERERS.

67. The Cruel King.

Ko ŋɛ̃ wɔ́ŋ̀ Ñwɔ-Bɔ́ɔ, ko ɔ́ jɔ́ŋ, ɛ́ɲɛ́, ɔ wɔ́ŋ́ ɲɛ́, ɔwɔ́ ɔ́ ɲɔ́ŋ́ ɲɛ́ ɲɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́. 539 K
Ko ɔ ko: ɲɛ́r wɔ́ŋ́! Ko ɲɔ́ (wɔ́ŋ́) ɲɛ́r. Ko ɲɔ́ ɲɔ́ŋ́ ɔ-ɲɛ́, ko ŋɛ̃ ɔ ɲɛ́ɲɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́ ɲɛ́ ɲɔ́ɔ ɔ ɲɔ́ŋ́ wɔ́ŋ́ɲɛ́r. Ko ŋɛ̃ ɲɔ́ ko: ɲɔ́ ɲɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́! Ko Chɔ́ɲ́ ɲɔ́ŋ́. Ko ɔ́ wɔ́ŋ́: Chɔ́ɲ́ ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ! Ko ɔ ɲɛ́.

Ko ŋɛ̃ wɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɲɔ, ɔ́wɔ́ɲɔ́ Ñɔ́ɲ́, ɲɛ́ɲɛ́. Ko ɲɛ́ɲɛ́ ɔ́wɔ́; ko ɔ ɲɔ́ŋ́ ɲɛ́ɲɔ: ɔ́ɲ́ (ɔ́ɲ́) ɔ́wɔ́ ɔ́ wɔ́ŋ́ɲɛ́? Ɲɔ́ɲɔ ko: ɔ́, ɲɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́wɔ́ɲ́! Ko ɲɛ́ɲɛ́ wɔ́ŋ́ɲɛ́.

A certain king called Ñgwo-Bɔ́ɔ, reigned; he was very, very cruel; he killed 173
people, even women he killed. One day he said, "Build a house!" And a house 539 K
was built. When the door of the house was plastered (when it was finished),
he went into it together with a young girl. (Then the door was walled up).[1]
The king said, "Open the door!" But the Shilluks refused. The king began
to sing, but the Shilluks refused; so he died.

And another king was elected, whose name was Nyaio, he was very cruel.
He caused all the chiefs to come, and asked them, "Why did you kill my
cousin?" They replied, "Ah, we do not know." He killed all the chiefs.

68. King Nyadwai trying the Sorcerers.

Ɲɔ́ Ñɔ́ɔwɔ́, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́ɲ́: ɔ ɔ́wɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ ɲɔ́, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɲɔ, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́. 539 K
A ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ ɲɔ́ɔ, ko: ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɲɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɲɔ́ (ɔ́ɔ́) ɲɔ́ɔ.
Ko ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́, ko: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́. Ñɔ́ɔwɔ́ ko: ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́! Ko ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́.
A ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ Ajwɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ Aɲɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɲ́ ko: ɔ́! A ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ Ñɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́ɔ́: ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́! Ko ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́; ko ɔ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ñɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɲɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ñɔ́ɔwɔ́ ko: ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! Ko ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́.

Then Nyadwai was elected, and he reigned. One day he had a hole dug into
the ground, he ordered wood to be put into it, and to set it on fire (and to cover
the whole with earth). Then he ordered beans to be brought and to be cooked.
He assembled all the witch doctors, and asked them, "You children of chiefs, I
do not know what this humming in the earth is!" (meaning the noise caused by
the boiling of the beans). One of the witch doctors came, he listened and then
said, "That is something bewitching (or cursing) the village." Nyadwai replied,
"Sit down there!" Another came listening; he too said, "It is something
bewitching the village." Then came the man (the doctor) of Ajwogo, after him

[1] In this way the Shilluk kings are buried. The king wanted to try his people, whether they were faithful to him.

*539 the man of Ashokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningwa, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Ywdwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, came Dinka man whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

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69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 *539 There was a certain man whose name was Wot Kwa Okot, he was also called Agwanyop, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his sister fell under the dom palm.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agwanyop is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwgè chwgla Agok, mgwj tyè jal yeg. Jal mjèg lìjèè ajwggg, ke ghwè ywgèg, ke ghwè yg tg yi fin. Ke jè ogìa kal, ka jè ke: è, Agòk, ghwè o ìgo. Kjne: e mjèè yi èg? Kjne: bèjè, Chòè jè! Ke jè chòè; ka e ke: èwè, fwjp yin a ywgp ghwè? Kjne: yen! Kjne: bè pwèg? Kjne: yè pèwj yin! Kjne: bè, yi ka pyòòg, wgè ìgow, mjèè lìch! yi ve chòè yi yòòg bè ghè ajwg? Yè fwèe yin ìw, wè bèch. Kjne, è, de wè yen! Kgè, chòè! A chòè bè ghè dèjè.*

Ke jal gwè e bèjè, ka bè gìòe yi ywwèg. Ke jal gwè tìè yi Agòk, kjne: èwè, bgè jal yeg chòwè! Kè è lìjèg, chwgla ggn a lìjè. Ke mwgè ka e kgèg, ka gin gwè yweda yi fwwèg. Gg gòl fin, ka bìa pach. Ka e bòòg kine: gìche mjèg e gòl yi fwwèg yi jal yeg. E ke: dìpòòè pyòji yèn? Yi cha bìpg bìpè kjne: bgè, jal yeg a yip ywwèg! Kjne: bgè! Kjne: yi ve bòè? Kjne: chwgla ga lìke yen! Kjne: è, chòè tjrè! A chòè tjrè, a pèchè kjne: jal yèè, yin mjèa èg jè? A tygè

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[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the humming.

[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They are called here "*ja yeg*" "men of medicine", as opposed to the *ajwjgo*, who is supposed to work for good.

[3] vide Introduction.

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There was a *jwok*[1] who was called Agok; he was manifested by a certain wizard. 537*
A certain man was a wizard. He bewitched cows, so that the cows fell down. And the people ran to the house (of Agok) saying, "Ah, Agok, a cow has died." He asked, "By whom has it been killed?" The man said, "I do not know." Agok ordered, "Assemble the people." And the people assembled. Agok asked (the wizard), "Man, is it not you who bewitch the cattle?" The wizard answered, "Yes, it is I". Agok asked, "Why?" The wizard replied, "Because I want to try you (whether you are able to find out who did it)." Agok said, Ha, you are a cursed one! You cursed black-eyed one! Why are you always bewitching the cattle of the people?" He answered, "Only to try you whether you really are strong." Agok said, "Well, we have met. Now go and make amends!" He made amends with three cows.

Then the man went away and planted (a charm) in a field. The proprietor of the field was (while sleeping) awakened by Agok[2] with the words, "Man, go, there is a wizard in your field." But the man did not go, he thought he was dreaming. The next morning, when he went to the field, he found the charm which the wizard had put into the earth. He came home saying, "Something has been planted into my field by a wizard." Agok said to him, "Why do you ask me about this matter? I have told you already saying, 'Go, the wizard has planted a charm into your field. Therefore go?' Why did you refuse?" He replied, "I thought I was only dreaming." Agok gave order, "Assemble the people!" When all the people were assembled, Agok asked, "You wizard, why have you (tried to) kill people? you are going to kill the whole village" („you surround the village with killing"). He answered, "It is not I." But Agok replied, "You cursed one, I will surely kill you!" And he killed him. When the witch doctors saw that, they all repented, and they were much afraid. Then the people scattered.

And Agok was called king by the people. The people listened to his words (were obedient to him). They used to say, "If any man becomes sick, he goes to Agok, that he may be helped." He gives him (that is, the one who wants help gives to Agok) cattle, two cows, one cow is speared (sacrificed), and one he keeps alive, it becomes the cow of *jwok*. [755]

[1] "god". [2] It is not meant that Agok went to wake him, but he wakened him in a vision.

X. CREATION.

71. The Creation of Man.

Qwoi fang ednij[1] o mujlii lipij. Wijq fang jwajl. Wi mujlii jwajl gen dingdin, mujn ŋ lipij, mun gi mdijij, mujn ŋ nin, o ŋlab. Kpo lipo jwajl, o mdij mujn ŋ nin, mujn o lipij, mj bim. A bilij jwajl lipo: pij bim? Kipo: bijqin.[2] A bilij jwajl lipo: ŋ mdii gen ill bimo yen? Yen mdiri mujn ŋ nin, ŋqwi ŋ lipij, o jiiri mujn ŋ nin. A ŋlji mujn, gen mujn ŋ lipij. A bilij jwajl: pij (yiij) bijl? Kipo: ŋ, ŋbidini ini bijlo gim. A mdii mmij lwimij, o mdii mmrh lwimij, o mdii pijji, o mdii jwen lipo, o mdiri pi jwajl. A jlli ŋqwi o lipij pi ŋbwoin ennn.

The cow in our grandmother, she bore a gourd. Our father is God. We were two of us born by God, (a black one and a white one). The black one was beloved by his mother; but the white one was hated. When God came, she showed him the white one, but the black one she hid. God asked, "Why do you hide him?" She said, "For nothing." Then God said, "Well, do but hide him, I like the white one." The black people shall be ruled by the white people. On that she brought the black one out too. God asked, "Why do you bring him out?" She said: "Oh, I just brought him out (without any special reason)."

To the white one were given the book, and the gun, and the sword, and all kinds of goods, he is loved by God. So now the black people are governed by the white.[3]

71 a. On Totemism.

Wuij lij ŋpiii lij Dipi liii lij yey lipij, gin o ebwijl. Ko Dipi bin pwoh, ko wwij kgin fijl, ko ŋpwii o fijri, ko o mujlii mjin yi Dipi. A lipo Abwqo lij rui Dwojl, o lipo fiip Chjl, o ŋpi ji rij. Ko ŋipo wqo, ko mijlij kgij Fwiilwii Odwrijq, o dijlii lij Fwiid ewi, fwij dijlii mjin. Kwi fo Jwaah, wqi Nilil, ko lipo fiip Chjl, ewo o ewqm Atpii, o mj rij, gwo Adefilij ennn.

Wwij lij ŋpiii wqi wqo, fo ellim yi mjin lijfo dwilij.

The ostrich and the crow and *Dipi*[1] were split[2] out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. *Dipi* went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by *Dipi*. *Abwqo* (the son of *Dipi*) came in the time of *Dwojl* (a brother of *Nilil*), he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many, some went to *Fwiilii Odwrijq*, but some remained at *Fwiidwei*.

Remarks see on page 179.

Then we separated from each other. Our grandfather was *Juwai*, a son of *Rabi*, 531
he came into the Shilluk country; it is he who created *Jalo*. He was king 773
Thus is the beginning of (the village of) *Ashi'ily*. — The cattle, and the cows
are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the family-taboos.

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* *ashiji* "our grandmother". Here, as in sometimes the case, the possessive of the third person plur. has the meaning of the first person pl.
* Thus is *ashi'ily*, *ily*, a totem.
* With the exception of the 3-4 centuries this report is correct. Instead it refers to white and black men.
* There there are the "totemic" not of the whole Shilluk people, but only of the sons *Fadiam*, which from at the mouth of the Sobat. Each other has its own "totemic", which generally are animals.
* This means, the cow (see page 178) brought forth a gourd, the gourd split, that out of it came forth the cattle, etc.

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XI. ANIMAL STORIES.

72. Hare and Hyena.

*631 *Afoaja ɛ' wɔ̀ŋ̀ bí jwɔ̀k. ɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ bí gɛ́ gɔ́ŋ, jwɔ̀k ɔ́ wɔ́nɔ́, bɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀*
Hare he travels with *jwɔ̀k*,'' he says in another town, *jwɔ̀k* he sleeps, and hare
ɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ mɔ̀l. Ká ɓɔ̀ ɓɔ̀nɔ́, gɛ́ gɔ́: afoaja ko: ɓɔ̀nɔ́ mɔ̀l, kɔ̀
he sleeps upright. And people come, they say; hare says: rise up, war
ɔ́ ɓɔ̀. Jwɔ̀k ɔ́ bɔ́ bɔ́nɔ́: ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ gɔ́m. Ká ɓɔ́ ɔ́ ɓɔ̀nɔ́, bɔ́nɔ́ mɔ̀k
has come. *Jwɔ̀k* he says thus: stay just. And war it comes, begins to seize
afoaja bí jwɔ̀k. Jwɔ̀k ɔ́ ko: afoaja, mɔ̀k ɛ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀,' bɔ́ ɛ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ mɔ̀ŋ̀, bɔ́
hare and *jwɔ̀k*. *Jwɔ̀k* says: hare, seize foot my, and foot his seized, and
jwɔ̀k ɔ́ wɔ́nɔ́. Ká ɓɔ́ ɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, bɔ́ jwɔ̀k ɔ́ ko: afoaja, ɓɔ̀ŋ̀! Ká afoaja
jwɔ̀k he disappears. And war it goes, and *jwɔ̀k* says: hare, go! And hare
ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, afoaja ɓɔ̀ŋ̀' gɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, ko: ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀! kɔ́nɔ: ɛ́? kɔ́nɔ: wɔ́ fɔ́ wɔ̀ŋ̀?'
goes, hare went to hyena, says: hyena! thus: eh? thus: we feet shall travel?
ɔ́ ko: ɔ́nɔ́! Ká gɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀. Ká gɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀' gɔ́ gɔ̀ŋ̀, bɔ́ ɓɔ́ ɔ́ ɓɔ̀nɔ́,
he says: yes! And they go. And they went below tree, and war it comes,
afoaja ɔ́ wɔ́nɔ́, ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ mɔ̀l, ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ ɔ́ ko: afoaja, ɓɔ́ ɔ́ bɔ́! ɔ́ ko:
hare he sleeps, hyena stays up, hyena he says: hare, war he come! he says:
ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ gɔ́m! Ká ɓɔ́ ɔ́ wɔ́nɔ́, afoaja ko: mɔ̀k ɛ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀! ko afoaja
stay just! And war he approaches, hare says: seize my feet, and hare
wɔ́ gɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ wɔ̀ŋ̀ fɔ́ɔ; fɔ́ɔ ɔ́ɓ, ko afoaja rɔ́ɔ, bɔ́
continually struck his head ground; ground was hard, and hare ran, and
ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ mɔ̀k, ko ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, ko ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ bí ɔ́ɓɔ̀k. Ká
hyena was caught, and hyena was beaten, and was beaten thoroughly. And
mɔ̀, ko wɔ́bɔ́ ɓɔ́nɔ́ bí wɔ̀ŋ̀. Ká afoaja ɓɔ́nɔ́, kɔ́nɔ:' ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀!' kɔ́nɔ:
got free, and was given cow and bull. And hare comes, thus: hare! thus:
ɛ́? kɔ́nɔ: jwɔ̀k ɔ́ bɔ́ nɔ́yɔ; kɔ́nɔ ɛ́? kɔ́nɔ: wɔ́bɔ́ ɓɔ́n wɔ̀ŋ̀. É bɔ́:
eh? thus: *jwɔ̀k* he says thus; thus: eh? thus: give me ox. He says:
bɔ́(ɓɔ́)? kɔ́nɔ: gɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́n. Ká wɔ́ɓɔ́ wɔ́bɔ́; bɔ́ gɔ́ bɔ́ɓɔ́. Ká gɔ́
why? thus: I was beaten too. And ox gave; and they go. And they
bɔ́nɔ́ lɔ̀ɓɔ́, nɔ́n ɔ́ɓɔ́ ɓɔ́nɔ́; ko afoaja ɓɔ́ɓɔ́ lɔ̀ɓɔ́, afoaja ɔ́
bring calabashes, which milk cow; and hare brought cal. his, hare he
ko: ɓɔ́nɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀. Ká lɔ̀ɓɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, bɔ́ gɔ̀ ɓɔ́ɔ́, ko lɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ̀ŋ̀,
says: I it, milks. And cal. his brings he, and it pierces he, and cal. brings he,
ko lɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀ ɔ́ɓɔ́p mɔ̀l, ko lɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ afoaja ɔ́ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ́n fɔ́ɔ, bɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ́
and cal. of hyena was put above, and cal. of hare was below, and continu-
ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀, bɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ́k ɔ́ɓɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ fɔ́ɔ, yɔ́ɔ́k lɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ afoaja, ko lɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɓɔ̀ŋ̀
ally milked and milk cont. went below, middle of cal. of hare, cal. of hyena

Remarks referring to XI. vide on page 198.

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ní ɗàù yí ɗàù. Ɔkɔ́ chàwó[9] *yí ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ, ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ní ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ chàù. Ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ*
filled with foam. Foam was eaten by hyena, hare drank milk. Hare

chàù. Ka ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ko: ɔ́ŋ́ wà ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́! ko ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ
because fat. Hare he said: kill we cattle, cattle was killed, hyena

ɔ́ ko: ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ɗàù?
he said: who will milk?

Ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ko: ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́! kíŋwɔ́: ɗàù́k! Ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ko: ɔ́ ɗíŋ́. ɗàù́, ko ɗàù́
Hare he says: I! thus: alright! Hare says: if comes from, thus cow

ɔ́ ɗàù́; ɗàù́ ɗàù́ŋ́ŋ́, ɗàù́ ní́ŋ́; ko chàù ní ɗàù́ yí
he let down the milk; foam not, cow not yet; and milk was cooked by

ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɗíŋ́, ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ chàù́ŋ́ ní́ŋ́. Chàù ɗàù́ŋ́ŋ́, ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ní́ ní́ŋ́ yí ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ.
hare all, hare his liver sweet. Milk not which was drunk by hyena.

ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɗàù́ŋ́. Ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ ɗíŋ́ŋ́, ko: yí ní́ ɗàù́ yíní?[10] *Ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ko:*
hyena was thin. Foam he comes, says: you why thin you? Hyena says:

chàù ní́ ní́ŋ́ yí ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɗíŋ́. Ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ ko: kàù́ŋ́ wàù́ŋ́ ɗàù́ŋ́, ní́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ!
milk is drunk by hyena all. Foam says: take rope now, seize hare!

wàù́ŋ́ ɗíŋ́! kí́ ní́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ, ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ chà ɗàù́, kí́ ɗíŋ́,
rope was brought and seized hare, hare wanted release, and was released,

ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ɗíŋ́, ko ɗàù́ chàù́ŋ́ ɔ́ wàù́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɗíŋ́,
and hyena he came and foam wanted to disappear, and hare was tugged,

ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ɗíŋ́ŋ́. kíŋwɔ́: ɗíŋ́k![10] *yí ní́ ní́ŋ́ yíní kíŋ́ chàù́?*
and hare let, thus: ɗíŋ́k! I why kills he me because of milk?

ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ní́ ɗàù́ŋ́. Ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́[11] *ko: yí́ kí́ ɗíŋ́ ɗàù́. Kí́ ɔ́ ɗíŋ́ŋ́.*
hyena was silent. To-morrow said: I go for herding. And he goes.

Ka ɗíŋ́ŋ́ ɗàù́ chàù́ŋ́ŋ́[12] *ɔ́ŋ́ ɗíŋ́ ɗíŋ́. Ka*[1] *ɔ́ ríŋ́ŋ́ yíŋ́.*
Horns of cow is formed by him with mud. And he ran to him,

ko: ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ! kíŋwɔ́: ɗíŋ́ ní́ ɗàù́ŋ́, ɗàù́ ɔ́ chàù́. Ka ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́
says: hyena! thus: spear waterbuck in front, cow is behind. And hyena he

ɗíŋ́, ko ɗàù́ ɗíŋ́ ɗíŋ́ ɔ́ ko: ɗíŋ́k! Yí́ ko: ɗíŋ́ ní́
came, and cow speared, and (hare) says: ɗíŋ́k! I said: spear waterbuck

came, and cow speared, and (hare) says: ɗíŋ́k! I said: spear waterbuck

ɔ́ chàù́, wà chàù́ ɗàù́ ɗíŋ́ ɗàù́, ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, yu[13] *chàù́ ŋíŋ́? Ka yí ko:*
behind, you do what with cow, killed you, you eat what? And he said:

kíŋ́ ɗíní́ màù́k! Kíŋwɔ́: màù́ ɗíŋ́ŋ́? Kí́ ɔ́ ko: ɔ́ chàù́. Ka ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́
go fetch fire! Thus: fire where? And he says: it is yonder. And hyena he

kíŋ́ŋ́, ko màù́k yíní́ɗíŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ ɗíŋ́k, ko ríŋ́ŋ́ yíní́ɗíŋ́ŋ́ ŋí
goes, and fire found he it was not, and he returned, and meat finds he it

kíŋ́ yí ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ́; ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ ko: yí ní́ ɗíŋ́k? ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ ɔ́ ko:
was carried by hare; and hare he says: you why return? Hyena he says:

màù́k ɗíŋ́ŋ́; kíŋwɔ́: ɗàù́ ɔ́ kíŋ́ yí ɗíŋ́ŋ́; ko wàù́ kíní́ ɗíní́; kí́
fire is not; thus: cow was carried by ɗíŋ́ŋ́; and head was buried ground; and

ɔ́ ko: kíŋ́ mɔ́ŋ́ mɔ́ ní́ŋ́k! Ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ́ mɔ́ ɔ́ kíní́ yí ɗíŋ́, ko ɔ́ŋwɔ́ŋ́ mɔ́ yíŋ́k
he says: pull which his out! Hare his was dug by him, and hyena his was

*539 *matḏk, ka afoajǫ mę kǫl wǫk, ka oṭwǫŋ mę á ḏàḷ̃, ka oṭwǫŋ kátá*[14]
hard, and hare his pulled out, and hyena his was difficult, and hyena went

gǫ́ḷ̃, ka afoajǫ kátá gǫ́ḷ̃, ka oṭwǫŋ wora wṵ̃dę́, kine: kę̱ṭ, dwai
home his, hare went home his, hyena sent son his, thus: go, bring

mach gǫl afoajǫ. Ka ńa ńęl ʃę̄ŋ e bę̄nǫ, eko: yá kwàtjá mach, ka afoajǫ
fire home of hare. And the little child comes, says: I beg fire, hare

ko: bi dwani; ka afoajǫ eko: yí kę́ ḷḷṭ màl, jiʃę̄ṭǫ ṵ́ dḕm
says: come, get; and hare says: you not look upward, pepper will fall

wańi, ka ńa ńęl ʃę̄ŋ ḷḷdá mal, ka kę̱ṭi yi wíyę́; e ko:
your eye, and little child looked upwards, and went to his father; he says:

riiǫ gir kí wǫt afoajǫ. Ka oṭwǫŋ é kǫ́pà loṭ ka wṵ̃dę e kǫpa loṭ.
meat much in house of hare. And hyena he took club and his son took club.

Ka gę bę̄nǫ, ka afoajǫ kę̱dǫ ṭá pyèṇ̀, ka kǫfa wṵ̃dę ko: pwóti
And they come, and hare goes under skin, and told his son, said: beat

yán! Ka é ywèṅ, e ko: faṭ kí yan kę̱ṭá; wak oṭwǫŋ. Ka oṭwǫŋ é
me! And he cried, he said: not with me alone me; also hyena. And hyena he

rṅ́, rṅa pṵ̃l, ka oṭwǫŋ ye bwǫ̀gǫ̀, afoajǫ chwńę mę̀dǫ̀.
ran, ran bush, and hyena he fears, hare his liver sweet.

The hare travelled with jwok. They rested under a tree; jwok was sleeping, and the hare remained awake. Then many people came and the hare said, "Arise! a war (an army) has come." "But", said jwok, "never mind." And the war came and was going to seize the hare and jwok. Then jwok said: "Hare, seize my feet!" He seized his feet, and suddenly jwok and the hare disappeared. The war passed by, and jwok said, "Hare, go!" The hare went; he went to a hyena and said to her, "Hyena!" "Eh!" said the hyena. "Shall we not travel together?" asked the hare. "Surely," replied the hyena. And they went. They went under a tree, and a war came; the hare was asleep, but the hyena was awake. "Hare", the hyena said, "war has come". "Never mind", replied the hare. When the war came, the hare said to the hyena, "Seize my feet!" The hare beat his head on the ground (wanting to disappear as jwok had done), but the ground was hard. The hare, seeing this, ran away, but the hyena was caught and was beaten pitifully. At last he got free; and they gave him a cow and a bull. Then the hare came, saying, "Hyena!" "Eh!" he replied. Said the hare, "Jwok has said thus". . . . . "Eh!" replied the hyena. The hare went on, "You must give me the bull." "Why?" said the hyena. "Because", replied the hare, "I also was beaten." He gave him the bull, and they went their way. Then they brought calabashes, such as are used for milking cows. The hare brought his calabash and said, "I will milk." And he brought another calabash (the hyena's), and pierced it, and he placed the hyena's calabash above, so that his own was below. When he milked, the milk ran down into his own calabash, and the

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calabash of the hyena became full of foam. The foam was eaten by the hyena, and the hare drank the milk. So the hare became fat. One day he said to the hyena, "Let us kill the calf!" And the calf was butchered. Then the hyena said, "Who shall suck now?" "I," answered the hare. "All right," said the hyena. "When the foam comes," replied the hare, "the cow has let down the milk; as long as there is no foam, it has not." (When the natives want to milk a cow, they let the calf suck the udder first, as without this the cow will not let down her milk. The hare wants to take the place of the calf, so that he may suck all the milk, leaving to the hyena only the small quantity of foam which comes out when the milk is finished.) So the hare sucked all the milk and was much pleased. But there was no milk left for the hyena, and he became thin. One day, jwok came and said, "Why are you so thin?" "The hare always drinks all the milk," said the hyena. Jwok said, "Take a rope and bind the hare." A rope was brought, and he bound the hare. The hare struggled to release himself, and he succeeded (but the loose rope was still round his neck. He ran to the cow and began sucking again). Then the hyena came, and when the foam was disappearing, he pulled the hare away by force, so that the hare fell on his back. "Oho," he said, "on account of a little milk he is going to kill me?" The hyena remained silent. The next morning, the hare said, "I am going to herd the cow." So he went. He formed cow-horns of mud (and placed them in the grass, so that they looked like the horns of a living cow). Then he ran to the hyena and said (pointing to the real cow), "Hyena, spear the waterbuck there in front! the cow is behind!" The hyena came and speared the cow; then said the hare, "Oho! (what have you done)! Did I not tell you to spear the waterbuck behind? What have you done with the cow? You have killed it! What will you eat now?" Then he said, "Go and fetch fire (that we may cook the meat)." "Where is fire?" asked the hyena. "Over there," answered the hare. The hyena went, but he saw there was no fire, so he returned. He saw that meanwhile all the meat had been carried away by the hare. "Why do you come back?" said the hare. "Because there is no fire," answered the hyena. Said the hare: "The meat has been carried away by jwok; but the head he has buried in the ground (as our portion)." And he said: "Let each pull out his part!" The hare pulled his part out, but the hyena's part was hard (would not come out). The hare got his part, but the hyena did not succeed in pulling his out. So he went home; the hare, too, went home. After some time, the hyena sent his son to the hare saying, "Go and bring fire from the home of the hare." The little child came and said, "Please give me fire!" The hare said, "Come and get it. But do not look up, lest pepper fall into your eye" (this was to prevent the child from seeing the meat of the cow which he had stolen and

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brought home). The child looked upward and saw the meat. Then he went home to his father and said, "There is plenty of meat in the house of the hare." When the hyena heard that, he took a club and said to his child, "Take also a club!" When they came, the hare went under his sleeping-skin and said to his son, "Beat me!" And he cried, "It was not I alone, the hyena too!"[15] When the hyena heard that, he ran away into the bush. The hyena was much afraid; the hare was very pleased.

73. The Monkey and the Lion.

Aywóm yà fǫl; ká ńù é bǭnǫ́ ki yiǫ bǫ́ mǫ́ǫ́ ki pi, ka fǭǫ́ǫ yey bur. Ka lǫi bǭnǫ bǭ mǫ́ǫ́ ki pi; ká ńù yót ki pén ki yéy bùr, ka lǫi ǫ́ rṅ́. Ka aywom bǭnǫ, ká ńù ǭ̀ǫ́ ǫ́n, ka ǫ rṅ́. Ka ńu ko: kǭ́ǫ́ló wǭk! aywom ko: yí dúǫ́ṅ́! e ko: ǫ́, ya ɣ (yǫ ɣ) kǭl wǭk i[16] yín. E ko: kǭl yiébi, ɣ[17] mákè yán tin, ká yí pǭr mǭl, ka ya pǭrǫ mǭl bǭ́ńi, ká wá bǭ wǭk. E kǫ dô (dǫ yi ɣ) chǭ́mí yan! E ko: ǫ́, yí fǭ́ chǭ́mè yán, yín wotǫ[18] di chǭn, yi fa chǭ́mè yán. Ka aywom yiǫbǫ kiǭe pén, ká mák yí ńù; ka aywom pǭra mǭl, ka gǫ bia wǭk. Ká ńù e ko: yá dá kǫch. E ko: bútè[19] chań ádǭ̀k, ya nǭtí chǭm. E ko: yí kámá chǭmi yán, gík aywom. E ko: ńǫ́; kine: wá kǭ́ǫ́ǫ yi ógwǭk, ogwǭk jǭ́nǫ duǫ́ṅ́. Ka aywom e ko: ógwǭ́gí![20] Ye kudǭ,[21] é chwǫtǫ: ógwǭ́gí! Kine: ha! Kine: bi! Kine: ǭ́ńǫ́? Kine: bi! wa da kwǫ́p! Kine: ǭ́ gin ǭ́ńǫ́? Aywom ko: ńù kǭ́ǫ́ló wǭk, ka a kǭ́ǫ́ló wǭk, dǭ́ chǫ (= chaka) chǭ́me yán, dǭ́ bǭ́d ǭ́dì ànàn? Ogwǭk e ko: ǫ́, fǭ́ dúǫ́ṅ́? Kwǫ́ch wa jwǭ́k ànàn ǭ́ chǭm. Ka ogwǭk chǭ́ǭ́ǭ́ mǭl, ki aywom ki ńu, kǭ́ ogwǭk é lǭ́mǭ́, kwaché jwǭk, nǭ́ná mǭl. Ka ogwǭk e ko: yina jwǭk, ǭ́ńí ki kwǭ́fd, fa yín a chwǫ́ch ńù é duǫ́ṅ́ kifa ɣ chǭm wǫn? Kǭ́ ńù chygn dkyǭ́l tǭ́ńa mǭl, chygn dkyǭ́l mtǭ́ǭ́ aywom; ka ógwǭ́k è ko: faǫ́ ki kinau, kwǫpa fa ǭ́ṅ́ yi jwǭk, tǭ́ń chini mǭl bǭ́n, ká ńù ching tǭ́ńe mal. Ka ńekó bǭ̀t aywom, ka ógwǭ́k e lǭ́mǭ, kine: Dǭ́ fyech yín ye rṅ́ǭ́ kǭ́dì; wá jǭ́ǭ́. Aywom kine: yán yá rgǭ́ kine, ka rgǭ́a mǭl wiy yaǭ́. Ógwǭ́k è kò: ǭwǭ́, kfnǭu. Ogwǭ́k rgǭ́a wǫt. Ká ńù è dǭ́ǭ́nǫ kǭ́ǭ́ǭ́. Ńu ko: ka dǭ́ ńǭ́já nau! ogwǭ́k dǭ́ mákè yán kine. Ka aywom mákè yán kine; ka ogwǭ́k chǭ́mè yán ki tyǭl amalǫ, ka dywóm chǭ́mè yán ki chǭn. — A ṭùmǭ́.

The monkey was in the bush. And a lion came to him to drink water; and he fell into the well. Then some animal came to drink water; when it found the lion in the well, it ran away. The monkey came and saw the lion and ran away. The lion said, "Come to me." The monkey came, and the lion said to him, "Pull me out!" The monkey said, "You are heavy." He answered, "No, I want to be pulled out by y o u!" He said again, "Stretch down your tail, that I may seize it at once. Then you jump up, and I will jump after you; so we shall get out." The monkey said, "But then you will eat me!" He answered, "No, I will not eat you, you will live (stay) forever; you will not be eaten by me." So the monkey put his tail down, and it was seized by the lion. The monkey jumped up, and

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the lion too jumped up, and they got out. Now the lion said, "I am hungry; I remained three days without eating anything." The monkey replied, "You are going to eat me!" Talk of the monkey. The lion replied, "Yes". "Let us go to the fox, the fox is a great judge, replied the monkey." (They went, and when they had arrived) the monkey called, "Fox!" He was silent. He called again, "Fox!" He answered, "Ha?" He said, "Come!" The fox said, "What is the matter?" He answered, "We have something (to propound)." The fox asked, "What? The monkey answered, "This lion I pulled out, and when he was pulled out, he wanted to eat me; but how is that now?" The fox said, "Is he not great?"[22] (Then he said,) "Let us pray to God, (and after that) he may eat (you)." And the fox raised his hands up (praying). And the monkey and the lion and the fox, they all prayed; he (the fox) begged God, he looked upwards and said, "O God, hear my words! is it not thou who madest the lion to be big, that he might eat us?" And the lion lifted one paw up, and with one paw he seized the monkey."[23] Then the fox said, "Not so! or my prayer will not be heard by God; lift both your paws up!" The lion lifted both his paws up. And he moved towards the side of the lion. The fox prayed, saying, "We ask thee, how shall he run? (we pray thee, teach the monkey how to run) we do not know it." Then the monkey said, "As for me, I run thus." And he ran away along the top of a tree. The fox said, "Very well, just so!" and he ran home. So the lion as left alone. He said, "If I had but known about that, I would have caught the fox thus, and the monkey I would have caught thus, and the fox I would have eaten first, and after that I would have eaten the monkey." It is finished.

74. The Dog and the Fox.

The dog went into the bush; there he met the fox. And the dog said, "Friend. what are you doing in the bush? Go home (into the village)!" He said, "What shall we do in the village?" The dog said, "My master is accustomed to give one calf (whenever I come to him)." And he went with him. The dog went into the home, the fox remained outside the enclosure. The dog took some food, and he was beaten (by the people) with a club. He cried and ran into the bush. The fox asked him, "Why do you cry?" He answered, "O, I am (only) being educated (that's why I was beaten)." But the fox refused (to live with him), he ran away and ran into the bush, and he remained in the bush.

75. The Hare and the Hyena.

The hare went into the bush to make an ambach-boat. one for spearing fish. He sat down in it, pulled the fish out and roasted them. The hyena came and

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said, "To-day I have found you[24] ("you have been found by me"). " The hare said, "Sit down, taste the food, my (elder) brother!" And he gave him fins of the fish. He asked him, "From where have you brought them?" The hare answered, "I have brought them from the river;" then he said to the hyena, "Put one of your members into this hole (then you will get fish)." The hyena went and put one of his members into the hole, and he was bitten, and he cried. He lay down (being sick from his wound). When he had recovered, he went into the bush and found the hare. He said to him, "I have found you (at last)!" The hare said, "Keep still, keep still!" He climbed a Nabag-tree, and threw Nabag-fruit down; the hyena remained under the Nabag-tree and ate the fruit; the hare went away and left the hyena eating.[25]

76. The Lion and the Fox.

Ñù bɛ̱nò, ye da ŋyɛ́ń, biɛ yi bɔ̱ɔ̱dò, e ko: bɔ̱ɔ̱dó, ţaţ tòńá agàk! ká ógwɔ̱k é bɛ̱nò, ye da ŋyɛ́ń, biɛ yi bɔ̱ɔ̱dò, e ko: tòńá àgàk ţaţ gɛ̱n! Ká bɔ̱ɔ̱dò kò: ńù tòńè nútì yá,[26] ká ógwɔ̱k è kò: ńù fáţè[27] wát bâńá? Kiɛ̱ne: wat báńí kidi? E ko: kudi au, ɥ bɛ̱n ńù ţìn kōpi kiɛ̱ne: ógwɔ̱k è kò: yí fa wat bâńɛ̱? Ká ńù bɛ̱nò, kiɛ̱ne: bɔ̱ɔ̱dó![28] Kiɛ̱ne: gɛ̱ţ tòńa chɔ̱gí, fa ţâţè yín?[29] Kiɛ̱ne: ógwɔ̱k fan ɛ̱n a kɔ̱l tɔ̱ńè, yi ţaţ mɔ̱ţí. Ya kiɛ̱ne: ńù kí wêr? (ógwɔ̱k) kiɛ̱ne: ɛ́, fá wêr, fa wat bâńá? Ká ńù kò: mɔ́k dɔ̱ń? Kiɛ̱ne: ńè. Ñù kò: yá dwai ɛ̱n, ɥ yik kwɔ̱fi (ɛ)ne fa fyɛ̱t, yí châmè chàmò,[30] kɔ́fó bɔ̱ɔ̱dò. Ká bɔ̱ɔ̱dò kò kiɛ̱ne: dɔ̱ch, kɛ̱ţ dwai. Ka ńu kɛ̱dò, ka ogwɔ̄ge yót, ɛ̱ bùdò kí yɔ̄, e ko: chɛ (= chaka) da jwɔ̱k; dɛ̱ é chùdò. Ká ńù ko: yí rè chúdí (chúri)? ńiŋɛ dâ lén; yé kò: edi? E ko: áwɛ̱n? Kiɛ̱ne: áwà; kiɛ̱ne ki mɛ̱n? Kiɛ̱ne wú kú (= wú ki wú) bɔ̱ɔ̱dò. Kiɛ̱ne: ɖwoţ! yú kwáńè yán. Ká ɖwòţá mâl, ká ńù kò: yɛ̱ţí kwòmá. Ká è ko: pɔ̄m má fâţ,[31] ɛ gwɔ̱k ɛ̱ dì? Kiɛ̱ne: kiţe kwɔmá! Ká è kò: áchíchwɔ̱l má faţ, é gwɔ̱k ɛ̱dì? E ko: kiţe ɖógá! Ka e kiţi ɖógɛ́, ká è ko: dɛ dɛ̱l má fâţ, é gwɔ̱k ɛ̱dì? E ko: kwàń! Ka kwáń yi ógwɔ̱k, ká yɛ̱ţá mâl, kwòm ńù. Ká gɛ́ bɛ̱nò kí ńù, ká gɛ́ kɛ́dò; pach é chàńò, ká ńù gɔ́chè yi ógwɔ̱k kí dɛ̱l, ká ńù é rɛ́ńò, "ka pwótè yi ógwɔ̱k, ká gɛ rínò, ríŋɛ yi bɔ̱ɔ̱dò, ká bɔ̱ɔ̱dò ɖwoţá mâl, ká ógwɔ̱k è ko: bɔ̱ɔ̱dò,[32] lɛ̱ţe (lɛ̱ţí) yán! fâţè wat bâńá? bɔ̱ɔ̱dò ko: àwó, wat bâńì! yi kama dìr. Ká gɛ́ kɛ́dò, gɛ́ rtńò kun a de wat ćgwɔ̱k, ká wat ogwɔ̄k é wàŋò. Ka ogwɔ̱k fárá fén, ka rɛ́ńá wat, ká mákè[33] ńù ki yiebɛ, ka wiy yiebɛ é chɔ̱dò, ká ńù kò: kɛ́ţ, yí rûm ki ţɔ̱ţò ki ńéjì. Ká é bɔ̱ɔ̱dò. Ká ńù kɛ̱a fûrɛ. Ká é kànò ki lɛi, ká lɛi ţâl, ká tɔ̱rò dwâi ɛ́ bɛ̱nɛ. Ká tɔ̱rò bɛ̱nò ki ogwɔ̄k, ogwɔ̱k gìr bɛ̱nɛ ki ogwɔ̱n ɛni, ɛn á pwót ńu, nút ţyàu. Ká gɛ́ kɛ̱dò yi pwóɖó, ká óchɔ̱yò ywót é gīr, ka ógwɔ̱k a fwót ńù, e ko ne, tɔ̱jò ki óchɔ̱yò ki yiɛ̱pé,[34] ka mɛ̱nɛ yiébɛ ńí twóch ke ri óchɔ̱yò, ká ogwɔ̱n ɛni, mɛ twóchè ɛ̱n ɛ̱ lànò, ká e ko: rɛ̱ne tɔ̱rò fá (= fach) ńù. Ká gɛ́ rɛ́ńò, ka yiebɛ[35] bɔ̱ɔ̱dò, ká ógwɔ̱kè mɛ̱ne yiebɛ ńí chɔ̱dò, ka yiépé gɛ̱n é ţùmò kí chɔ̱ţo. Ká gɛ́ wàŋò, ká ńù ywót kí tɔ̱rò bɛ̱nò,

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ká ńù é pɛ́chò kìne: wí bì bɛ̄ná? Kīne ɛ́; ka ogwɔ̄k ńdjò ɛ́n, e ko: yí bì ɛ̄yàu? E ko: ɛ́. E ko: wá ɣ yɛ̄l wa mɛ́n? Ká é kò: yá chàm dɛ̀l? Kīne: fatɛ yín a pwɔ̀tì yán? Kīne: ɛ́! dwɛ̀n? Kīne: ɔ́tyɛ̄nò; kìne: ɛ́! yí chaka tɔ̄dò! Ńù kò: yiebi nɛ̄tì ńòlè yan? Kīne: ɔ̀gòn ɛ́n? Kīne: ànànò! Kīne: dɛ̄ fatɛ yan kɛ̄ta! Kīne: dá wí kí mɛ̄n? Ogwɔ̄k e ko: fatɛ wá bɛ̄ná? Kīne: àrá, bi lɛ̄ɛ́! Ka ńu bɛ̄nɔ, ká gɛ́ ɛ̄ɛ́, mɛ̄n yíebɛ̄ chɛ̄dò, ká mɛ́n yíebɛ̄ chɛ̄dò, ka gɛ́ bɛ̄n yiepe gɛ̄n chɛ̄dò, ká ńù wíjɛ mum, ye ko: bɔ̄tu. Ká gɛ́ wéyɛ́. Ká rìnò wékè tɛ̄rò, ká châm yi tɛ̄rɔ. Chɔ̄ti, ká tɛ̄rò é dánò, ká ńù dɔ̄nɔ kí fārɛ.

A lion came with some iron to the smith and said, "Smith, make me these spears!" The fox too came, bringing iron to the smith, and said to him, "These spears, make them." The smith said, "The spear of the lion is still with me (unfinished)." The fox said, "Is he not my slave?" He said, "How your slave?" He replied, "You just keep quiet; as soon as the lion comes, tell him, 'The fox has said, you are his slave'." And the lion came and said, "Smith, why have you not yet finished my spear?" He answered, "The fox brought his spear (and said), 'Make it (= mine) first'. I said: 'Will the lion not be angry?' He said: 'No, he will not be angry; for is he not my slave?'" The lion replied, "Is that true?" The smith (said), "Yes." The lion (replied), "I shall bring him, and if your talk turns out to be a lie, I shall surely eat you;" this he said to the smith, and the smith replied, "All right, go, and bring him." So the lion went; he found the fox lying on the road; he pretended to be sick, he groaned. The lion said, "Why are you thus groaning?" — He, the lion, became angry ("his eye had war"). — He said to the fox, "How did you speak (to the smith)?" The fox asked, "When?" He answered, "Yesterday." The fox asked, "To whom?" The lion said, "To the smith. Get up, we will go!" He said, "I am sick." The lion replied. "Get up! I will help you." So he rose, and the lion said, "Climb upon my back!" The fox said, "There is somebody's saddle (there is a saddle, I do not know to whom it belongs), what shall I do with it?" He answered, "Put it on my back!" Then the fox said, "Here is somebody's chain (bridle), what shall I do with it?" The lion said, "Put it into my mouth." Again the fox said, "Here is somebody's whip, what shall I do with it?" The lion answered, "Take it!" So the fox took it, and he climbed on the lion's back. He came with the lion; they went along. When they approached the village, the fox beat the lion with the whip, and the lion ran. Again he whipped the lion, and they ran galloping to the house of the smith. The smith looked up ("arose"), and the fox cried, "Smith, is he not my slave?" The smith answered, "Surely, your slave is he, you have told the truth." They went on and ran to the place where the house of the fox was. When the house of the fox came near, he jumped down and ran into the house. But the lion caught him by his

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*539 tail, and the end of the tail broke off. The lion said, "Go, I have given you a sufficient mark."[36] He, the fox, sat down.

The lion went into his village, he brought game and cooked the game, and he brought (invited) all the people (that is, the animals).[37] The people came, and the foxes, many foxes came, and the fox who had beaten the lion was also present. (On the way to the lion's village) they came into a field and found plenty of melons, and the fox who had beaten the lion, said (to his companions), they should tie melons to their tails. So each one tied melons to his tail. And this particular fox tied the melons very loosely to his tail. Then he said, "People, run to the village of the lion!" And they ran. (While thus running) the melon slipped off his tail, but the tails of the other's broke off, all of them. When they approached, they found all the people with the lion. The lion asked, "Have you all come?" They replied, "Yes." And the lion recognized the fox and asked him, "You too have come?" He replied, "Yes." The lion, "By whom shall we be reconciled (how can we, being enemies, eat at the same table)?" The fox asked, "What is the matter ("what have I become")?" The lion said, "Is it not you who beat me?" The fox said, "What? you do lie!" The lion said, "Did I not cut off your tail?" The fox replied, "Where is it?" The lion said, "Here it is" (showing the cut-off tail of the fox). The fox replied, "But that is not I alone (i. e. the case with me only). The lion, "Who beside you ("you and who")?" The fox, "Is it not all of us? why, come and look!" The lion came and looked at them, this one's tail was cut off, and that one's tail was cut off, all their tails were cut off. The lion did not know what to say ("his head was giddy"), and he said, "You have escaped!" He let them go, and the people were given meat, and the people ate. That is all. — The people scattered, and the lion was left in his village.

77. The Starling and the Centipede.

Ówɑ̃ɲ̀ bɛ̃ɛ̃dá (bɛ̃ɛ̃rá) riɩ́; ye da ɖeaɲ, ɖɛ̃ ywɔ́p. Ka wiŋ̀ bɛ̃ŋ̀ bɛ̃ŋe bɛ̃ŋe, ka ówɑ̃ɲ̀ ko: yiŋ̀ tɛ̃rɔ, ɖea ywɔ́p, dɛ̃ kwɔ́p ńán á ywɔ́bé! Ká tɛ̃rɔ̀ mɑ̃mɔ̀; é kò: bɩ́ɩ́h! ɛrɛ (ɛdɛ) tɛ̃rɔ á mɑ̃mí? Ka tɛ̃rɔ ko: ywɔ́p kúchì wɔ́n. Ka ólyáù é kò: yá-kí-yán (yɑ̃ɑ̃?)-ɖɛ̃ɛ̃ ńéná[38] nût, ywɔp de kwɔ́p yì yán! Ka riɩ́ e ko: ɖɔ́ɖu olyau kí ńɩ́ɩ́; ká mɛ̃n ní bàɲ̀. Ótɔ̃lè Kɔ̀ɩ́ e ko: yi kwan ńíná, ɩ́ gɛ́ ɖɑ̀ywɔ̀p, ɩ́ rɑ̃mé, ká gɛ́ wɔ̃ké yán. Ka olyau ńiŋ̀ kwàné, ká ɖɑ̀ɔ́ kún, ka chígì ɖɩ̀ɩ̀[39] kùn, ká ɖɑ̀ɔ́ mâl, ká ɖɑ̀ɔ́ yi tɛ̃rɔ, ka ɖɑ̀ɔ́ yi túlɔ̀, e ko: túlɔ̀! Kɩ̀ne: ɛ́? Kɩ̀ne: ɛ́rɛ̀ ɖe riɩ́ a ywɔ̃́bí? E ko: ówɛ̀n? ya fa ywɔ̀p! Kɩ̀ne yi re (ra) faɩ́ kí ywɔ̀p? Kɩ̀ne: náyó kúchì yín? ɛ́ná ywɔ̀p. Kɩ̀ne: ná ámɛ̃n? Kɩ̀ne: náyó bɛ̃ɩ́; ɛna ní nɛ̃ɩ́né rɛ̃jɔ́. E ko: faɩ́e ɛn a chɑ̂lɔ̀ yín? Chɔ̃ɩ́, ka tɛ̃rɔ fɑ̃rá kwɔ̀mɛ̀, ká pwɔ̂t yì tɛ̃rɔ̀, ká é kɛ̃ɩ́ é rɩ́ɩ́ɲ̀. Ka yoma wiy

yaţ. Á ńí chḭ̱gí e búdǫ̱ wiy yaţ. Ká olyau é dúògò. Ká ótòl Kǫ̱ţ e ko: wēki yan ńíńd! E ko: ḭ́, gḭ́ gwògḭ́ ńò? Ka owōńǫ ko: wēki ńiń olyau ɥ gǫ ńi tḭ̱ńé ywòp. Chòţí, ótòl Kǫ̱ţ é kḭ̱dò ńiń bógìn. Ka riţ e ko: yū (yi ɥ) chàţí kí dḭ̱ch; ḭ́ bógìn ɥ chûmḭ̀ yín. Chòţí, a ńi ţáuwḭ́ e kḭ̱tg, e bogin chamg, a gyţ yi riţ.

The heron was king. He had a cow which was bewitched. And all the birds came, and the heron said to them, "Ye people, my cow is bewitched, tell me who has bewitched it." And the people were perplexed. He asked, "Dear me! why are the people so perplexed?" They said, "We do not know the wizard." Then the starling said, "O my goodness, if only I had my eyes, I would name the wizard." The king said, "Give the starling eyes!" But each one refused. At last the centipede *Kǫ̱ţ* said, "Take my eyes, when the wizard has been found and the matter is finished, then give them back to me." The starling took the eyes, he looked in this direction and again looked in that direction; he looked upwards and looked at the people; and he looked at the owl saying, "Owl!" The owl replied, "Eh?" He said, "Why do you bewitch the cow of the king?" He said, "When? I am not a wizard." The starling replied, "Why should you not be a wizard? Do you not know your uncle? He is a wizard." The owl asked, "Who is my uncle?" He said, "The fish-spear is that uncle; it is he who sees the fish (in the water).[10] Does he not resemble you?" — That is all, and all the people (= the birds) jumped on his (the owl's) back, and he was beaten by the people; and he went away running. He fled to a tree. There he is accustomed to stay, on the top of trees.

When the starling returned, centipede *Kǫ̱ţ* said, "Give me my eyes!" But he said, "No, what for?" And the heron said, "Give (= leave) the eyes to the starling, that he may always make manifest the wizards." — That is all, centipede *Kǫ̱ţ* went away without eyes. And the king said to him, "Walk in peace! There is nobody who will eat you." That is all; he (the centipede) is accustomed to die of himself (not killed by other people, or through violence); nobody eats him. He is blessed by the king.

78. The Hare and Tapero.

Afoajǫ a kgta mal bḭ̄ ywòţó bûl; gò kí nḭ̱n Ţāpḭ̄rò. Ka afoajǫ būl chḭ̱ń, ká bûl chḭ̱ń ki mal. Ka Ţapḭ̄rǫ e dḭ̱nò wòk, ḭ pá dwâi yi ńan a dāchǫ. Ka afoajǫ dwâi yi ńan a dāchǫ; ka gḭ chḭ̱ńó būl, ka Tāpḭ̄rǫ dḭ̱ńǫ wǫk, ḭ́ fa dwâi yi ńan a dāchǫ; ka afoajǫ dwâi à ḭ́n; ka būl dḭ̱ń, ka afoajǫ é chwòţò kine: nḭ̱n Ţāpḭ̄rǫ, wa fa kgţ? Ţāpḭ̄rò è kùdò, chuńg rach kifa dwâi afoajǫ. Ka Ţāpḭ̄rǫ bia fén, afoajǫ á dḭ̱nò màl. Ka afoajǫ é lònò bḭ̱n, ka tyglḭ mak ki akḭţ, e ko: yá kḭ̱tá fén, yá dḭ̱gó fòţè wḭ́n. E ko: ɥ yik yá ɥ́ wiţè fén ɥ jāk akḭţ, ya witi fòţè wḭ́n. Akḭţ chó ńwḭ̱jó kí jàgò; ḭ́ nūtí ki wiţe fén, ka afoajǫ dḭ̱mò, ka e kḭ̱tò.

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The hare went up (into the air) to find a drum; he and his uncle Tapero. And the hare danced to the drum, he danced up in the air. But Tapero remained outside (the ring of the dancers), he was not selected (for dancing) by a girl.[41] But the hare was selected by the girls, and he danced with them. Again Tapero remained outside, he was not selected by a girl, but the hare was again selected, and danced. At last the dancers scattered. Then the hare called, "Uncle Tapero, shall we not go?" Tapero remained silent, he was angry because the hare had been selected. Tapero went down, but the hare remained above. Some time after the hare also came; he fastened his foot with a rope, and said (to Tapero?), "I am going down, I will return to our country." Again he said, "As soon as I come down to the ground and (I) pull the rope, I shall arrive in my country (at once)." But he pulled the rope too early, before he had reached the ground. So the hare fell down and was dashed to pieces.[42]

79. Who is King?

Afoajo ŋomo dacho, ge ki otwoŋ; dacho mâro otwoŋ, de afoajo chet yi dacho. Ká ge wèlò, ka ge ko kine: nénì wot dyek; ka ge ŋeno, ka dyeŋ[43] nek yi afoajo, ka otwoŋ e ŋeno, ká wài ka ge wódé[44] otwoŋ; ka wóu è wuò, ka afoajo ket, ka ótwoŋ dònò, e nénò. Ka nal ten bēno, ka e ko: yá nen! Ka otwoŋ dwota mal, ka lite re, ka wài lite re, ka e ko: afoajo á kòlí kèn? Ka ore bēno, ká è kò: dyek á châm ge mèn?[45] Kine: dyek ba cham yi otwoŋ? Ka dèl è kûl, ka otwoŋ pwôt, ká ŋomè tânò.

Ka otwoŋ e kédò, ka afoajo yôtè yi en (ren), é biudò rech, ka e ko: wíná teau,[46] yi yôtè yán! Ka e ko kine: dân ní bèlé gigé mûtí, ka ókòk wèki otwoŋ, ka e ko: ówá, chà mèdò! Kine: ge mayi ge kidí? Kine: ge ni pâdá (fāra) nam. Ka e ko: ket pā (pâr) nâm! Ka afoajo pârá nam; ka na pyen dejo wá nètè. Ka otwoŋ e loŋo pāre nam, ka nékè okok bēno, ka e ywònò. Ka e kedo, otwoŋ, weye go ywònò.

Ka afoajo kedo é kèjè,[47] ka ywoda lyech, go kudo kûdò ki tyele, ká è kò: ówá kolo kûdò. Ka tyel lyech nyèmé wûk, ka lyech e kedo, ka è tò; ka afoajo keta yey lyech. Ka lyech, afoajo mejo yéjè, ka èjàdò kí kèn kûlé,[48] ká è kò: yí rè ba kwòt? U ya kûlá ban kôtó! Ka lyech e kwòdò; ka bia wok.

Ka lyech ya rit, ka'dogo ní nono (nwane) kwet, ka ditt e ko: gre do (dok) lyech a nwane kwet ki chāno? Kine: pate do rit? Ka atet e kédò, ká è tènò kí àtérú, ka kā (= kedo) chân; ka lyech ká yiè, ka y èlé kí dó gòn, ka lyech pûdò, ká kàl e kètò.

Ka ówânò ko: yijékò, ya bané rit! Ka rûn (ron), ka tèrò ní ká (= keta) nâm bè nâi, ká lòt ní mena pén, ka nam ní bèdá târ, ka djē ní mâì ki rech. Ka lot kwâl yì ògwàl, ka gon wéké kôt; ka kélè yi kòt. Ka okwóm ka pyech[49] yi owānò, kine: lot e kwal yi mên? Kine: kúchì yán. Ka bènó pyéch, kine: lot a kwâl yi

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mɛn? Kine: loɩ a kwâl yi ògwàl. Ka okwóm pyech yi owāŋ̀ kine: dɛ́ kóbì ɩ chame[50] *kíchì yin? Cham*[50] *nûtí ŭdɛ yin? Ka gɔ́ch yi owāŋ̀.*

Ka taŋ̀ kōbɔ ogwal: wâ ràrò! Ka taŋ̀ ko: ogwál, tyélí chɛ̀kò, tyɛ́lá bùrò. Ka ogwal e ko: wâ ràrò. Ka gɛ́ rɛ́ŋ̀ò, mɛn ya kɛ́ŋ, mɛn ya kɛ́ŋ. Ogwal gîr ki yey pɛ́ŋ̀ bɛ̀nò, ka taŋ̀ e ko: yɔma ógwàl. Ká ʼgwàl è kò: yɔmá taŋ̀. Ka taŋ̀ pidɔ, ka e pâdò, ka e ŭ yi ŋwɛ̀ch.

Ka ólɛ́ɩ ka é jɛ́kò rɔ́ŋ (rɔ́ŋ) riɩ, ka rɔ́ŋ, ka chip wij ábóbò. Ka dɛ́aŋ̀ nɛ̀k, ka oleɩ e ko: buli riŋ̀ɔ! Ka riŋ̀ɔ bûl, ká è kò: kɛ̀l riŋ̀ɔ! Ka riŋ̀ɔ chwɔ́ŋ̀ò, ka chɛ́ká chwɔ̀tò; ka riŋ̀ɔ e chwɔ́ŋ̀ò, ka pārà mâl, ka lāu lɔŋ wij ábóbò, ka riŋ̀ɔ gwárɛ̀. A chōgɛ́, a chɛ́kà gwar.

A kwáŋ̀ lau yi atwâk. A rɔ́ŋ̀é, a kúchí lāu yi jāgɔ, à pɔ̀dí. A kɔ̀p tɛ̀rò kine: wâ rɔ̀ŋ̀è mɛ́ŋ̀â? Kine: rɔ́ŋ ŋáu! A laŋ̀ ŋau wûr ɛ́ ŋɛ̀tò kifa kwɔ́pé rɔ̀ŋ̀è. Ka dɛŋ̀é kwòdò. Ka ŭtè nwɔl, dɛn e kwôdò, ka tɛ̀rɔ ko: buh! ɛ́dì ŋáu? A bɛ̀ (= bɛ̄aɔ) dɛŋ̀í ŋáù? ŋau ko kine: yá làŋ̀ò wûr yá ŋɛ̀tò, ká tɛ̀rò ko: búh! wêì kí ɩ rɔ́ŋ![51] *a wei, a kɛ́ɩ tɛ̀rò.*

A yáp jāgɔ, ka jāgɔ ya mátɔ̀k. Ka tɛ̀rɔ bɛ̄nɔ, gɛ kōbɔ kine: wâ rɔ̀ŋ̀ mɛ́ŋ̀â? Rɔ́ŋ ágàk![52] *Ka agak rɔ́ŋ, ka e jɛ̀kò ki jàŋ̀è dɔ́ch. Ñi tɔu lâì ki pūl. Ka tɛ̀rɔ ni chukɔ, kine: wâ chwɔ̀l a mɛ́ŋ̀â? Kine: chwɔl jāgò! A chwɔl jāgɔ, a bɛ̄ne ɛ́n agak, ka tɛ̀rɔ kōbɔ kine: jágó, lai ananɔ! Kwɔŋ̀ lâì! a kɛ̀dɔ bûté lâì, a kwaŋ̀ wáŋ̀ gɔn; ka e dúòdò, ka tɛ̀rɔ chàm. A chɛ̀gi kí jàŋ̀è dɔ́ch; a kɔ̀p tɛ̀rò kine: ágàk ban ɛn jaŋ̀e dɔ́ch!*

A gɔ̀y (= gɔch) bûl, ká tɛ̀rò chɔ̀ŋ̀ò, ka būl pwɔ̀t; ka T̲āpɛ̄rɔ ki túlò gɛ bɛ̄no, ka dwâi yi dāchɔ.

The hare married a woman, he together with the hyena. The woman liked the hyena, but the hare was hated by her. And they travelled; and (the people to whom they came on their journey) said to them, "Sleep in the sheep house!"[53] So they slept, and sheep were killed by the hare, while the hyena slept, and he smeared the contents of the stomach on the hyena's mouth. When the day broke, the hare went away, he left the hyena sleeping. (In the morning) a boy came and asked, "May I come in?" Then the hyena arose, he looked at himself and saw the contents of the sheep's stomach on his body, he said, "Where is the hare?" The brother-in-law[54] came and asked the boy, "Who has eaten the sheep?" He answered, "Have the sheep not been eaten by the hyena?" Then a whip was brought, and the hyena was beaten, and his wife relinquished him (he was divorced from his wife).

And the hyena went away. and he found the hare roasting fish; he said to him, "You cursed hare, I have found you!" The hare said, "Every one is accustomed to eat his food first (before doing anything else)."[55] He gave the hyena an okok (a certain fish with sharp pricks); the hyena said, "Father, it

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seems to be good!" He asked again, "How do they catch it?" He answered, "They are accustomed to jump into the river (and thus catch it). The hyena said, "Go, jump into the river!" So the hare jumped into the river, but he bound a small skin around his waist (so that the thorns of the fish could not wound him). The hyena sprang after him into the river, but he was much bruised by the okok, and he screamed. And he (the hare) went away, he left the hyena screaming.

The hare went away to his place; he found an elephant who was taking a thorn out of his foot. The hare said, "My father is taking out a thorn." (He said to the elephant, "I will help you to take the thorn out", and) he cut the whole foot of the elephant off. Then the elephant went away almost dying from pain; the hare went into the belly of the elephant. The elephant shut the hare up in his belly, and he had difficulty in getting out. He said to the elephant, "Why do you not dung, that I may go out after your dunging?" The elephant dunged, and so the hare got out.

And the elephant was king. His cattle always scattered their dung on the road; and the ichneumon said, "Why do the cattle of the elephant always scatter their dung?" The people answered, "Are they not the cattle of the king?" And the ichneumon went and hewed a stick, and he went from behind to the elephant and stuck him in his trunk (stuck the stick into the trunk of the elephant); the elephant fell down (and died), and his house was destroyed.

Then the heron said, "I want to be king, I shall be king!" And he was elected, and the people went to the river to fish. They put a club into the river, which made the water clear, so the people used to catch fish. But the club was stolen by the frog; he gave it to the rain.[56] And the ibis was asked by the heron, "By whom has the club been stolen?" He said, "I do not know." Then the pelican was asked, "By whom has the club been stolen?" He answered, "The club has been stolen by the frog." Then the ibis was asked by the heron, "How could you say you did not know? Had you not seen it?" And he was beaten by the heron.

And to the waterbuck the frog said, "Let us run a race!" The waterbuck said, "Frog, your legs are short, but my legs are long." But the frog said, "(Never mind,) let us run!" And they ran. The one stood here, and the other stood there. But there were many frogs everywhere in the ground. And the waterbuck said, "I have beaten (surpassed) the frog!" But (always) a frog cried, "I have beaten the waterbuck." At last the waterbuck was tired, and he fell down and died on account of his running.

Then the hawk wanted to be king, and he was elected. He placed himself on an ambach-tree, and a cow was killed (on the occasion of the election of a

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new king), and the hawk said: "Roast meat!" And meat was roasted. Then he said: "Bring meat!" And the meat came not quickly; so he called again for meat, and yet it did not come. He flew up and left the (royal) clothes on the ambach, he snatched the meat; (from that time) he has always remained in the habit of snatching meat.

The royal clothes were taken by the atwak, but he did not know how to behave in royal clothes, therefore he was driven away. Then the people said, "Whom shall we elect?" It was said, "Let us elect the cat!" (When the cat heard that) she spent a whole night in laughing, because of the plan of electing her. And her jaws swelled from laughing. When the next morning the people saw that her jaw was swollen, they said, "Why! what is the matter with the cat? Why is your jaw thus?" She answered, "I spent a night in laughing." The people replied, "Leave her alone, she is not to be elected." The people went away.

They looked for a king; there was no one who might become king. So the people came saying, "Whom shall we elect? Let us elect the crow!" And the crow was elected. He reigned very well. The game died in the bush. And the people were at a loss, they said, "Whom shall we call?" It was said, "Call the king." The king was called; he came, he, the crow. And the people said, "King, here is a game, taste the game!" He went to the game and took (picked) its eye out. Then he arose, and the people ate. He continued to reign well. And the people said, "The crow, he is a good king."

A drum was beaten. The people danced. And the drum was beaten again, and Tapero and the owl came, and he was selected by a woman for dancing.[57]

80. The Hare.

Afoajo a wēli fōte rij, ka yuòdá ńǫr; ńǫr gīr, ka fēka fen bē chám. Ká é rûm, ka gē chǫń kání; ka atēp fań yi gén. Ka amàlǫ dwâi, ka atēp kwań, ka gē chip wich amal, ká gù gēchí, kine: chátí! Ka amalǫ (amǫlǫ) é bàńù, ká gù chígí gēchù. A kētí áfoàjǫ kētí, a dwâi kyèń, a yīj atēp, a kítí kwòm kyèń. A odń chátù. A gēchí gùn; chámó kédé a chígá fūdù; a ko: búh! Afoajo kine: búh! atēp ú gwók ēdì? A dēń kí kyèń, a kedo afoajo, a dwai dean, a yēj atēp wije. A lēné atēp fén yi dean, a kōbo afoajo: yí rè lēni atēp fén? Ko: yí rè nēgí jè? yá bēdù! A kétí, a dēń afoajo, a nân afoajo, atēp ú ťich èdì? A chígí dēgù bē dwátù ńù; a yuódé gu; a kóbí yina ńu! wá fà mūt? Kó ū, yíné mūdà! Afoajo kine: yá dál yì gìchè mēkù. Ye ko: á gìn ńńù? Ńǫr a yótè yán fōtè rij, gé gir, a chámá, ká yá yńńù, ká gé chēńa. A kóp ńu, yí cháká tōtù, wàlà a kwálè yín? Kò: á kwálè yán. Kō: yách! yá fà kétí! Kò: mátí, bi kédù, koń yán! Kine: yá tēń, yí dúōń. A kétí ńu, a yódí gìn ēní é pēk, a kyédé. A kedo afoajo tyau.

*539 *A dwai ọ́ṭwọ̀ṇ, ko: yin ọ́ṭwọ̀ṇ, tḷṛọ̀ à dwáí yán bḛ̀nḛ̀, dḛ́ gḛ́ bán, dḛ bi, kon yan! yu ṭọ̄ṭe kḭ́ ṅọ̀r, mọk ụ́ chámò yín. A kḛ̄ṭi ọ́ṭwọ̀ṇ, à yḛ́ṭi kwọm ọ́ṭwọ̀ṇ; a kḭ̄ḷḛ́ gḛ́n pach, a wápọ̀ gọ́l gḛ́n, a ḷḛ̀n gḛ̀ fén. Ká kwọ̀mé oṭwọ̀ṇ e fḛ̀gọ̀. Ká afoajọ kọ́mà kine: kwọm oṭwọ̀ṇ ụ́ gwọ̀k ḛ̀dí? Ka yiṭ yaṭ ká gḛ tọ́k yì gḛ́n, a kiṭi kwọ̀m kḛ̀ḿ lḛ́.*

Kā ḛ́ tuyi yàṇ duọ́ṅ. Afoajọ lḭ́ṭà yàṭ, ḛ bḭ̄r kḭ́ kwọ̀m ọ́ṭwọ̀ṇ; a ṅwọ̄ḷḭ́; ka ṅwọ̄ḷḛ ṅi lḭ́ṭà afoajọ; e ko: búh! ụ bḭ́le kḭ́ ḋṅọ̀ (kḭ́ṅọ̀)? A kwáṅí tūk à bḭ́lé gọn kḭ tuṅ ḛni. Kḛ́ṭ tuṅ ḛnā fḭ́ṭḛ́ dí nâm, a lọ́gḭ́ mùchọ̀.

Ye kḛ́dọ bḛ́ fḛ̄ṭ kḭ́ jâm, ká ṅwọ̀lé ochọ̄ye ká gḛ́ fḛ̄ṭ. A bḛ̀ṇí ùwḛ̀lè mḛ̀kọ, a kóbí kine: ṭọ̄ṭi yan kḭ́ gìn chám! A kyḛ́t afoajọ kine: ńéwá, yā chḛ̀rá bḛ̀nọ̀ ànàn. Afoajọ chàmá lḛ̄ṭi ńàjḛ̀. A ywọ̀dè ochọ̄ye, é ńḛ̀ṅọ̀, a ḍuoṭ afoajọ, ká fàlọ̀ kwàṅé, ụ kāgọ́ gọ̀n; ka fàl kḛ́dọ yḛ́jḛ́ ochọ̄ye; ka afoajọ e ńàṅọ̀: fàlọ́ é kḛ̀dọ̀ kḛ́ń ānọ? Ka wijḛ ṅọ̀lī, ká kḛ́dọ yḛ́je ochọ̄ye, ká ywode djè gḛ́ gìr, gḛ́ nḛ̀nọ̀. Ka é fḛ́dọ̀. A bḛ̀n wọ̀k, a ywóde wijḛ́ é tyètọ̀ kḭ́ yûk, a chwọ̀ḷḭ́ gọ̀n, kine: yine wich bí! Ka wich é bàń. A chḭ́gḭ́ gọ̀n chwọ̀ḷé kḭ́ṭé, ká é bàń. Ká gọ̀ gḛ́ché kḭ́ àtû; a bḛ̀nè wich, a dḛ̄gé kḛ̀jḛ́.

The hare travelled into the town of the king, and he found beans, plenty of beans. And he sat down to eat. When he had finished, he piled them (the rest) up in one place. He filled a bag with them. Then he brought a camel, took the bag and put it on the camel. He beat the camel saying, "Walk on!" But the camel refused. He beat it again saying, "Walk on!" The camel fell down and said, "The bag is too heavy." The camel went away.

The hare too went away; he fetched a horse, lifted the bag and put it on the horse's back. The horse refused to walk; he (the hare) struck it, it tried to go, but it began to fall down saying, "Why!" The hare said, "Why! what shall I do with the bag?" He left the horse. The hare went and fetched a cow; he put the bag on it. But the bag was thrown down by the cow. The hare asked, "Why do you throw down the bag?" The cow replied, "Why do you kill people (by laying such a heavy load on them)? I refuse." He went away. The hare was left; he was perplexed, thinking, "What is to be done with the bag?" He once more turned back to fetch the lion. When he found him, he said to him, "You lion! Are we not friends?" He said, "Yes, you are my friend." Then the hare said, "I am in difficulty with a certain matter." The lion asked, "What is it?" He answered, "I found beans in the town of the king, plenty of beans. I ate some of them, and when I was full, I put the rest into a bag." The lion asked, "Were they given to you, or did you steal them?" He answered, "They were stolen by me." Then the lion said, "Never! I shall not go!" The hare said, "Friend, come, let us go that you may help me!" He said again, "I am small, you are big." So the lion went. He found the bag ("thing") very heavy; he refused and went away. The hare too went.

He fetched a cock; he told him, "You cock! all (kinds of) people were

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fetched by me, but they have refused. But now come and help me, and I shall give you part of the beans to eat." The cock went, (the hare) put the bag on the cock, and it carried it home. When they came near the house, it threw it down. The cock's back was bruised (from carrying the bag). The hare said, "What is to be done with the back of the cock?" He crushed leaves of a tree and placed them on the sore place of the cock's back. 539*

And there sprang up a large tree (on the sore place of the cock's back, some seeds having got into the wound by putting the leaves on it). The hare saw the tree was very high on the back of the cock. The tree bore fruit; when the fruit was seen by the hare, he said, "Dear me! by what (how) are they to be thrown down?" He took a stone and threw at them. The stone fell into the middle of a river and became an island.

The hare went to plant some vegetables (on the island), and he planted melon seeds. Then there came a traveller, he said, "Give me something to eat (the traveller saw the melons, which in the meantime had ripened)!" But the hare refused saying, "Cousin, I have come in this very moment (so I am not prepared to give you food)." The hare looked back; he saw there were many melons. The hare arose, he took a knife and split a melon. The knife went into the middle of the melon, the hare was perplexed, he said to himself, "Where has the knife gone?" Suddenly it (the knife) cut his (the hare's) head off. He (the hare) went into the melon and found there many people, who were alive. When he was tired, he came out; he found his head carrying firewood. He called it, "You head, come!" But the head refused. He called it again, but it refused. Then he struck it with the flat hand. The head came and returned to its place.[58]

[The Nubians have the same story; here, as in Shilluk, it forms part of a series of tales; only the part which coincides with the story in Skilluk is given here (translated from Leo Reinisch, Die Nuba-Sprache, Erster Teil, p. 232 ss). . . . The young man heaped up the eggs, squashed them, made a wind, and winnowed them, so that the wind blew away the egg-shells, and only the chickens were left. One of the chickens had a wound on its foot. They sent for the doctor, who said, "Take two ardeb of date-seeds, roast them and bind them on the wound, then it will heal. They did so. Now a date-tree grew out of the chicken's foot, it became large and bore fruit. When the fruit were ripe, a boy came and threw a stone at the tree; four fruit fell down. Thereupon the tree became angry, in its anger it fell down and formed an island. The owner of the island sowed sesamum on it; but afterwards he sowed melon-seeds. While they were still sowing, the melon-seds germinated and grew large. Then a 171 539*

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Turkish soldier came and asked the owner, "Give me one of the melons." The man replied, "They are not yet ripe." The soldier said, "If you don't give me one, I shall cut off your head." Then the man went, cut a melon and gave it to the soldier. This one took his knife and stabbed it into the melon; but the knife escaped into the belly of the melon. Then he drew his sword and stabbed into the melon, but the sword too escaped into the belly of the melon. The Turk became angry, pursued the owner of the melon, cut his head off and threw it away. The trunk of the man crept into the belly of the melon. But the head searched its trunk in vain. At last it went away into a barber's shop. Here he had his hair shaved. In the meantime the man (the trunk) crept out of the melon and went away. When he came to the barber's shop, he found his head, took it, placed it on his neck and went his way.]

81. The Camel and the Donkey.

*539 *Jal mẽkǫ e ya da amalǫ, gɛ́ kí adẽrǫ, gɛ ní chɔ́k gɛ́ tyɛ̀tò ki jam. De bogin ní chámè gɛ́n, dɛ gɛ́ gwɔ̀lò gwɔ̀lò. Ka amalǫ ko: bɩ́ɩ̀h! Kɩ́ne: adẽrǫ! Ka adẽrǫ yẽi kɩ́ne: ɛ́! Kɩ́ne: wá chà ɓ̀! Kɩ́ne: àwɔ́, wá chà ɓ̀. Amalǫ ko: kɛ́n ɩ́ fárì wá, yu (yiɩ́) yẽi? Ka adẽrǫ ko: àwɔ́! yá yẽi. Ka e ko: fãr wǫ!*

Ka gɛ kɛ́dǫ, gɛ́ chátò; ka gɛ wíta kɛ́ch malǫulǫu; ká míchò ɩ̀ɩ̀tɛ̀ gɛ́n, ɛ́ yà di nam, di lũm gír; ka gɛ ko: wa kɛ́dò di? Ka adẽrǫ ko: kújà! Ka amalǫ ko: wa ɩ́ kwɔ̀ní! Ka adẽrǫ ko: wa kɩ́ mút?[80] *Kɩ́ne: ɛ́! Kɩ́ne: wa fa mut, gik amalǫ. E ko: jwɔ́k duɔ́n! wa ɩ́ wíti wɔ́k. Ka gɛ kɛ́ta nam, ka adẽrǫ kɛ́ta bãnɛ́, ka gɛ kwãnǫ.*

Ka gɛ wíti wɔ́k, ka gɛ kɛ́ta wɔ́k; dɛ chuńe gɛ́n mɛdo; muchǫ bɩ́ ɗãn, ká gɛ́ chàmò, ka gɛ ní butǫ. Ḍyki ka gɛ ní chãmǫ, ka ní yũdè wɔ́u, ka gɛ ní bútò; kɩ́nau chɛ́ kí chãnǫ. Ka adẽrǫ chwɛ̃yǫ, ka amalǫ chwɛ̃yǫ; dɛ ńzte gɛ́n fa tãdẽr; ka gɛ ní mãta gat kí pí; ka gɛ ní bɛ̀nǫ.

Ka adẽrǫ kõbǫ kɩ́ne: mɩ́ɩ̀! Kɩ́ne: ɛ́! e ko: yi cha de gɔ̀gò kí kɛ́ch madɔ́ch; e ko: wíja mũm; e ko: kɛ́n de bɩ́ɩ̀ní yin, e ko: wá de ɓ̀u, gik adẽro. Amalǫ ko: yi fate dɛ́k? e ko: kwɔ́p ńdjè yin? e ko: fa kúchì yin? gik amalǫ. Ka gɛ bɛ̀dǫ chán àkyɛ̀lò; adẽrǫ ko: mɩ́ɩ̀! — kɛ́n chwɔ́lɛ́ amalǫ. Amalǫ ko: ɛ̀! E ko: ya da ńwɔ́l mɔ́ɩ̀ɔ̀nɔ́[60] *kí wija, dɛ bɛ̀t ɛ̀ɛ̀ì? Amalǫ ko: bɩ́ɩ̀h! ńwɔ́l mɔ́ɩ̀ɔ̀nǫ*[60] *ga mɔ̃ ńǫ?*[61] *Ká è kùdò. Ka gɛ nɛ̀nǫ, ká chɩ́ká kwɔ́f kɩ́ne: mɩ́ɩ̀! Kɩ́ne: ɛ́! E ko: mɔ́k ɛ́ni e ńwɛ̀nò kí wija. Kɩ́ne wíji chaka wílǫ! Kúchì yin, kɛ́n mak wa, ka wá ní pwɔ́t kí lɔ̀ɩ̀? Dɛ yí chwɛ̀, dɛ da mó kɩ́mí. Ka e ko: arú, yá kùt. Ka e kudǫ. Ḍyki ka e ko: ya ɗálè chám yi gik ɛ́ni, wíjá ńwɛ̀nò. Amalǫ ko: bɩ́ɩ̀h! Ko: yik chwaki ɩ́ lɩ́nè yàu yi tyɛ́n kɩ́lé nam. E ko: á, wei yɩ́ɩ́ɛ́na, gik adẽrǫ; kí ńwɔ́l mɔ́ɩ̀ɔ̀nɔ́*[2] *yau! Ka amalǫ ko: ɛ̀, yɩ́ɩ́ní! ya fɛ́t kí yí, ɓ̀ ɩ́ bi kífa wá bɛ̀nɛ́, fate kífa yá kɛ́tà.*

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Ka adʒrǫ rgṅǫ, ká è kwoḍǫ, ká é ywṅ̀ṅ̀ ḳí ywǫk mágɪ̀r, ka ṅí kwoḍǫ; ká jɛ̀ ma chàtí ki yey yɛ́, kine: adʒrǫ ywǫṅɛ́ kɛ́ṅí? Ka gɛ bia wǫk, kine: muchǫ yejɛ da jɛ̀.[63] *Ka gɛ yɛ̄bǫ ki kɛ́le lám, jɛ̄ bogǫn. Ka adʒrǫ yɔ́t, ka amalǫ yɔ́t, ka gɛ mak, ka ṅí fwɛ́t ki lɔ̀t, ka amalǫ ko: yá ko kɔ̄p, yá ko: wa y yɔ́t; dɛ̀ ànànṅ̀, yi kɔ̄bǫ ádì? Adʒrǫ kudǫ. Ka gɛ kɔ̄l (kɛ̄l), ká gé mákè ḳí wúnè yɛ̀i, yɛ́i fyéchè gɛ́n. Ka amalǫ ka wune chɔ̀dɛ̀, ka e rgṅǫ; ka ʒrǫ rīṅǫ bɔ̄ṅɛ, ka jɛ̄ yɛ̄mè ɛ́n. Ka adʒrǫ dɛ̄ṅǫ, gɛ ki bwoṅ, ka ṅí gɛ̄chè lɔ̀t; yɛ́i fɛ̄k, ka e ʒǫ.*

D̠ɪ̀ṅí[63] *chínɛ̄ ká àmàlǫ bia gɛt bɛ mat, ka adʒrǫ yɔ́dɛ́, é ʒɛ̄ ke yey pi; dɛ kúòdɛ̀. Ka e ko: d̠wooṭi mál! gik amalǫ. Ko: d̠wooṭi, ywɔ́ṅí! Ótyɛ̀ṅ̀ yá kò: yí ḳí ywṅ̀ṅ̀! yí kò: dā gin ṅwɛ̄ṅ̀ wíjí; dɛ d̠wooṭ! Adʒrǫ ʒɛ̄. Ka amalǫ kɛ̄ti bɛ mat ki pi, ka amalǫ dɛ̄ga kɛ́l ʒim.*

Somebody had a camel and also a donkey; they used to carry goods every day, but they got nothing to eat, so they were very thin. One day the camel said, "Dear me!" Again he said, "Donkey!" The donkey replied, "Eh?" The camel said, "We are going to die!" "So it is," replied the donkey, "we are going to die." The camel said, "Suppose we run away, would you consent?" The donkey replied, "Yes, I would consent." Then he said, "Let us flee!"

And they went travelling. They arrived in a very distant place; there they saw an island in the middle of a river. There was much grass. And they said, "How shall we get there?" The donkey confessed, "I do not know." But the camel said, "We will swim." The donkey asked, "Shall we not be drowned?" "No", said the camel, "we shall not be drowned;" talk of the camel.[64] He said again, "God is great! We shall arrive safely." They went into the river, the donkey went behind the camel. And they swam.

When they came to the bank, they got out of the water. They were very glad; there were no men on the island. They ate and then lay down; the next day they grazed again (the whole day), and when the night came, they lay down. Thus they did every day. The donkey and the camel became fat; their bellies became thick. They used to drink water in the river; and from there returned to grazing.

One day the donkey said to the camel, "Friend!" He replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "You have indeed succeeded in bringing us into a good position; I am quite surprised; if it had not been for you, we should be dead now!" Such was the talk of the donkey. The camel replied, "Are you not a stupid fellow? Do you know anything? Are you not an ignorant one?" So said the camel. One day later the donkey continued, "Friend!" — So he used to call the camel. The camel replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "I have some thoughts ("little seeds") in my head; how may it be with them?" "Dear me," replied, the camel, "what may be your thoughts!" Then the donkey was silent; and they

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*539 went to sleep. But the next morning he began again, "Friend!" The camel said, "Eh?" The donkey said, "These things (thoughts) are still working in my head." "You begin to forget!" warned the camel; "do you not remember, when we were caught (every morning) and were always beaten with a club? But now you have become fat, you want to talk!" The donkey replied: "Well, I will be silent." And he remained silent. On the next morning he continued, "I cannot eat on account of this thing; my head is always wandering." The camel said, "Why, if you talk so loudly, the people who are travelling on the river will hear us." At last the donkey begged, "Let me bray just once; that is what is troubling me." Thus the talk of the donkey. The camel said, "Well, do bray! I am worn out by you. Death will come to all of us, not to me alone." And the donkey ran, snorting and braying exceedingly loud, and he snorted again. Some people who were travelling in a boat, heard him; they said, "Where does that donkey cry?" They went ashore saying, "There must be people on the island." They searched in the grass, but there were no people. At last they found the donkey and the camel. They seized them and beat them with clubs. The camel said, "Did I not tell you, saying: we shall be found? but now, what do you say?" The donkey was silent. They both were driven away and were bound with boat-ropes, in order to pull the boat. The rope of the camel broke, and he ran away. The people pursued him, but he outran them. So the donkey was left with the strangers. He was beaten with clubs; the boat was heavy, he died. Some days later the camel came to the river bank to drink; he found the donkey dead in the water; he was bloated. And he said, "Get up!" talk of the camel. He said again, "Get up and bray! formerly I told you, do not cry! But you said, something is ("working") in my head. Now get up!" But the donkey was dead. So the camel went to drink and then returned into the forest.[48]

[48] The animals, when acting like men, have in the English translations always been treated as persons.

[1] In most of the texts the word "jwok" is rendered by "God", where, however, it is used in rather a disrespectful sense, "jwok" is kept in the translation.

[2] *leá* is "war", and "the army, host of war".

[3] *tyal*, more frequently *tyal* "foot".

[4] the future form of the verb, but without the future particle *ŋ*.

[5] [193] Very frequently the present tense is followed by the imperfect of the same verb, the first introducing the action rather as a state, the second showing the action as going on, as being in progress. "They go, when they were going below a tree. . .

[6] "he says" or "said" is: "*e ko kane*"; but in fluent speech *ko* "to say" is often omitted and only "*kane*" "thus" is said.

[7] vocative! see Grammar.

[8] *chámj* was to be expected.

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[9] The "*yin*" lays stress on the subject: why are you so thin (while the hare is fat)?
[10] *bǵk*, an expression used most frequently, cannot be well translated into English; it may mean any degree and shade of surprise, very often, as here, angry surprise.
[11] *Dyki* is not only "to-morrow", but simply "the next day".
[12] Instead of "*chwdch yi ǵn*".
[13] from *yi ŋ*.
[14] *kaŋ*, more frequently *kgŋ*, the stem for "go".
[15] The hare wanted the hyena to believe that he, the hare, was being punished for his misdoings, and that the hyena, by coming near, might get a thrashing as well.
[16] instead of *yŋ*.
[17] in order that.
[18] more frequently: *triło* to arrive.
[19] "beside" = since.
[20] vocative!
[21] commonly: *hudo*; here the *o* is long, as if to express the lengthened waiting for an answer — but all remained silent. [195]
[22] Is he, being great, not entitled to eat you?
[23] To prevent the monkey from secretly running away.
[24] Alluding to some old affair, for which he intended to take revenge now.
[25] Twice the hare escapes the threatened revenge of the hyena, and even injures him severely anew, taking advantage of the greediness of the latter. [171]
The same story is told in Marno, Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weißen Nil, under „Geschichten aus dem Sudan."
[26] the lion, his spear is still with me.
[27] *fa* and *faŋ* are most frequently used in this way, to emphasize a sentence: is it not so? that is: it surely is so.
[28] vocative! the last vowel with high tone.
[29] "why remains my spear not cooked (forged) by you?"
[30] see Grammar.
[31] "a saddle which is not": a saddle of somebody who is not present, somebody's saddle, I do not know whose.
[32] vocative!
[33] instead of: *mała yŋ da*.
[34] one would expect: *yiepe wun*.
[35] one would expect: *yiepe ŋyn*.
[36] "You are finished with your mark". "Whenever I meet you again, I shall recognise you and take revenge." This story of the lion and the fox is also told in Marno, l. c. The Hottentots have it likewise.
[37] He expected the fox to came too, and so to find an opportunity for finishing him.
[38] *yé-ŋ* . . . . an expression of assertion, the literal meaning is not clear; "I with my children?"
[39] from *łidó!*
[40] The fish-spear is a wizard, because "he sees the fish in the water"; he is thrown into the water at hap-hazard, and yet hits the fish.
[41] In dancing the girl selects her companion, not the man.
[42] The story seems to have some mythological relation.
[43] from *dyak!*
[44] "and them (the contents) smeared he".
[45] goats are eaten they (by) whom?
[46] a curse; its literal meaning not clear.
[47] "the hare went, he (to) his place".
[48] "he was in difficulty with a place of his going out."
[49] and the flies, and (he) was asked.
[50] In many cases like this the meaning of *ekem* can hardly by rendered.
[51] abstain from electing her! *ŋ* is used here because the act of electing lies in the future.
[52] the people ask: "whom shall we elect?" (one among them exclaims), "elect the crow!"
[53] generally the *łwak*, the "new house", is the place where strangers pass the night.

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[54] Who that is, or why this designation is chosen, is not clear.

[55] "First let us eat, and then hold our palaver!"

[56] The frog is the friend of the rain.

[57] A number of stories are strung together under this head, most of them reflecting the political and dynastic life of the Shilluks with its intrigues and vicissitudes; some are told not without a certain grotesque humour.

[58] The mention of horse and camel in the beginning perhaps points to a foreign (Arab) origin of the story, or at least of the first part of it; though, of course, both horses and camels are not unknown to the Shilluks, as many of them have lived in contact with Arabs for a long time, in the north as well as in the west.

[59] The use of *ky* here is rather strange.

[60] more frequently: *mof*.

[61] *mok ado*.

[62] "the island, its interior has people".

[63] *tom* of *dyki*.

[64] This formula is often added after a verbal quotation.

[65] This story is evidently of Arabic origin.

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XII. ADVENTURES BETWEEN MEN AND ANIMALS.

82. The Country of the Dogs.

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Jè a kŋlŋ bŋ dwar gá pyārr, ka wiţa kùn à lḍu, ka áryàu á wás. Ká gŋ́ máká chaá áryàu[1] *wiţe gŋ́n á mvm. Ká gŋ́ kŋ̄ţí pach mŋko, ka gŋ yweda mān kţţé gŋ́n.*[2] *Ka chuŋu e bŋng pŋl ki ḍŋk, gŋ́nà gwák, ka gŋ́ ńi kţţí yţţe kŋ̄lí, ka jal mŋkŋ e péchò kíne: chuŋu ḍgò gŋ́n? Gŋ́ kùdò. Ka chíkà fēchŋ kíne: chuŋu ḍgò gŋ́n? Ka gwok mŋkŋ ka chuŋ́g á rḥńò, ka pḡrá kwòmŋ. Ká gò nḡ́gŋ́, ka ńal ákyḡl e dīŋ́ŋ. Ká máká dwat (dwgt) abich á bḍò, a pyéch yi gwok: yi kŋ̄lá kún? Ka e ko: yá kŋ̄lá fōţe Chŋl; yá chàkà wánò. Ka wéké ḍŋk gŋ́n ádḍk, ka kḡl yi gwok kiţe kwomŋ, ká gwòk á rḥńò, ka wiţa bátò fōţe Chŋl, ka gwok e ko: fōţe Chŋl á wan, à chínḡ; y*[3] *kḡlḡ pach, ká yí wāch: yá yŋ́nà fōţe gwok, mān fá jò, chuŋu fa gwók; yí ký kùt, y kít, yi ḡ (ḡu). Ka ńál ŋní à kudŋ, ŋ fa kḡbŋ; ká ŋ́ bḡkò ki wgr, ko ŋ́ lḡkŋ, gwok e bŋng, kíne: ńal, yi re fa wāch? Kgń kŋ wāch*[4] *ḍŋki, yi ḡ? Ka ńal ḍŋki mŋl (mwgl) ka e wḡjò, kíne: ka wānná ótyèn, ya yŋ́nà fōţe gwòk kí mḡḡá bŋná, mān fa ja, dŋ chuŋu fa gwok, ka mḡḡa nḡki yi gwok, kefa jwang kí kwŋ́p.*

Some people went hunting; they were ten. And they arrived at a very distant place. Two of them lost their way, they walked for two days, then they became quite perplexed. They came to a certain village, where they found women only. After some time the men too came from the bush with the cattle, and they were dogs (the husbands of the women were dogs). They went into the enclosure (the homestead surrounded by an enclosure). And one of the men asked, "Where are the men (of your villages)?" They remained silent. He asked again, "Where are the men?" One of the dogs became angry[3] ("his heart turned bad"). He jumped on the back of the man and killed him. So only one man ("boy") was left. After five months ("he seized five months") he was asked by the dog, "Where did you come from?" He answered, "I came from the Shilluk country; I had lost my way." Then the dog gave him three cows, he was taken by the dog and put on his (the dog's) back, and the dog ran away with him. When they got near the Shilluk country, the dog said, "The Shilluk country is coming near; it is over there. Now when you reach home, tell (your people), 'I was in the country of the dogs, there the women are (real) people, but the men (males) are dogs.' Do not be silent! If you remain silent, you will die!" But the man ("boy") was silent, he did not tell (his story). And during the night he became afraid, he dreamed, the dog came and said, "Boy, why do you not

Remarks referring to XII. vide on page 222.

*539 speak? If you do not speak to-morrow, you will die." And the next morning he spoke saying, "I was lost some time ago, and I lived with my friend in the country of the dogs; there the women are (real) people, but the men are dogs, and my friend was killed on account of his being hasty in speaking (on account of his indiscreet questioning, "Where are the men?" whereby he made the dog angry)."

83. Akwoch.

Jal mɛ̱kɔ̱ wɔtɛ fa abídɛ̱k. Ka ńal àkyɛ̱l dɔ̱ch. Ká fɛ̱rɛ̱ lɩńè yì ńù, ká ńù màgɔ̱ kí bɛ̱ì, ká ńù mɔ̄gɔ̱ kí lwań, ká gɛ́ kítɛ yéj ádàlɔ̱, ka bɛ̱ì kítɛ yej ádàlɔ́. Ka e bɛ̱nɔ̱, ká é kò: yá ńààwɔ̱! Kɩ̱ne: yí ńààwɔ̱ ńɔ̱? Kɩ̱ne: ɛ́, ńíńɛ́ fà ńí kwɔ̱́p. Ka ńí wɛ̱i kɛ̱dɛ́; ka bíɛ yí jál ɛ́ní, kɩ̱ne: yá ńààwɔ̱! Kɩ̱ne: yí ńeàwɔ̱ ńɔ̱? Kɩ̱ne: ńíńɛ́ fà ńí kwɔ̱́p. Ká è kò: lɛ̱dɛ́ ɛ́n! Ka wɛ̱kɛ, ka dɔ̱k ádàlɔ̱ yíɛ̱bɛ́, ka bɛ̱i ríńá wɔ̱́k, kɩ̱ne: wɔ̱́ɔ̱́; ka dɔ̱k ádàl akyɛ̱lɔ́[8] ká gɔ̱ yíɛ̱bɛ́, ká lwáń ríńá wɔ̱́k, kɩ̱ne: wɔ̱́ɔ̱́. Ká è kò: bɩ́ɲh! bɛ̱r gá lwáń, gɛ́ kí bɛ̱ì, e ko: yá fà kámá ńeau; — jal ɛ́ní fa rɩ́t —. Ká ńù kò: bɩ́ɲh, fā dwɔ̱k kɛ̱y gɛ̱n? Ka jal ɛ́ní ko: gɛ ywɔ́dà ɛ́n kí kɛ́ń? Ká ńù kò: fa chɔ̱l? E ko: chɔ̱l kí ɛ́ńɔ̱? Ńu ko: fa chɔ̱l kí ɛ̱ɛ̱n? Ka wɛ̱t bań dwáí, ka chɔ̱l, ka ńù[1] bàńɔ̱, ka ńa bań dwaí, ka chɔ̱l, ka ńù[2] bàńɔ̱. Ká jam bɛ̱n dwaí, ká gɛ́ báńɛ́, ka wɛ̱t jal ɛ́ní chɔ̱l, ká ńù bàńɔ̱. Ka rɩ́t e ko: yí dwátá ńɔ̱? ká è kò: yá dwátá Ákwɔ́ch, — wɛ̱t jal ɛ́ní; ka jál ɛ́ńɛ́ é ywɔ̀ńɔ̱. Ká ńù chuńɛ́ mɛ̱dɔ̱ kífá ńál ɛ́ní, ká gɔ̱ wɛ̱kà, ká gɛ́ kɛ̱dɔ̱ kí gɛ̱n. Ńu wɔ̱dɛ́ bógɔ̱n, ka Akwɔ́ch yígí wɔ̱dɛ́, ka ńu chuńɛ́ mɛ̱dɔ̱.

Ka ńu ńí kɛ̱ta pɛ̱l, ka lɛ̱i ńí ńákè ɛ́n, ka gɔ ńí kɔ̱lɛ́ pach. Ka mɛ̱ ńal ɛ́ní ka ńí ɛ́tál, ká gɔ̱ ńí wɛ̱kè, ka ńal ɛ́ní ńí chàm. Ka ńal ɛ́ní yíga machwé, ńu, chuńɛ́ mɛ̱dɔ̱. Ka gɛ ńí wɛ̱lɔ̱ kí ńal ɛ́ní, ńí kɛ̱dɔ̱ fa (= pach) wɔ̱tè ńu. Ká ńàjè yì ńù bɛ̱ne bɛ̱ne bɛ̱ne, dɛ́ chuńe ɛ́ɛ́n mɛ̱dɔ̱.

*Ka chání àn chuɔ̱là dɛ̱rɔ́; ye ko: máyɔ́! Kɩ̱ne: ɛ́! Kɩ̱ne wɛ̱ki yá dɛ̱rɔ́! Kɩ̱ne: ɛ́ gwɔ̱̄ge ńɔ̱? Kɩ̱ne: y ńɔda lɔ̱ɛ̱. Ka wɛ́kè, ka yaɛ́ maduɔ́n ńɔ́tè ɛ́n. Ka ńɔ́tè ɛ́n, ka e bɛ̱nɔ̱; ka ɛ̱ɛ̄ɛ̱ ɛ́ní ko: yi kɛ̱ta kɛ́ń? Kɩ̱ne: ya kɛ̱te bɛ̱ ńɔ́t. Ńu ko: lɔ́ɛ́ rûm? Kɩ̱ne: nùtí. Ka ɛ̱ɛ̱ɛ̱

ṭɛrɔ̀ biɛ bɛ chɔ́ń, ka ńu e-chɛ̄ńɔ. Ká ńí dɛ́mɔ́ yèy bùr, ka gɛ ṭum ki ṭaṭe yey bur. Ka ḍāṇ gni dɛ̄ńɔ. Ká kṭlè chán dɛ́mɔ́ yèy bùr. Ka ńṭt è dɛ̄ńɔ̀. Ka ńal gni bia wɔk ki wiy yaṭ, ka ńṭt ńí ehɔr yey bur. Ka ńu ṭɔ̄ bɔ̄ne. Ka e kɛ̄ḍɔ, bāń ńù mákè yí ńal gni ki ḍɔ (ḍɔk) ńu; ká ḍɛ̄ṇ a bɛ tūń ká ńí nṭk, ká ḍɛ̄ṇ a tūńɛ nut, ńí kṭlè ɛ́n. Ka wɔt bań mɛn a yiebɛ nut, ka ńí nṭkè ɛ́n, ka wɔt bań yiebɛ bogɔn, ńí wū ɛ́n. Ká gɛ́ ṭùm, ka gɔ dɛ̄ńɔ́ ńù ákyɛ̀l. Ka e rɛńɔ, rɛ́ńɔ́ wák. Ka gɛ kɛ̄ḍɔ ki jàmɛ́ ke ḍɔgɛ, ka kɛ̄ti fōṭe gɛ́n, ká è gɛ̀rɔ̀ kí fàrɛ̀ ki wāi.

Wɛn e ko: ɛ ń jàl kɛ̄ń?" a ḍɔkɛ gɛr kí bāńi gɛr! Kuche wiyɛ, dɛ́ ɛ́n, wiyɛ ńādjɛ." Ká gɛ́ bɛ̀dɔ̀, ka peń ɛ yigi kɛch, ka wɛn byɛl bogɔn ki yɛ, ka ńal gni byɛl nūté yɛ, ka ńémɛ̀n ńí bɛ̄n, ká è kò: ńí ṭōṭe ow ak, ka gɛ ńí ṭōṭe ki byɛl. Ka kɛ̄ṭe yi wɛn, e ko: wɔ́ ṭōṭe byɛ́l. Wɛn e ko: yi mɛ̄n? Kíne: yi jal e kune chínè. Ka ḍuki wɔnɛ́ kɛ̄ḍɔ, kɛ̄ḍɔ yi ńal gni, ka gɛ ṭōṭe byɛ́l, ka ńal gni ko: wiye wín nût? Kíne ɛ́, nût; kíne ka ńāf ùn kíne: jal e wɔ̄ḷɔ̀ yí chwɔ̀ḷɛ́, ka wɔne bɔ̄nɔ, ka wiye gɛn kōfè gɛ́n, ka wiye gɛ́n ye bɔ̄nɔ, ka bia yi wāńɛ̄ chānɔ̀. Ka ńál gni ko: yí rè bɛ̀dɛ̀ wāńí chānɔ? Kíne: wāńa chán yíka kūl wɔ̄dà yì ńù. Kíne: de wɔ̄di kɛń yɔ́ɔ́dí, ń ńdjè yín? Kíne: ńɛ́! Kíne: wɔ̄di ńíńe mɛ̄n? Ka jal gni ko: ńíńɛ Akwɔɔch. Ká è ko: Akwɔń ńdjè yin? ńal gni ko: ṭaṭe yan Akwɔɔch? Ka mákè yi wiyɛ, ka wiyɛ yɔɔńɔ, ká è kūnɔ̀ kí ńùwɔ̄ṭ, ka wiję lyɛl, ka ṭōṭe ki lāńɔ kwach. Ka ṭōṭe ḍɔ̀k, ka wiyɛ dɔ̄ga fārɛ. E ko: biɛ kɛ̄ḍe kach ákyɛ̀l. E ko: ɛ́, ya ɩ bɛ̄dɔ kɛń. Ká gɛ́ bɛ̀dɔ̀, ńal gni ya fārɛ, ká gɛ́ ńí wɔ̄ḷɔ ki reyi gɛn.

A certain man had three sons. One child was pretty, and his fame reached the lion. So the lion caught flies, and he caught mosquitoes too, he put them into a gourd and came saying, "I am selling!" The people asked, "What do you sell?" He answered, "Its name is not to be told." So they let him go. He came to this man (the man the story treats of) and said, "I am selling." He asked, "What do you sell?" The lion replied, "Its name is not to be told." And he said, "Look at it!" He gave him the gourd, and he opened it; the mosquitoes flew out with a loud buzzing; he opened the other gourd too, and the flies flew out with a loud buzzing. The man said, "Why, they are but flies and mosquitoes! I do not want to buy them." — This man was a king. The lion said, "Why, will you not (put them back in) their place?" The man replied, "Where should I find them?" The lion said, "Then will you not make compensation?" The man asked, "What shall I give for compensation?" The lion answered, "A man." So a slave was brought (and was offered) as compensation. But the lion refused him. Then a slave woman was brought and offered as compensation, but the lion refused her too. He brought all his goods, but they all were refused. (At last) a son of the man was brought, but the lion refused him. The man said, "What then do you want?" He replied, "I want Akwoch;" — he was the son of this man (Akwoch is the name of the pretty

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boy whose fame had reached the lion). And this man wept. But the lion was glad because of this boy. He gave him the boy, and he went away with him. The lion had no child, and Akwoch became his child. The lion was very glad.

The lion used to go into the bush, to hunt game; and he used to bring it home. The portion of the boy he used to cook, and then give it to him. The boy used to eat it, and he became fat; the lion was much pleased. And they (the other people i. e. the other lions) used to walk with the boy and used to go into the village of the son of the lion (i. e. the village where the lion and his "son" lived). So all the lions knew him, and they all were much pleased.

One day the boy asked for an ax; he said, "Mother!"[10] She said, "Eh?" The boy said, "Give me an ax!" She asked, "What for?" He said, "I will cut a club." She gave it to him; and he cut a large tree. When he had cut it, he came. (The next day) this woman asked him, "Where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to cut." The lion asked, "Is the club finished?" He answered, "Not yet." The next day he went again to cut a drum. He carved it; and when it was finished, he brought it; but the lion was much pleased. And he (the boy) said, "Mother, bring me a skin (to fasten on the drum)." And a skin was brought, and he stretched it on the drum. When the drum was finished, he said, "Mother!" he said again: "Go and call your people" (i. e. the people of all the villages around, belonging to the lion's family). The lion went, and he told all his people, "A drum has been made by my son, now all people shall come to-morrow." Then he returned.

The drum was placed in the sun (to dry). Then a big hole was dug by the boy, and he put a tree into it; he put a fire into the (hollow) tree and threw the tree into the hole. The tree caught fire in the hole. The hole was covered by the boy, but the fire was burning in the ground. Then the drum was beaten, and all the lions came; and the people said, "Cripple, will you not stay at home?" The cripple replied, "Why should I stay at home? My eyes are not crippled!" Then they said to the blind one, "Will you not stay at home?" He replied, "Are my ears blind?" They asked the deaf one, "Will you not stay at home?" He replied, "Though I am deaf, My eyes are not deaf."[11] So all people came, there was no one left at home. The people came for the drum. Then this boy climbed upon a tree, a big tree, and he beat the drum. The people (= the lions) came to dance, and the lions danced. And (while dancing and not heeding the hole) they fell into the hole; they all fell into the hole. And this man (viz. the lion who was the boy's father, or his wife) was left; and he too was fetched and fell into the hole. Then the cripples[12] were left, and the boy came down from the tree and pushed them into the hole. So all the lions died (were burned in the hole).

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Then the boy caught the slaves of the lion and his cattle. The cattle without horns he killed, and the cattle which had horns, he took with him. And the slaves which had tails, he killed, but the slaves, which had no tails, he let go.[13] When he had finished them all, there was one lion left; that one ran into the bush. Then he went away with all his goods and his cattle, and he went into his native village, there he built his home in a place by itself.

The father (= his father, who at the same time is the father of the children whom he addresses) said, "To whom does this man belong? he has so many cattle, and so many slaves!" His father did not know him, but he (the stranger) knew his father. They remained some time, then it came to pass that a famine came, and the father had no more dura with him, but this boy (the stranger) still had dura. And his brothers (who did not know him) used to come to him, and he used to say (to his servants), "Give these boys dura." And dura was given to them. Then they returned to their father, saying, "We were given dura." He asked, "By whom?" They said, "By the man who is over there." On some other day these boys went again to this man, and they received dura. And the man asked, "Is your father still alive?" They said, "Yes, he is alive." Then he said, "Tell him, 'the stranger ("traveller") calls you'." The boys came. and told their father; and their father came, he came with a sorrowful face. The man (stranger) asked him, "Why is your face so sorrowful?" He said, "My eye is so sorrowful because my son has been carried away by a lion." The man replied, "If you met your son now, would you know him?" He said, "Yes." The man asked, "What is the name of your son?" He answered, "His name is Akwoch." Then he asked, "Would you know Akwoch now?" He said, "Yes, I would know him." The man replied, "No, you would not know him." Then he said again, "Am I not Akwoch?" And his father seized (embraced) him, and his father wept. And he brought a razor and shaved his head, and he gave him a leopard skin;[14] and he gave him cows. Then his father returned to his village. And he said, "Come, let us go (= live) in one place." But he replied, "No, I will stay here. And they remained, the boy in his village, and the father in his village, and they used to visit each other.[15]

84. The Girl and the Dog.

Ñane ɗlechè fá bueɔch, ka kɛta fɔl, e ywódá gwok; kó é kò kine: yina jueɔk! e ko: ɗɔ́ɔ́ yán ke ńāra! ɣ ńueɔmi gwok. Ka ɗɔ́ɔ́e ńārɛ yi jueɔk, ka ńārɛ é dɔ́ńò. Ka ńārɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́á fɔl, ka gwok ywodé, gwok bɛ́dá ńàbɔ́ń. Ká gwók à ko: kɛ́ɛ́í yi māyí, gwok e ko, ye ɗāp ɣ wélkè yán ko-wɛ́n? Ka ńān ɗɔp e bɛ́nò, ko: māyé! Ka mɛn yīyɛ. Ko: yá ywóta gwok fɔl, dɛ́ gwók à ko ne: kɛ́ɛ́í māyi, kòpí kine: gwok e ko:

*539 *ḍāp ʋ wékè yán ko-wɛ́n? Ká máyɛ́ ywɔ̀ń, ka kōpa wíyɛ́; ka wiye e ko: kɛ́l muy (muj) gwok! Ka ńān ʃɛ̄n kɛ́l muy gwok.*

Ka gwok e yɔ́t, ɛ́ búdɔ̀. Ka ńān ʃɛ̄n wéke. Ka gɛ ḍúoḍo, ka gwok é kɛ́ḍò kí ńān ʃɛ̄n, ka gɛ kɛḍo kí gwok, ka gɛ kɛta fén; gwok bɛ̀dá jwɔk, ka kɛta wɔt gwok, yaɛ́ gir bɛ̀nɛ̀, ka gwok e ko: ńí châm kí re yan, ka yi ńí kɛte gɔl! Ka gɔl ye ko: kɛ́ti yɛjɛ! E ko: bán àgàk. Ka gwón ɛ́ní é kɛ̀ḍò, ka ńān ɛ́ni e dɔ̄ńo. Ka ńān ɛ́ni kɛta gɔl gwok, gɔl duɔ́ń, wɔn ɛ́ni wɔt jwɔk.

Ka ńān ɛ́ni rɛ́ńa mal, ka e pāro, ka pen e pyɛ̄dò. Ka ńàn ɛ́ní bía wɔk, kɛ́ti é rńò. Ka gwok e líto, gwok e bɛ̀no é rńò; ńān ɛ́ni rɛ́ńa wɔt kí nam, wɔt ma yɛ́ńa nàm, wɔt maduɔ́ń. Ka gwok e bɛ̀no, ka é bɛ̀dò kí tyɛ́le wɔt. Ka tyɛ́ń wɔn ɛ́ni gɛn abíryàu, ga yɔgɔ chwɔu, ḍāchɔ bogɔn kí kɛ́le gɛn. Gɛn ńí chama lai, ńí kɛ́ti bɛ̀ dwar.

Dān ɛ́ni á fɔ́ńɛ́ wɔt, ka jɔ́k ɛ́ni (ɔ́ní) e bɛ̀no, ká gɛ́ kò: amɛn a ʃāl gin cham? Ka gɛ ńáńò, ka gɛ kɛta bɛ̀ yáf kí wɔt, ka ńàn ɛ́ní ywɔ́t, chuńe gɛ́n mɛ̀dò, e ko: yi yig namēi wɔn. Ka gɛ bɛ̀dɔ, ka ńān ɛ́ni ko: yá chɛ̄tè yi gwok. Ka gɛ́ kò: ágòn ɛ́n? Kíne: ya pén ʃa wɔt, ka gɛ ḷḷtá pén, ka gwok ḷḷtè gɛ́n, ka gwok gɔ́ch kí toch. Ka gwok e ʃū́u, ka wɛte fɔ̄l.

Ka maka wun ga ábí ryàu, ka ńān ɛ́ni ko: yá dwátá kɛḍo bɛ̀ lítɛ chú gwok. Dań ɛ́ni ko: bɛ̀t, yí kɔ́ kɛ́t; ńān ɛ́ni ko: yá kɛḍo! Ka gɛ kɛḍo, ka ńàn ɛ́ní é yɔ̄bo, ká nɛ́kè chɔ̄gɔ́ kí tyɛ́le, ka ńān ɛ́ni ʃū́. Ka ńan é ywɔ̀ń, ka ńān ɛ́ni kwáń yì gɛ́n kíte nam; ńān ɛ́ni kɛ́l yi nam. Ka wíté fɔ̀tè gɛ́n, ka ywote jɔ̄ (= jɔ̄g) chyɛ́k. Ka ńān ɛ́ni kāl wɔk, ka rìt kópè, ka rìt é kànò ḍáchò maduɔ́ń, ka ńān ɛ́ni lwɔk kí pí, ka chāgɔ yɔ́t yi ḍáp ɛ́ní, ka kɔ́l wɔ̀k, ka ńān ɛ́ni ḍwota mal, é chàrò; ka rít kópē: ḍāp a chɛ́r! Ka rít e bɛ̀no, ka pyech yi rít, e ko: yi kɔ́lá kɛ́ń? Kíne ya kāla wɔt ma yɛ́ńà nàm. Ka é ko: yi dwái yi áńò? E ko: yá wékè gwòk yi wiya, dɛ gwok é châtí yán, ya kɛ́tá wɔ́t kí nam. Ka rāp ɛ́ni ká é ywɔ̀ń: ńárɛ̀! Ka mɛn e bɛ̀no, ká é ywɔ̀ń, ka ḍɔk kɔ́l, ḍɔk gɛ̄dè; ka kɛte wɔt. Chɔ̄tè, á tùm.

A woman was without child. She went into the bush and found a dog. She said, "O *jwɔk!* give me a ("my") child! (If you give me one) it shall marry the dog." And a child was given to her by *jwɔk*, and the her child grew up. And the child went into the bush; it found the dog; — this dog was a white one. The dog said, "Go to your mother and tell her, the dog says, 'When will the woman be given to me?'" The little girl came saying, "Mother!" The mother answered. The girl said, "I found the dog in the bush, and he said thus, 'Go to your mother and say to her thus, the dog says: when will the woman be given to me?'" Her mother wept; she told the (girl's) father; the father said, "Bring her to the dog." They found the dog lying. The girl was given to him.

And they (the dog and the girl) rose up, the dog went with the girl, they

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went into the ground; — the dog was jwǫk; they went into the house of the dog; there were many trees there everywhere. And the dog said, "You shall always eat with me; and you shall go into this enclosure." The people of the enclosure said to the girl, "Go to the center." The dog said to the girl, "These are slaves." Then the dog went away, the girl was left. So the girl had gone into the enclosure of the dog, a big enclosure; this house was the house of jwǫk.

One day the girl ran up, she jumped up, and the ground split. The girl came out; she went away running. The dog saw her, he came running; the girl ran into a house in the river, this house was (in?) the river; it was a big house. And the dog came; he remained at the foot of the house (below the threshold). The people of this house were seven; they were males, there was no woman among them. They lived on meat, they used to go hunting.

The girl hid herself in the house; and the people came (home and found their food cooked), they said, "Who has cooked the food?" They were astonished. They went searching the house; the girl was found, they were very glad. They said, "You have become our sister." So they remained. The girl told them, "I am chased by a dog." They said, "Where is he?" She said, "He is in the ground below the house." They looked into the ground and found the dog. They shot him with a gun. The dog died, and they threw him into the bush.

And seven years passed, then the girl said: "I want to go and see the bones of the dog." The boys (i. e. the men in whose house she lived) said, "Stay, do not go!" The girl said, "I will go!" And they (all) went; the girl searched, and she was hurt at her foot by a bone; the girl died. The boys wept. Then the girl was taken by them and put into the river; she was carried away by the river and came to her native country. There fishermen found her; they pulled her out of the water and told the king (what had happened). The king brought an old woman, she washed the girl with water; and the bone was found (in the body of the dead girl) by the woman. She pulled it (the bone) out, and then the girl rose up, she sneezed (became alive again). The king was told, "The girl has sneezed." The king came, he asked the girl, "Where do you come from?" The girl said, "I come from the house which is in the river." The king asked, "What brought you there?" She answered, "I was given away to a dog by my father; but the dog chased me, so I went into the house in the river." And the king wept, She was his daughter! Her mother too came, and she wept. Then cows were brought, they were sacrificed. They went home. — That is all, it is finished.

85. Anyimo and the Lion.

*539 *Ńan ńiṅę Aṅimǫ e dǫ̣ch, ki ómẹ̀n Akwǫt, ki wiyę́; maye gẹn bogǫn. Dǫ (ḍǫk) gẹ́n gîr, dyęge gẹn gîr. Ká ńù e liṅǫ, ká ńù e yigi ḍāṇ, ka ńu bẹ̄nḍ, ka bia yi ńal ẹni, ka ryęch, ka kiti wǫt. Ka Aṅimǫ kôfí ómẹ̀n kine: ṭǫ̣tí ki fik luōgǫ chíńę́! Ka ńan ẹni l̄ṭę yi ńu, ká ńù chúńḭ mẹ̀dǫ̀. Ka ńu ńachǫ kine: yá kẹḍǫ! Ka ṭǫ̣tè ki byę́l. ka ńal ẹni ko: Aṅimǫ, lwǫk mâḍà! Kine: ɣ witi kā chíné, ka yi dúǫ̀k! Ka gę kẹḍǫ. Ka omia Aṅimǫ e dǫ̣ṅǫ bẹ̄ twar ki wǫr. Ka ńal ẹni (ńu) kẹḍǫ, gę chāti ki Aṅimǫ. Ka ńal ẹni ko: Aṅimǫ, a kẹń āṅǫ ẹn? Kine: kẹń ńi kwai ki rǭch. Ka gę kẹti, gę chāṭǫ. Ka ṭim maduǫ́ń yôt, ka ńu ko: a kẹń āṅǫ ẹn? Kine: kẹń ńi kwai ki ḍǫk. Ka gę kẹḍǫ gę chāṭǫ, kẹḍǫ kẹń malǫulǫu, kine: a kẹń āṅǫ ẹn? Aṅimǫ ko: kẹń ẹni kúchè yán. Kine: bụh! ẹna faṅǫ a fyẹń yan?*

Ka gę witi (wotị) būte tugǫ, tugǫ mábậr; ka ńu rẹṅǫ, e rẹṅa kẹle lûm, ka Aṅimǫ ko ne: tuṅǫ [16] kwai ḍāṇ, bùtí ki fẹ́ń, ya yẹta wiji! Ka tugǫ bùtǫ̀, ka kẹta wiy tugǫ. Ka e ko: tuń kwai ḍāṇ, kine: ḍwǫ̀ṭi mâl. Ka tugǫ ḍwoṭa mal. Ka ńu bẹ̄nǫ, e riṅǫ, ka Aṅimǫ yǫ̀tè yi ẹn, e tǫ̀k. Ka ńu ńáńǫ̀, ka e ko: Aṅimǫ e kẹta kẹń? Ka yǭmǫ ńwáchè ẹn; ka l̄ḍá mâl, ká gǫ̀ l̄ḍi mal; e ko: póe! yi fa ṭǫu tîn? e ko: yí nḭ̂gà nḭ̂gǫ̀! ńan ẹni ko: dę ęrę (dẹ̄rę)? Ká ńu gǭ̣dǫ̀ ki fẹ́ń; ka tugǫ ka ńi bẹ̄ńḭ a kama fḭ̂ḍǫ̀. Ka Aṅimǫ ko kine: tuń kwai ḍāṇ, yí ku fḭ̂t! Dǭ̣k kẹji! Ka tugǫ ńi dǭgi kẹję, ka ńu ńi gǭ̣dǫ̀ kẹtę.

Ka ḍǫk l̄ṭè yi ńan ẹni, ka e ko: ńíwà ki ńimia, yana Aṅimǫ, a châmì yi ńù ẹn. Ka yań ẹni é l̄ńǫ̀, a kẹta pach. Ká gę́ kò: ńan mẹ̄kǫ é chwǫ̀tǫ̀, kine: yana chámì ńù ẹn. Ka gę ko: à, wú chágà tǫ̀dǫ̀. Ka ńań dǭṅǫ wûr, ka gę bẹ̄nǫ, gę kwai ki ḍǫ̀k, ka gę l̄ẹ̄tę yi ńān ẹni; kine: ńewà kí ńímìá, yana châm yi ńù ẹn! Ka gę bia pach, ka Akwǫt kôfe kine: ńān mẹ̄kǫ e kōbi kine: yana Aṅimǫ, á châm yi ńu ẹn, dę per ki Aṅimǫ. Ka leń tiń, ka tẹ̄rǫ bẹ̄nǫ. Aṅimǫ kama ṭǭ̣ yi rǫ̀ḍǫ́. Ka lẹ́ń l̄ṭè ẹn, ká è ko: ńíwà ki ńimia, yana châm yi ńu ẹn! Ka tẹ̄rǫ bẹ̄nǫ gę́ rìńǫ̀; ka yôt ńù ę́ yà fẹ́ń, ę́ gǭ̣dǫ̀; leń fa nḭ̂nè ẹn, ka kêl, ka ńu riṅǫ wǫk; ka ńi kêl, ka ńu ẹni fḭ̂ḍǫ̀, ká è ṭǭ̣. Ka ńān ẹni ko: tuń kwai ḍāṇ, buti, ya bia wǫ̂k! Ka é bútǫ̀, ka bia wǫk. Ka wiyę é kàńǫ́ ḍǫ̀k, ḍǫ̀k áńwẹ̀n, mǫk chwǫ̂p ki ṭa tugǫ; ká chàk kḭ̂l ki gin cham ki pi, ka ḍǫk chwǫ̂p ki ṭa tugǫ. Ka Aṅimǫ ṭǫṭe yi pi, ka e è màḍǫ̀; ka ṭǭ̣tę yi mǫgǫ, ká è châmǫ. Wẹn chuńę mẹdǫ ki ómẹ̀n. Ka kḭ̂l pach; ka ńwǫm ka ḍǫk kôl pyar-áńwẹ̀n, wiyę chuńę mẹdǫ.

There was a girl, her name was *Aṅimǫ;* she was pretty; she lived with her brother *Akwǫt,* and her father; her mother was no longer alive. They had many cows and many sheep. The lion heard of her, and the lion turned himself into a man; he came to this boy *(Akwǫt).* He was received as their guest. When he came into the house, *Aṅimǫ* was asked by her brother, "Give me water to wash his hands." So the lion saw the girl; she pleased him very much. After

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some time he took leave, saying, "I am going." They gave him dura, and the boy told his sister, "Accompany my friend a little way, when you have come to that place there, then return." So they went. The brother of *Aṅimo* remained at home, he was sweeping the cow-dung. The boy (viz. the *lion*) went away with *Aṅimo*. While they were walking, the lion asked, "*Aṅimo*, what place is this?" She answered, "It is a place for herding the calves of the people of *Akwot*." They went on and came into a great forest. Again the lion asked, "What place is this?" She answered, "A place for herding cattle." They went on walking and came to a very distant place. The lion asked, "What place is this?" She said, "I do not know this place; dear me, why are you always asking me?" They came to a deleib-palm, a very tall one. The lion ran away, he ran into the grass. Then *Aṅimo* said, "Thou palm of the grandfather of men, lie down, that I may climb upon thu." The palm lay down, she climbed on it, and then said, "Palm of the grandfather of men, rise up!" The deleib-palm rose up. When the lion came running, he found that *Aṅimo* was no more there. He was perplexed and said, "Were has *Aṅimo* gone?" But her smell came into his nose, he looked up and saw her up in the tree. He said, "Póe! you will surely die in a moment!" Again he said, "I will kill you at once!" The girl asked, "Well, how?" The lion scratched the ground (round the deleib-palm), and the palm was beginning to fall down. Then the girl cried, "Palm of the grandfather of men, do not fall! return to thy place!" And the palm returned to its place. The lion began scratching again.

And the girl saw cows, and she cried, "My brother and my father, I am *Aṅimo*, the lion is going to eat me!" The men heard it, they went home saying, "There is a girl crying, 'A lion is going to eat me.'" But the people said, "Nonsense, you are telling stories." Then the old men were sent for, they came herding their cattle (they drove their cattle near the place where the cry sounded); they were seen by the girl, and she cried again, "My father and my brother, I am going to be eaten by the lion!" They went home and told *Akwot*, "There is a girl crying, 'I am *Aṅimo*, the lion is going to eat me.' Her voice was like that of *Aṅimo*." So an armed body was gathered, and they went. *Aṅimo* was almost dying with thirst. When she saw the people, she cried, "My father and my brother, the lion is going to eat me!" The people came running; they found the lion scratching the ground; he did not see the people; he was stabbed; he ran away, but he was stabbed again, fell down and died. The girl said, "Palm of the grandfather of men, lie down, that I may get out." The tree lay down, and she came out. And her father brought four cows, they all were to be speared under the deleib-palm (as a sacrifice). And milk, food and water were brought, and the cows were speared under the deleib-

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*539 palm. They gave *Aṅimo* water to drink, they gave her milk too to drink; then they gave her food to eat. Her father and brother were very glad. She was brought home. She was married for forty cows,[17] so her father was much pleased.

86. An Adventure in the Forest.

E jal ɛn ye kɛt̰i yey ṭim, bɛ̱ gwɛn ki ɗáṅ, ka aṭ̱ɛ̱p aryau ká gi pṵ̀ṅɛ̀, ka lwɔl ka gɔ pṵ̀ṅ. Ka lyɛ̱ɛ̱ch e bɛ̱ŋɔ, ka ḍwoṭ̰i yey ṭ̱ɛ̱p, ká gɔ̀ kɔ̀ṅí chwāke, ka ḍwoṭ̰i rie ṭ̱ɛ̱m akyɛ̱̀lɔ, ka gɔ kɔṅi chwāke; ka ṅwɔle ṅiṅ aryau ka gɛ dɔ̱̀ṅɔ ki ṭa lwɔl, ka lwɔl dwɔgɔ fɛ́ṅ, ka ṅwɔl ṅiṅ ɛni é yɔ̀ṅ̀ ki yey lwɔl, kine: kɔ́r, kɔ́r, kɔ́r, kɔ́r. Ka jal é líṭ̰ò, ka lyɛ̱ɛ̱ch ɗɛ̱̀ṭ̰è ɛ̱n, ka e búṭ̰gò, ka e rɛ̱ŋɔ, ka ṅi pāra kwɔm yat̰, ka ṅi fyɛ̱t yi kwɔ̀ṭ̰; kúchè ɛ̱n, á bwɔ̀k ki mɛn duɔ̱ṅ, ka ṅi kɛ́lè kɛ̱le kwōṭ̰, ka lāṅg ṅí fyɛ̱̀t yi kwɔ̀ṭ̰.

Ka wana pach maduɔ̱ṅ, ka ḍachɔ máduɔ̱ṅ, máyù, ká gò yɔ̀dɛ́ (ywɔ́dɛ́); ka e ko: wáṅò, ṭ̰ɔ̱̀ṭ̰i ya fi! Kine: yi bia kɛ̱ṅ? Kine: ɛ̱, yá kú fyɛ̱ɛ̱ch, ṭ̰ɔ̱̀ṭ̰i yan ki fi mɔ̱̀ṭ̰é! Ka ṭ̰ɔ̱̀ṭ̰e fi mɔ̱̀ṭ̰é. Ka ɗɛ̱́ḍí yi gwok, gwok mánɔ̀dɔ́; ka e ko: mā! Kine: wat bɛ̱̀n á ṅwɔ̱̀l? Ka gwok ɗɛ̱́ḍí yiɛ, ka gwok é ṅárò; ka e ko: bụh! Kine: fárá? Kine: ụ gɔ̱̀ché yán, yik yin fa káchè yán! Ka ḍɛ̱̀n duɔ̱ṅ e ko: búh! wádà, yi bia kɛ̱ṅ? Kine: kút, mā, yá chyɛ̱ti[18] lyɛ̱ɛ̱ch, lyɛ̱ɛ̱ch maduɔ̱ṅ; fúkɛ̱ pɛ̱r ki māné àgàk. Ka ḍachɔ ko: bóí! yi bia kɛ̱ṅ a bɛ̱̀dí yi pɛ̱r ki wuo! Ka e ko: wuɔ ṅájè yán; fat̰ ki ɛ̱na, atɛ̱ṅg da yɛ̱t̰? Ka e ko: ɛ̱, kɛ̱t̰!

Ka e kɛ̱ḍò. Ka gɛ rúɔ̱mɔ̀ par; ka par e rɛ̱ṅò, ka e rɛ̱ṅò, ka fɛ̱ṭ̰i yi kuojɔ, chwɔle ɛn ɛna nam; ka é kwáṅò ki yey kúòjò. Ka ṭ̰ɛ̱rɔ bɛ̱ŋɔ, ka mák; ka kâl pàch, ka fyɛwɛ e fùḍò ki yey wárò, ká è ṭ̰ɔ̱.

A certain man went into a forest to gather Nabag-fruits. He filled two bags and one gourd. (While he was gathering the fruit) an elephant came, he lifted up one bag and put it into his mouth, then he lifted up the other bag and put it also into his mouth; at last the contents of the gourd as well. But two seeds were left in the gourd; they kept rattling, *kɔr kɔr kɔr kɔr*. When the man heard this, he looked up and saw the elephant. He was frightened and ran away, he jumped upon a tree. The thorns of the tree pricked him, but he did not heed it on account of his great fear. He got right into the thorns, his cloth was torn by the thorns. Suddenly he came near a great house. There he met a big old woman; he addressed her, "My mother, give me water!" She asked, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "No, do not ask me, give me water first!" So she gave him water first. Then he was seen by a dog, a dog with young ones. (He saw the young dogs, but not the old one, the mother). He asked the woman, "Are they all your children?" Then he saw the old dog, he was growling. He exclaimed, "Oh dear! shall I run away?" The dog replied, "If you beat me, I shall bite you." After that the big woman asked, "Why, my son, where

do you come from?" He answered, "Be silent, I am chased by an elephant, a big elephant. This pot is quite as large as his testicles."[19] The woman replied, "Well, you do come just from the same place where my father has come from." The man said, "I know your father; is he not the one who has a neck on his necklace?"[19] The woman said, "Now, go on!" 539*

He went away and met with a hippopotamus. The hippo was running (towards him), so he too ran, he came to a place with white sand, thinking it was a river. He tried to swim in the sand. Then people came, they seized him and brought him home. But in the night his heart beat so violently (from excitement), that he died.

87. The Boy and the Hyena.

Ńal mẽkọ gẹ ki ówẹn gẹ wẹ̀lọ̀; ka wọu é yûḍọ̀. Ka ńál àkyẹ̀lọ̀ e ko: byh! e ko: mach y yôtè kẹ̀ń? Ka ówẹn e ko: kújá! Ka ńal ẹni ko: ya fa yẹ́fí (yáfí) mâch? Kiṇẹ: y ệnọ̀? gi[20] *ńál àkyẹ̀lọ̀. Kiṇe: yi fa dọń ki būte jam? Kiṇe: bụ́h! y châmè yán yì ọ́ṭwộṇ! Kiṇe: ệ, yi fa châm yi ọ́ṭwộṇ. Kiṇe: yâ bẹ̀dọ̀. Ka ńal ẹni ko: dẹ yi re fa kẹ̀ṭ bẽ̀ yaf ki mach? Ká è kò: y châmè yán yi ọ́ṭwộṇ. Ka kwọf ẹni wêì. Ka e ko: dẹ wâ bútí! E ko: ệ, y châmè yán yi ọ́ṭwộṇ; ka ńal ẹni ko: gre, buti ki fèń; ya buta ki kwọ̀mì. Ka e ko: dẹ y tệyí fèń yi ọ́ṭwộṇ, ki ya chámè ẹ́n! Ka e ko: gre, bi, buti mál ki kwọ̀má, y kwâń yán yi ọ́ṭwộṇ, ka yí wêì yì ẹ́n. Ka ńal ẹni ko: á! yí gwọ́k ẹ̀dì? Yè kùdọ̀. Kiṇe: dẹ yí fá kẹ́ṭí mâl? Kiṇe: wiy yâṭ? Kiṇe: àwọ́. Ka yẹ̀ṭa mal. Ka ńal ẹni à tẹ̀k, ká èbúdọ́ ki feń.*

Ka ọ́ṭwộṇ e bẽ̀ṇọ bẽ̀ṇe bẽ̀ṇe; ka oṭwọṇ e chàṭọ̀ ki ṭa yaṭ. Ńál à tẹ̀k e nẹ́nọ̀, ka ńi ńwâch yi oṭwọṇ, ẹ́ nẹ́nọ̀. Ńál à màl nẹ̀na fèń chẹ́ṭ, dẹ bõ̀kọ bõ̀kọ; ká é dẹ̀mọ̀ màl yi wụ̂rọ̀, dẹ̀mọ́ kwọm ọ́ṭwộṇ, ka ọ́ṭwộṇ mákè ẹ́n kí yìẹ́, ká è kò: bói! yá kó kôp kiṇe: yu (yiu) mákè yán! Ka ótwộṇ é ywọ̀ńọ̀; ka oṭwọṇ ńi kuọḍọ, ka ńi dyabọ. Ka oṭwọṇ e rẹ́ṇọ bẹ̀nè, ka kẹ̀ṭa kẹch malaulau, ka ọṭwọṇ e ṭõ ki yey wọrọ; ńal ẹni bẹ̀dõ kí kwọ̀mè, ka ńi ko: bói, yá kó kôp kiṇe: yiu mákè yán! E̱ kòbì kẹ̀ṭẹ̀.

Ḏyki mwọl ka owẹn ḍwọṭa mal, ka ḷḍá mál, ńal ẹni tộk! Ka e ywọńọ, kiṇe: ówà châm yi oṭwọṇ! Ka e ḍúòḍọ̀, ká é chàṭọ̀ yej oṭwọṇ, oṭwọṇ chẹṭẹ gîr, ka e kẹ̀ṭa kẹ́n malaulau, ka ńal ẹni yôtẹ́ ẹ́n, ẹ kòbì kẹ̀ṭẹ̀. Dẹ bẽ̀dọ kwọm oṭwọṇ, dẹ mĩṭi yiṭẹ oṭwọṇ, oṭwọṇ ṭõ ki yey wârọ̀. Ka ówẹ̀n è kò kiṇe: ḍwôṭ! Kiṇe: ệ wèi yán! Yá ko kôp, ya ko: yi y mâgà! Kiṇe: wu kôbí kí amện? gik owẹn. Kwọp ówẹ̀n fa líńè ẹ́n, ka mákè yi ówẹ̀n ki chyẹ̀nè; chyẹ̀ṇẹ ṭẹ̀k ki rei yiṭ oṭwọṇ, ka yiṭẹ oṭwọṇ ńọ̀l ki yi ówẹ̀n. Ka tíń màl. Ka e ḍuọḍọ, ka gẹ bẹ̀ṇọ ki owẹn, kiṇe: ńal, wẹ̀ti yiṭ oṭwọṇ! Kwọf owẹn fa líńè ẹ́n; ka ńi ko: bói, ya ko kõbi: yi y mâgà. Ka gẹ waṇa pach, ka ṭẹ̀rọ bẹ̀ṇọ̀ bẹ̀nè, ka ṭẹ̀rọ ńẹ̀ṭi bẹ̀nè, ka lwẹ́ṭẹ́ gệt ki rei yiṭ oṭwọṇ; ka yiṭ oṭwọṇ wẹ̀ṭẹ̀.

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*539 A boy went travelling with his uncle. When the sun went down, the one said, "Why, where shall we find fire (for the night)?" The nephew said, "I do not know." The first said, "Shall I not go to look for fire?" "What shall I do in the meantime?" was the reply of the other one. His uncle said, "You stay here with our goods." "No," said the nephew, "I would be eaten by the hyena." He replied, "No, you will not be eaten by the hyena." But he said, "I refuse to stay here." Then his uncle asked, "Why will *you* not go to fetch fire?" But he replied again, "No, I would be eaten by the hyena." So they left this matter. His uncle asked, "Shall we not lie down now?" He replied, "No, I would be eaten by the hyena." His uncle said, "Well, you lie down below, and I will lie upon you." He replied, "But suppose you are rolled down in the night from upon me by the hyena? Then I shall be eaten by her." His uncle said, "Well, then you lie upon me, so I shall be taken by the hyena, and you will be spared by her." The boy said, "Ah! what are you going to do?" Then he was silent. Again his uncle asked, "Will you not go up?" He said, "On a tree?" The uncle replied, "Yes, on a tree." So he climbed on a tree, and the brave boy (the uncle) lay down on the ground.

In the night came all the hyenas; they walked below that tree. The brave boy slept. A hyena came and sniffled at him, but he was asleep (and so she left him undisturbed). But the boy on the tree was awake, he was looking down staringly, he was awfully afraid, and at once he fell down, and fell on the back of the hyena. He caught the hyena by her ears and said, "Ha! did I not say I would catch you?" The hyena cried, and she dunged, she dunged very much. She ran away with the boy to a very distant place. There the hyena died during that night.[21] The boy was still on her back, and he still continued saying, "Did I not say I would catch you?" He said these words continually.

The next morning his uncle arose. He looked up, the boy was not there! He began to cry, saying, "My nephew has been eaten by the hyena." He arose and followed the way of the hyena. The dung of the hyena was on the whole way. He went to a very distant place. There he found the boy, he was still talking (the same words). He was still on the back of the hyena, holding fast her ears. But the hyena had died in the night. His uncle said, "Rise up!" But he said, "No, leave me alone! I did say, 'I would catch you (the hyena).'" He asked, "To whom did you say so?" He did not listen to the words of his uncle. Then his uncle caught his hands; the hands were tight around the ears of the hyena, so that the uncle had to cut off the ears of the hyena. Then he lifted him up, he arose, and they came. The uncle said, "Boy, throw away the ears of the hyena!" But he did not listen to his uncle's talk, he only kept repeating, "Well, I did say I would catch you." When they came near their home, all

the people came; they all laughed. They loosened his fingers from about the ears of the hyena and threw the ears away. 539*

88. Nyajak.

Ḏay[22] *mɛ̄kɔ yeje da ḍāṇ, ka e ńwɔlɔ, ka būl gɔ̄ch ki pach máłłwí, dɛ tɛ̄rɔ ywotɔ būl; fān ɛni fā fān ńu. Ka ḍāṇ a chɛt ńwɔl; tɛ̄rɔ ko: ɛ́, yi re kōbi? yi ṭɛ̄ṇ! E ko: ɛ́, ya kɛ́ḍò. Ḏāṇ ɛni bɛ̄da jwɔk. Ka e kɛḍɔ ki tɛ̄rɔ. Ka kɔt é mɔ̀kò, ka gɛ ngnɔ gɔ́l ńù. Ńu bɛ̄da ḍāṇ; ka ki wɔr owɔne é nɛ̀nò, ḍāṇ a chɛt ńwɔl e nɛ̄nɔ, ńájè ɛ́n, ɛna ńu. Ka ńu chama yɛfa wɔt, ka ńan ɛni ko: yin amɛ́n â? Ka ńu ko: Ńàjàk! Ka ḍāṇ ṭɛ̄ṇ ko: ɛ̌! e ko: yi nūti ngnɔ? Kine: ya nūti ngnɔ. Kine: yi da kɛch? Kine: àwɔ́! Kine: yi fa nɛ́kè ki ońwɔk?*[23] *Kine: àwɔ́! Ka ońwɔk nɛ́kè yi ńu, ka ṭūl yi ńu, ka wɛ̄ke Ńajak, ka kwáńì yi Ńajak. Ka ńu ko: Ńàjàk! Kine: ɛ́? Kine: ka yi chām yau! Ka eko: awɔ́! Ka yi nɛn yau! Kine: awɔ́! Ka ńu kɛḍɔ, ka káłá bɛ̀ḍò, ka e duɔgɔ, chama yɛpa wɔt. Ka Ńajak ko: yin amɛ́n â? Ka e ko: Ńàjàk, yi nūti nɛ̄nɔ? Kine: ńɛ̂! Kine: yi da kɛch? Kine: awɔ́! Ka e ko: yi fa nɛke wat? Ka e ko: awɔ́. Ka wat nɛ̂k, ka ṭūle ɛ́n, ka wɛ̄ki Ńajak; ka ńu ko: chām yà! Kine: awɔ́! Ka yi ngni ya! Kine: awɔ́! Ka ńu dɔ̄gɔ, ka e duɔgɔ, yɛfa wɔt, ka Ńajak ko: yin amɛ́n â? Kine: Ńajak, yi nūti nɛ̄nɔ? Kine: awɔ! E ko: yi dwata ńɔ? Rei da kɛch? Kine: awɔ! Ńu ko: nɛke yin ke dyɛl? Ńajak ko: ɛ́, ya kɩ nɛ́kè dyɛl; ya da rɔ̄ḍɔ. Kine: dɛ kān ki ánò? Kine: ɛ́, kāni ki dɔńɔ. Ka rɛńa gat ki dɔńɔ, ka ńi kɛpe ki pî, ka pi ńi rāra pɛ́ń, ka chwê ńi ḍɔ̄ńa yeje, ki ńwɔl rech; ka gɛ ńi mūti yi ńu, ka ńi chika tɔ̄mɔ, ka pi ńi rāra pɛ́ń. Ka ńi fɛ̄ka fɛ́ń bɛ̄ mūt ki chwê, ki ńwɔl rech.*

Ka Ńajak wō gɛ́n túkè ɛ́n, ka gɛ ḍwoti mal, kine: ánò? Ńajak ko: ńu fa kama wá chām? Ka e ko: chāmun ki ríńɔ anan! Ńu ńāje Ńajak fa chɛt bɛ̄nɔ. Ka wō gɛn kɔ̄fè ɛ́n kine: rɛńun! Ka wɔmɔn e rɛ́ńò, rɛńa fōte gɛ́n. Ka Ńajak e dɔ̄ńɔ. Ka ńu kōrɛ e būḍɔ,[24] *ka e bɛ̄nɔ, ká é chwòtò kine: Ńajak! E kudɔ. Kine: Ńajak! e kudɔ. Ka ńu ko: adī? Ńajak a nɛ̀ni. Ka bia wɔt, ka e ko: Ńajak! E kudɔ. Ka maeh kōt, ka wɔmɔn yɔ̄te ɛ́n gɛ tɔ̄k. E ko: búh! Ńatyau Ńajak! Wɔte gɛn a kɔ̄lè ɛ́n! Ka Ńajak ko: â, fate yan ɛn? Ka fārɛ kwɔm Ńajak, ka Ńajak e wāńɔ. Kine: ńatyau Ńajak, e kɛta kɛ́ń? Ka Ńajak ko: fate yan ɛn? Ka ńu ńi fāra kwɔmɛ, ka fa mákè ɛ́n, Ńajak ńi wāńɔ. Ka ńu kōrɛ būḍɔ. Ka Ńajak e kɛḍɔ, e kúchè yi ńu.*

Ka wɔne wita pach, ka ńu ɛni bɛ̄nɔ, ka yigi yat madɔ̄ch, maduɔ́ń, ɛn olam: chune gɛn mɛḍɔ ki ɛn. Ka Ńajak kɔ: wu kɩ ńi kɛt ta yat, yap ɛni fa ńu! Kine: ɛ́, Ńajak e chaka fyɛt. Ńcjak ko: ó, ya rum ki kwɔp.[25] *Ka ńwɔle wotapɔ ńi kɛ́ń wiy yat, ka ńu e fārɛ ki wotapɔ. Ńajak ko: á, kwɔfa a łíńè wún chɛ̂, ka jɛ̄ wite gɛ mūm, ka e kɛḍɔ. Ńajak kɛti yi ńu, ka yige ḍāṇ maduɔ́ń yū yū yū. Dɛ e kwɔmɔ ki kɛ̄mɔ; ka ńu ko: ɛna ńate ńɔ a yɔ̄ ɛ́n? E ko: ńan kwache fi! Ka tɔ̄te ki fi; ka e*

*539 *mādọ, ka e dúọ̀gọ̀, ká è dọ̀gọ̀, ka e lọgi yẽjọ. Ka ṅu kẹṭa gạt bẽ̱ dwatọ (dwẹtọ) fi mẹn ṭāle ṅaṅ ẹni. Ka kôl yi Ńajak, ka gẹ rẹṅọ, ka gẹ waṇa fach.*

Ka ṅu bẽ̱nọ, ka e ko: byh! ṅaṅ ṭẽ̱n gẹ kẹṭa gẹ kẹṅ? Ko: faṭe ṅatyau Ńajak a kẹl gẹn? Ka e bẽ̱n ṅu bia pach Ńajak, ka e yigi ṅān madọ̄ch, bẽ̱ wājọ ki omia Ńajak. Ka ṅu ko: omia Ńajak ágọ̀n? Kine: chwọ̀l! Ka omia Ńajak chwọ̀l, ka gẹ wājọ. Ka Ńajak e bẽ̱nọ, e ko: bụ́h! e ko: omia, yi re rach kinau? Kúchè yin ẹna ṅu? Ka ṅal ẹni ko: kẹṭ, yi rach ki fyẹt. Ka Ńajak ko: mọgi, ya rum ke kwọf. Ka Ńajak e kudọ. Ka ṅal ẹni è nẹ̀nọ̀, ka waṅ gôl yi ṅu.

Chōṭi, ka ṅu kẹṭa fāre, ka ḍụki omẹn ywode ẹn, é ywọ̀ṅọ̀. Ńajak ko: yi re? Ko: waṅ a gôl. Ka Ńajak ko: yá chá de kōbọ kine: mẹn ẹni (ani) fanẹ ṅu; dẹ anan yi kōbi adi? E kudọ. Ka Ńajak e kẹḍọ, ka yigi ḍāṇ duọṅ, ka e bẹ̱n, é chàṭọ̀ kẹṭa fay ṅu; ka wiṭa (wụṭa) fach, ka e ko: wẽl a ḍá kàl ẹn! Kine: kụ̀lí jwọk! Ka e bẹ̱nọ, ka e ko: bụ́h: oṅimia, yi nụ̄ti bẹ̱dọ kẹṅ? Ka ṅu ko: yin amẹn? Ka e ko: ya faṭe ṅimiau, a kẹ́lè yọ̄mọ kāke duọṅ? Ka e ko: ḍ, wija chaka wilọ, ka ṅu ywọṅọ, chuṅẹ mẹdọ. Ka gẹ wājọ, gẹ ki Ńajak; kúchè ṅu; e ko, chọgọ nẹ ṅìmẹ́n. Ka Ńajak lìḍa mal, ka waṅ omẹn lẹ̀ṭè ẹn ki mal, ka Ńajak e ko: ṅemia! Kine: é? Kine: ānọ a yọm fẹ̄t ki wọt? Ńu ko kine: faṭe waṅ omia Ńajak? Ńajak e ko: á yôtè ẹ yà kẹṅ? E ko: ky dwai àn, ka ria yiga ṅan a ḍachọ. Ka ṅu ko: a gụ̄la wāṅẹ. Ńajak e ko: ẹna kẹ̄l ẹn, ka dẹ grẹ a fa kiṭi wọk? Ka kiṭe wọk; ṅu ko: dẹ ky gwârè agak? Kine: ẹ́, fa gwâr, ỷ kôr yi wá. Ka Ńikaṅ e fẹ̄chọ ko: dẹ kwọn y ṭálè ágọ̀n? Ńu kine: a wôl ẹn! Kine: á, dọ̄ch.

Ka ṅu ko: ṅimia, ya kẹṭa gạt bẹ̱ dwẹtọ pi. Ka Ńajak e ko: kẹṭ! Ka ṅu e ko: kỷ kọṭ, kor waṅ omia Ńajak, kifa ọ̄ gwârè àgàk! wei ọ́ ṭád wá ki gin cham. Ka Ńajak e dọ̄ṅọ kí tẹdọt, ka ṅu kẹṭa gạt, ka Ńajak waṅ omẹn kwáṅè ẹn; ka rei gẹ agak, ka e fārọ, ka dọ̄gọ fōṭe gẹ́n. Ka omẹn yôtè ẹn, ka waṅ omẹn kiṭe, ka omẹn e dọ̄ṅọ.

Ka ṅu bẹ̱ni ki gạt, ka waṅe yōde gọ ṭọ̄k, ka ḍāṇ ẹni yôt ẹ ṭọ̄k. Ka ṅu ywọṅọ, kine: bụ́h! yeṅa ṅatyau Ńajak! E ko: Ńajak, kōra bụ̄ṭ ki yẹ; ya fu dọ̄k kẹṭe! Chōṭi, ka Ńajak wei yi ṅu. Ka Ńajak e dọ̄ṅ gẹ ki ómẹ̄n. Ńu e chōgọ, fa chiki dwọṅ.

A woman was with child, and she bore a child (which was named Nyajak). One day the drum was beaten in a village far away. The people went to dance to the drum, this village (where the drum was being beaten) was the village of a lion. And the child which had just been born (too wanted to go to dance). The people asked her (the child, a girl), "How, why are you saying, you also want to go? You are still so small!" She said, "Never mind, I will go." This child was a *jwọk*. It went with the people. When they arrived there, it began to rain, so they went into ("slept in") the house of the lion. This lion was a man.[26] During the night the other girls (who had come with Nyajak) slept, but

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the child which had just been born, was awake; she knew that the man was a lion. The lion wanted to open the hut (where the girls slept), but this child (Nyajak) asked (from within), "Who is there?" The lion replied, "Nyajak!" The child answered, "Eh?" The lion went on, "Are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "I am not yet asleep." The lion questioned, "Are you hungry?" "Yes, I am." The lion went on, "Would you not like to have a ram killed?" Nyajak answered, "Yes I would." So the lion killed a ram; he cooked it and gave it Nyajak; Nyajak took it. Then the lion said, "Nyajak!" She replied, "Eh?" "Do eat!" enjoined the lion. She answered, "All right!" The lion added, "And then sleep!" Nyajak replied, "All right!" The lion went away and waited some time. Then he returned, trying to open the house. But Nyajak again asked, "Who are you?" The lion replied, "Nyajak, are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "Yes, I am." The lion asked, "Are you hungry?" Nyajak replied, "Yes, I am." "Would you not like to have an ox killed?" asked the lion. Nyajak said, "Yes, I would." So an ox was killed and was cooked by him and given to Nyajak. The lion said, "Do but eat!" Nyajak replied, "All right!" The lion turned away. After some time he came back and tried to open the hut. Nyajak asked, "Who are you?" The lion said, "Nyajak, are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "Yes, I am." The lion inquired, "What do you want? Are you hungry?" Nyajak replied, "Yes, I am." The lion said, "Have a goat killed!" Nyajak replied, "No, I won't have a goat killed, I am thirsty." The lion asked, "In what shall I bring water?" Nyajak said, "Why, bring it in a basket!" The lion ran to the river-bank with a basket, he dipped it into the water, but the water streamed down on the ground, only leeches and small fish remained in the basket. He thrust them out and dipped the basket again, but the water flowed out on the ground, and the lion sat down a second time to pick out the leeches and the small fish.

In the meantime Nyajak awakened the other girls, and they arose asking, "What is the matter?" Nyajak said, "Is not the lion going to eat us?" Then she said to them, "Eat this meat (the sheep and ox which the lion had killed for Nyajak)!" Nyajak knew the lion would not come back quickly. When they had eaten, Nyajak said to the girls, "Run away!" They ran away home to their country. Nyajak alone remained. At last the lion was tired (of dipping water with a basket), and he came calling, "Nyajak, are you asleep?" He came into the hut saying, "Nyajak!" She remained silent. The lion lighted a fire, and he found that the girls had gone. He said, "This cursed Nyajak has led her comrades away." Nyajak replied, "Why, am I not here?" The lion sprang at Nyajak, but she disappeared. The lion cried, "This cursed Nyajak, where has she gone?" Nyajak replied, "Am I not here?" The lion sprang again at her,

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*539 but did not catch her, Nyajak had disappeared. At last the lion was tired, and Nyajak went away; but the lion did not know it.

The girls arrived home. And the lion came to them; he had turned himself into a beautiful big tree, an olam (a sycomore fig); the girls liked him very much.[21] But Nyajak said, "Do not go under that tree! This tree is a lion!" They replied, "Why, Nyajak begins to lie!" Nyajak said, "All right, I shall say no more." The girls climbed on the tree; suddenly the lion seized them and fled away with them. Then Nyajak said, "Well, what did I say just now ("my talk has been heard by you exactly")?" The people were much perplexed; they went away. But Nyajak went to the lion, she turned into a very, very old man, she went limping on a crutch. When the lion saw her, he said, "What kind of man is this old person?" Nyajak replied, "A man begging for water." And he gave her water; then she went back. But presently she came back again, she had turned into a rat. The lion had just gone to the river-side to fetch water in order to cook the girls whom he had caught. Nyajak drove the children away and brought them home.

When the lion came back, he asked, "Why, where have the little children gone? Is it not this cursed Nyajak who has taken them away?" And the lion came into the village of Nyajak, he had turned into a very fine girl, he came to converse with the brother of Nyajak. The lion asked, "Where is the brother of Nyajak? Call him!" The brother of Nyajak was called, and they conversed together. But when Nyajak came, she exclaimed, "Oh dear, brother, how can you do such a wicked thing? Do you not know this is a lion?" The boy said, "Go away, you are a great liar ("you are bad with lying")." Nyajak replied, "It is your own affair, I shall say no more." And Nyajak remained silent. But while the boy slept, his eye was taken out by the lion.

That is all, and the lion went home to his village. But the next morning Nyajak found her brother weeping. She asked, "Why?" The boy answered, "My eye has been taken out!" Nyajak said, "Did I not tell you this man is a lion? what do you say now?" He was silent. Nyajak went away, she turned herself into an old woman, she went walking. When she arrived at the home of the lion, she cried, "Here is a traveller at the gate!" The lion replied. "Welcome!" She came in and exclaimed, "Oh, my brother, are you still here?" The lion replied, "Who are you?" Nyajak said, "Am I not your sister who had been carried away by the wind a long time ago?" The lion said, "Ah, my! I had almost forgotten!" The lion wept, he was very glad. And they talked together. The lion did not know that it was Nyajak, he believed her to be his sister. And Nyajak looked up and saw the eye of her brother. She said, "My brother!" The lion replied, "Eh?" She asked, "What is it makes such a bad

smell in the house?" The lion answered, "It is the eye of the brother of Nyajak." Nyajak asked, "Where did you find that?" He answered, "I brought it, I had turned myself into a girl, and so I took out his eye." Nyajak said, "As you have brought it, will you not take it down (and show it to me)?" The lion took it down, saying "But mind, lest it be taken by the crow!" Nyajak said, "No, it will not be taken, we shall watch it." Then Nyajak asked, "But where is flour for cooking?" The lion answered, "It is just being pounded." Nyajak said, "Ah, that is good." 539*

After some time the lion said, "Sister, I am going to the river-side to fetch water." Nyajak said, "Go!" The lion said, "Take heed, watch the eye of the brother of Nyajak, lest it be taken by the crow; we will cook it together with our meal." So Nyajak was left in the house, while the lion went to the river. But in the meantime Nyajak took the eye of her brother and then turned herself into a crow; she flew up and returned into her native country. She found her brother, put his eye into its place, and so her brother was cured.

When the lion came back from the river, he found that the eye had gone, and he saw that the woman was also gone. He began crying, "Alas, you cursed Nyajak!" Then he said, "My heart is tired with this Nyajak, I shall never return to her." That is all. And Nyajak was left alone by the lion, she lived with her brother. The lion remained in his place, he never returned anymore.

89. Ajang.

Ḍachǫ mɛ̱kǫ wɛ̱ḍɛ̱ chwɔ̀lá Ajaŋ. Rach kí órɔ̀k, rǫk gīr, dɛ̱ tɛ̱rǫ bɛ̱n chuńɛ gɛ̱n rach kí gn; fa ńí furǫ byɛ̱l ńí cháká kwɛ́l. Mɛ̱ɛ̱yɛ yɛ̱ɛ̱ fɛ̱t, e ko: ńal ɛ̱ni gwɔ̱kò yán kídi? Ka e kɛ̱ḍǫ, é chɛ̱ɛ̱ kí ńal ɛ̱ni, é kɛ̱ɛ̱ḍò kí gɔ̱n, kɛ̱ɛ̱ḍò kúndó ɛ̱ɛ̱t. Kɛ̱ɛ̱ ɛ̱ni lɛ̱ɛ̱wà chàrò kí pach, ka gɛ̱ bɛ̱dǫ kí tɛ̱ɛ̱ńɛ nàm. Ka mɛ̱ɛ̱yɛ̱ yɔ̱ɔ̱ńò, e ko: bɛ̱ɛ̱h! Ya kōba kídi kí wɛ̱ḍà? A fɛ̱ɛ̱dé yɛ̱ɛ̱ja! ɛ̱rɛ̱ bɛ̱ńɛ ńań, mɛ́n bì gǫ wɛ̱kè ɛ̱n!

Ka jal mɛ̱kǫ e bɛ̱nò, ká à kò: ḍɛ̱ɛ̱p, yí rò yɔ̱ɔ̱ń? Kɛ̱ne: yɛ̱ɛ̱ja fɛ̱t yi wɛ̱ḍà, wɛ̱da ńí kwala jàmé tɛ̱rò; dɛ̱ yan ya kɛ̱l ɛ̱n, ɛ̱ dɛ̱ ńań gǫ wɛ̱kè ɛ̱n. Ka jal ɛ̱ni ko: ɛ̱ wɛ̱ké yán, ɛ̱ fɛ̱tè yán! Ka ḍáchò kùdò. E ko: yí ký bɛ̱ɛ̱ì, ɛ̱ fɛ̱tè yán, ɛ̱ ńí ɛ̱ɛ̱ɛ̱ḍé kí jámɛ́, ɛ̱ fwóné yán kí gwɔ̱k. E ko: kɛ̱ɛ̱ fɛ̱r dwai, e ko: ńí bi, ka yi chwɛ̱ɛ̱tí kɛ̱ne: wiy nam! E ko: ya ɛ̱ bi wɔ̱k. E ko: ɛ̱ jám, jámé wɛ̱ḍà, gɛ̱ ńí wɛ́kà yín. Ka e ko: dɛ̱ɛ̱ch yàu! Ka jal ɛ̱ni kɛ̱ɛ̱ḍá nám, gɛ́ lwɔ̱ɛ̱ò kí ńa ńal ɛ̱ni, ka kɛ̱ɛ̱a nam. Ka gɛ̱ rɔ̱ńò.

Chōɛ̱ɛ̱, ka ḍɛ̱ɛ̱p ɛ̱ni kɛ̱ɛ̱a pach; ka ńa fɛ̱r dwai, ka ḍɛ̱ɛ̱p ɛ̱ni e bɛ̱ɛ̱no, ká é chwɔ̱ɛ̱ò: wiy nam! Ka jal ɛ̱ni yɛ̱i, ka e bɛ̱nǫ, gɛ̱ kí ńa ńal ɛ̱ɛ̱p; ńál ɛ̱ni chwé chàrò; mɛ̱ɛ̱ chúńɛ̱ mɛ̱ɛ̱dò. Ka gɛ̱ mɛ̱ɛ̱a kí mɛ̱ɛ̱, ka mɛ̱ɛ̱ kɛ̱ɛ̱a pach; ka jal ɛ̱ni dɛ̱ɛ̱gá nàm.

Dɛ̱ ḍɛ̱ɛ̱p a ḍaçhǫ chuńɛ mɛ̱dǫ kí ńa ńal ɛ̱ɛ̱p. Ka ńal ɛ̱ɛ̱p é ɛ̱ɛ̱ńò, mɛ̱ɛ̱ ńí ɛ̱ɛ̱ɛ̱ḍé kí jám kí chàń, ka ńal ɛ̱ni e didǫ kí dɛ̱ɛ̱ch kí gwɔ̱k jal ɛ̱ni; gwɔ̱k jal ɛ̱ni bɛ̱nɛ̱ a kwɛ́nè ńál ɛ̱ni.

*539 *Ka ńal gni ţûpè yi ńá gǫ́l jál ɛ́ní, ɥ gɛ kɛ́pè gɛ́n. Ka gɛ kɛ́pò ki ńal gni. Ka ɖāp gni e ko: wá fa fūr? E ko: ɛ́, wá fa fūr! Kine: dɛ anan, yi ɥ (yu) gɛ̄k èdī? Kine: ɛ́, kúchè yán! Ka ńal gni wijɛ mūmò ki yi yǒ, mɛn kɛ́tí wǫ́k.*

Jal gni kɛ́ţ bɛ̄ wɛ̄ţò. Dɛ ɖǫk gīr ki yɛ, wɛte ban gīr ki yɛ, dyɛk gīr ki yɛ, jám bɛ̄n ki yɛ. Ka e ko: dɛ ya kɛ́ɖa kidī? Dāp gni ko: kwań lōţ jāl ɛ́ní, ka yi kɛ́ţ, yi ɥ yite ki yǒ. E ko: ɥ bɛ̄ńɛ́, yī ká nūk, ɥ ţówɛ́, ka yí bi wā bɛ̄dò. Ka ńal gni e kɛ́ɖo, ka mayɛ ywodɛ, ka fyech yi mayɛ kine: yi re bɛ̄n? Kine: yā bi, chuńa rach ki jal gni yá rūm kí gwǫ́k. Ká è gɛ̄dò ki fárɛ́, ka ɖrɛ ńi bia yɛ, ka ɖrɛ bia (biɛ) bɛ̄ ńeau ki fi ki yɛ, figè à yìń yɛ̄, e mɛ̄dò. Ka ɖrɛ tōdò kine Ajań ya fūl kun a chípɛ́. Ka jal gni e bɛ̄nɛ, ka e yɛgɛ obírò, ka e kiţi fi, ka wɛ̄kè ńal ɛ́ní, e kuche yi ɖāp gni. Ka ńal gni e ko: máyó! Kine: ɛ́! Kine: fūń àn ku kūl! Ka fuń gni wɛ́l ki yi mɛn. Ka ńal gni ɖwoɖɛ chàmá kɛ́ɖa wok, ka reyi gɛ e yígó ɖāp, ka rɛ́ńá bán ńal gni. Ka ńal gni e yigɛ chòr, ká è fūrò; ka jal gni e yigɛ chòr, ka fūra bāńg. Ka gɛ kɛ́ɖo, gɛ́ rìńò. Ka reyi gɛn ńi mákɛ́, ka gɛ ńi fūɖo ki ńal gni. Ka ńal gni yik ágàk, ka jal gni yik ágàk, ka gɛ kɛ́ɖo kí gòn, ka ńal gni dɛ̄má nam, ka ɖāp gni tɛ́ńg a mén fén yi ńa gǫ́l gɛ́n, ka jal gni dɛ̄má kwɔ̀m tɛ́ń; ka yɛ́ɛ́ţ tóyl yi tɛ́ń, ka jal gni é ţū, ka rɛp ki mach. Ka ńal gni kɛ́ɖa bɛ̄ dwai mayɛ ki jámɛ́, ka ńa gǫ́l jal gni yigi chégɛ́, ka bāńé jal gni yigi mógɛ́ ki jam bɛ̄n.

A woman had a son whose name was Ajang; he was very wicked and did many evil things. All people were dissatisfied with him. Whenever they planted dura and it began to ripen, he used to steal it. His mother was tired with him, she said, "What shall I do with this boy?" She went away with her son and came with him to some river. The place was very far away from their home. They sat down on the river-bank, the mother began to cry, saying, "Alas, what shall I say concerning my boy? My heart is tired with him. Why, if only a crocodile would come, I would give him the boy!"

Then a man came, he asked, "Woman, why are you crying?" She answered, "My heart is weary with my son; he has a habit of stealing other peoples' property; so I have brought him here (thinking), perhaps there might be a crocodile to whom I could give my son." The man replied, "Give him to me, I will educate him." The woman remained silent. The man said, "Do not be afraid, he will be educated by me, I will give him goods, I shall teach him to work, and each month you may come to the river and call me, 'Father of the river!' Then I shall come out and give you the goods belonging to your son." The woman replied, "All right!" So the man went into the river with the boy. They waded into the water, went towards the middle, and dived there.

That is all, and the woman went home. When one month had passed, she came and called, "Father of the river!" The man at once replied to her call and he came out with the boy. The boy was very fat; so the mother was

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well pleased. They greeted the mother, and then she went home, and the man with the boy returned to the river.

The mother was very much pleased with her son; by and by he grew up, and each time (when she went to the river) the mother used to receive some goods; the boy was very diligent in learning the crafts of the man; he mastered all the crafts of the man.

But the wife of this man (of the father of the river) tried to persuade the boy to run away with her. She asked him, "Shall we not run away?" Again she asked, "What would you do here any longer?" The boy replied, "Why, I do not know." He was much perplexed, not knowing a way which might lead them out. — The man had gone on a journey. But he had plenty of cows, many goats, and all kinds of goods. — Now the boy asked, "But how shall I get out?" The woman replied, "Take the club of the man and go, and you will find the way. If he comes, kill him, so that he dies; then come back, and we will live together." The boy went; he found his mother and was asked by her, "Why do you come?" He answered, "I am very much dissatisfied with that man, I have stopped working with him."

The boy built a village, in which he lived; and the people used to come to him to buy water from him, because the water he had was sweet. But the people told the man (the father of the river), "Ajang is in the bush yonder." So the man came, he turned himself into a pot which he filled with water. The mother of Ajang gave him the pot, she did not know the pot was a man. But the boy warned his mother, "Mother!" She asked, "Eh?" He said, "Do not take this pot!" So every one left the pot alone. The boy arose to go out. Then the pot turned into a man and ran after the boy; the boy now turned into a vulture and flew away; the man also turned into a vulture and followed him flying. So they were flying in the air; the man seized the boy and fell on him. Then the boy turned into a crow, but the man also became a crow, always pursuing him; at last the boy fell into the river (in which the man's wife was still living, waiting for the return of the boy). The wife put her husband's spear into the ground, her husband fell on the spear, his belly was pierced by the spear so that he died; and he was put into the fire ("was seized by fire"). Then the boy went to bring some of the goods to his mother; and the wife of the man became his wife, the slaves and all the property of the man became his.

90. The Snake.

Ka ji mǫ̃kǫ́ á wǫ́ḷ́, wǫ́ḷ́ Mǫ́ŋǫ́, ka ɣɛ́ kɛ́ḷ́, ka ɣɛ́ wiḷ́, ka ɣɛ́ wǫ́ŋǫ́ yɔ̃, ka ɣɛ́ ɣ́ŋa yu ńwel, ka ɣɛ́ ɣ́ka fen, ka ɣɛ́ ko: bɔ́h! u pen tich edi? Ka ɣǫ́l e bǫ́ŋǫ́, ńwel,

*539 *ka jal akyŋlo pŋra mal, kine: ʈwŋl anan! Jal akyŋl ko: á, faʈe ʈwŋl, bā riŋ! Kine: faʈe ʈwŋl duŋń? Ka jal ŋni é rŋńó, ka pana ŋūdí yaʈ; ka ʈwŋl ɛ pŋchò, kine: jal akyŋl a kŋa kŋń? Kine: kúchè ydn. Kine: dŋ yí rè dŋń? Kine: jal e cha e kōbŋ kine: yína ʈwŋl, dŋ yá kò: dŋ yi ba riŋ, dŋ e ko: yi ba ʈwŋl! Kine: ɛ́, ka gŋ kájá, ka e ŋ̄. Ka ʈwŋl e kŋdŋ, ka jal e bīnŋ e lépé lépò, ka kŋjŋ kōńŋ pén, ka nyŋńa pen. Ka ʈwŋl e bŋnŋ, ka e yūbŋ, jal ŋni ŋ̄k, ka ʈwŋl e kŋdŋ, ka ʈwŋl kālŋ tŋń. Ka ʈwŋl pŋra mal, ka jal ŋni rŋńa pen, ka ʈwŋl e yūbŋ, yapa jal ŋni, ka e bŋnŋ, ka duŋga pén; ka gūdŋ chīte pen, ka e ŋ̄.*

Ka jal ŋni bia wŋk, ka kŋa pach. Ka e ko: ʈwŋl a nŋ̄gá. Jal acha a kájí! Ka jī ko: ŋ, ŋūp nŋkè yín! Kine: ky kōpè yà kōpŋ, kine: ʈwŋl a bia cha, dŋ e rŋń wa. Ka e ko: che gŋn a riŋ! Ka ya kò: ʈwŋl duŋń! A bŋná, a nŋ̄gí ŋūp, a kŋŋá, a yōdá ŋūp á ŋ̄. A kwōná kájá, a bīn ʈwŋl, a kŋla kí tŋń, a ʈówŋ. A kōbí jī: kŋde lī wa. A kŋ ʈī, a yōdŋ, á ŋ̄. A kōbí jī kine: ŋ, dīch, dwai wŋʈ! A kŋl wŋʈ, a lāmá, a chwōp ŋín, a guŋn chūwí, a kŋl kí pach. A ywŋk ŋūp, a dwai chū ńwŋl, a lŋ́gŋ́ wŋl.

Some people travelled to *Mŋáŋ*. As they were walking and had reached a certain place, they lost their way. They turned aside at the trace of a snake. At last they sat down, saying, "Why, what shall we do in this country?" Then a snake came, a *ńwel*; one of the men at once jumped up, crying, "There's a snake!" The other one said, "Oh no, it is not a snake, it is a king!" His friend said, "Is it not a big snake?" This man ran away, he hid himself behind a tree. The snake said to the one who remained, "Where has the other man gone?" He answered, "I do not know." Again she asked, "But why do you remain?" He answered, "That man said you were a snake, but I said you were a king; he said again you were a snake." The snake only replied, "Eh?" then she bit him, and he died.

When the snake had gone away, the other man came crawling cautiously; he had dug a hole at his place; he made it deep in the earth. The snake came and searched, but the man was not there. While she was going away, she was stabbed by the man; she jumped up, the man ran into his hole. The snake was searching, she searched for the man. At last she came down, in falling her belly was thrown violently on the earth, and she died!

Then the man came out and went home. He told the people, "I have killed a snake! The man who accompanied me, was bitten by her!" The people replied, "Ah, you have killed that man." He answered, "Did I not tell him, 'there is a snake coming, let us run!'? But he said, 'No, it is a king!' I said, 'No, it is a great snake!' The snake came, she killed the man, I ran away, and when I came back, I found the man dead. After that I dug a hole in the place where I was, and when the snake came, she was stabbed by me with the spear, and she died." The people said, "Let us go and see it!" The people went and

found (him i. e. the man, or, the snake? probably the latter) dead. They said, "Why, all right, bring oxen!" And oxen were brought, they prayed, then the oxen were speared. They picked the bones of the man up, and brought them home. The women wept (mourned). They brought the bones of the snake too, they became a charm. 539*

91. The Crocodile Hunter.

Ñaá ŋgkę ruch kí make ji; ka ŋyíŋ dwaí; ka eyíŋ kíŋę, ka e kíŋę gwok, ka gwok mík fet kí búte nam. Ka gwok e ywgíę ywgá, ka náá e líŋę, ka e chiu, ka e kíŋ e ríŋę, cham á ckíŋę, ká à rjtę. Jal gwí e budę kí yey líim, ka náá pgra mal, ka kíl yí jal gwí, ka náá fgra nam. Ka jí kíŋ, ka mákè yí ŋrę, ka tíl yí ŋrę, chama wuge ga (dę) wok. Ka ch(kę kítę, ka ţol ckíte yí náá, ka e kęgę náá.

Ka jal gwí e dítè, chuę ruch. Ka náá e kíţę, ka jal gwí e kíţę, g keew kí yęí. Ka wiję pach ŋgkę, ka e náau kí gín cham, ka díţ gţ yí ygí, ká á chítę, ka náá yüt (yüt) e wiţ fíţe gín; náá kída gíę. Ka jal bío wíţ, ka kgę pach, ka kgę gol náá. Ka e kędę kí gá kíl, ká á chuţ kíne: wgl a gá kíl gu! Ka chuęl kíne: kí kal! Ka e kíŋę, ka fíka fet, ka gíte kí gín cham, ká à chámę, ka gíte kí mggę gbr, ka e mígę, ka e buţę. Ka líga mal, ka leę́ítè ín kí mal; ka let akytę́ę́ítę gu kí mal. Chítę́, ka tal gwí e fíchę kíne: ...., ka e yíi. Kíne: jal gęl un e kęţę kgá? Kíne a kę de pach! Kíne: chuęl! Ka e dwaí. Kíne: ya chuęl yí mgu? Kíne: yí chuęl yí wgl! Ká e kíŋę, ka gę mítę. Ka e ko: ómgá, yí bía kgá? E ko: ya kgla fíte mdíkulíu; e ko: ya kí kę yafa leę. E ko: ya kgla náá, náá marach kí cham kí ji; e ko: ya chaka yaf, kę: fín gu a líga leę kí mal, kí mgu akytę. E ko: dę ckugla, náá a gí; dę yí kíbí adí? fa udíi yam? Ka jal gwí ko: náá gwí kędí gíę. E ko: fate yan gu, gua kgle yín? E ko: tgá fa líte yín kí waá bata? Kí man akygl a waá yuítí gu! Ka jal gwí e bugę, e dalí yí kwíp. E ko: yí u díik kę ŋgke náá kgti? E ko: í, ya fa díik. Ka gę kuííę́ę́ wgk, ka gę wíkí. E ko: ía náá mafíę, e ko, kgá ŋ ŋígí, e ko: ggli u tyíkè ydu. Ka jal gwí ko: í, ya fa díik kí ŋgke náá. Ka náá e ko: ara, kíí! Chítę́, ka tal e kíţę. Dí á kítè, e ckígę, fa ckíka ŋgke náá.

A crocodile was very bad in catching people (caught very many people). And a crocodile hunter was sent for. The crocodile hunter came; he took a dog and tied it to the ground on the side of the river. The dog began howling at once; the crocodile heard it and came to the surface. It came running, and when it was near enough, it dived again. The hunter was lying amidst the grass. When the crocodile jumped up (to catch the dog), it was stabbed by the man; the crocodile jumped back into the river. But people came, and the crocodile was caught by them and pulled out. When they were near the river

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bank, they stabbed it a second time; but then the rope was broken by the crocodile, and it swam away.

The man was left on the river-bank; he was vexed. When the crocodile had gone away, the man also went; he rowed a boat and came to a village, and brought food, then he returned to his boat, and went on rowing. And he found out the crocodile had gone home to its own country. This crocodile was a man. And the man left his boat and went into a certain village. He went into the enclosure of the crocodile (but without knowing that it was the crocodile's). He remained outside the fence and called out, "A traveller is at the gate!" From inside some one called, "Come in!" He came and sat down. Food was given to him, and he ate, much beer was given to him, and he drank. Then he lay down. When he looked up, he saw a harpoon above (sticking in the roof of the hut); and he saw still another harpoon above. The man asked, "Girl!" She answered, and he went on, "Where has the man of your home gone?" (Only the girl was at home). She replied, "He has gone into the village." He said, "Call him." So she sent for him. The man asked, "By whom am I called?" He was answered, "By a traveller." He came, and they saluted each other. The man asked, "Brother, where do you come from?" The crocodile hunter answered, "I come from a very distant country, I have come to search a harpoon, I stabbed a crocodile, a crocodile which was famous for having eaten many people. When I was searching, I saw a harpoon in this place, above there; and I saw another one too. But I thought, the crocodile was dead (and now I find here my two harpoons with which I stabbed the crocodile)! What do you say of that? Will you not give them to me?" The man said, "This crocodile was a man! Is it not I who was stabbed by you? Do you not see the spear-wound in my side, and the other one in my arm-pit here?" When the man heard that, he was afraid; he did not know what to say. The other asked him, "Will you ever again go to hunt crocodiles?" He said, "No, I shall not do it again." Then the man took the harpoons down and gave them to him. But he said, "If you kill even a small crocodile child, I shall finish up your whole family!" But the crocodile hunter said, "No, I shall not kill crocodiles any more." Then the crocodile said, "Well, go!" That is all, the man went away. But he was afraid, he kept to his word, he never killed crocodiles again.

[1] "they stood two days": they passed two days, two days passed.
[2] "they found women only there": they found only women.
[3] if (you) go home.
[4] if you do not tell; in conditional negative sentences *ky* generally is used.
[5] Taking the stranger's question for an insult.
[6] "and the mouth of one calabash, and he opened it".

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[7] *ná* has low tone; here a high tone is added to it representing the *é* "he", which is dropped, but its tone is preserved.
[8] "he is man where?" of which place is this man? *kgá* originally means place.
[9] "he was not known to his father, but he, his father was known to him."
[10] Probably the wife of the lion.
[11] This is to show that not a single person (lion), not even the cripples, the blind and the deaf, remained at home.
[12] They were left because they could not dance, and so did not fall into the pit.
[13] Who these slaves are, and why the cattle without horns were killed, is not clear.
[14] The leopard skin is the royal robe.
[15] This story vividly recalls that of Genesis chapter 37, and 42—46.
[16] from *tugg*.
[17] Such was the dowry in "the good old time."
[18] instead of *chygte yt*.
[19] of course he ought to have said, "his testicles are as big as this pot," and, "who has a necklace on his neck." Apparently from excitement and confusion the man misplaces his words.
[20] *gik*.
[21] From exhaustion.
[22] from *dachg*.
[23] will you not have killed a ram?
[24] and the lion, his breast was tired.
[25] I have finished with talking, that is: I shall say no more, (since you will not hear)!
[26] Was a man who was able to change himself into a lion, and into a tree; see below.
[27] The olam is a tree with a broad, beautiful shady crown.

XIII. ANECDOTES.

92. The Travellers.

*539 *Jǫk akyɣlǫ é wɛ̀lǫ, ka gɛ máké yi kɛ̀ch. Mǫgǫ nut ki yi gɛ̀n, mɛ̀n ye da aɣɛ̀p, ɛ́ fán, ka jal akyɛ̀l chyɛ́nɛ́ ɣɛ̀k, lɛ̀da gɔ̀ró, jal akyɛ̀l ní chàm ki rei mǫ́kɛ́. Ka gǫ ní fyɣjǫ kíne: ówá, yi fa ʃɔ̀ɛ ki rei mǫ́ki? Kíne: ɛ́, ya ky ʃɔ̀ɛ.*[1] *Ka jal ɛ́ni e kudǫ. Ka ní wei bɛ̀dǫ ki kɛ̀ch. Ka ní chíka fɛ̀chǫ ɖukí, kíne: jal ówá, yi fa ʃɔ̀ɛ? Ka e ko: Ki rei mǫ́ka wala ki rei mǫ́kí: Kíne: ɛ́, ke rei mǫ́ki. Kíne: ya ky ʃɔ̀ɛ. Ka ní chíki fyɣchǫ kíne: ówá, yi fa ʃɔ̀ɛ? Kíne: ki rei mǫ́ka wala ki rei mǫ́ki? Kíne: ɛ́, ki rei mǫ́ka. Ko: ʃɔ̀ɛ yan ki ná-máɣɛ̀n,*[2] *ka ʃɔ̀ɛ ki rei mǫ́kɛ́. Kuche ɛ́n, gǫ́n a mǫ́kɛ́. E kɛ́mǫ ʃɛ̀; ká è chàmɔ̀, ka e yɔ̀ǹǫ, ka e ɖuoɖǫ, ka ní wɛ̀jɔ̀, ka chíka fyɣchǫ, kíne: yi fa ʃɔ̀ɛ yi mǫgǫ? Kíne: rei mǫ́ka wala rei mǫ́ki? Kíne rei mǫ́ka. Ka ʃɔ̀ɛ ki rei mǫ́kɛ́, ka e chɔ̀mǫ.*

Ka ɖuki ko: wɛ̀ kɛ́ɣ! Kíne: àwɔ́! Jal ɛ́ni ɛ́ chwè; chama ńwal aɣɛ̀bɛ́, ka aɣɛ̀bɛ́ yɔ̀ɛ́ ɛ́n, mǫgɛ́ dǫ́ń e ǫ́ɣɛ̀. Kíne: ɛ́, mǫ́k a cham yi mɛ́n? Ńal ɛ́ni ko: mɛ́n an ní chámè yín ki chɔ̀ńí. Kíne: ɛ́, ɛ́rɛ́ mǫ́ka nūti wei yin? Kíne: ɛ́, kɛ́ń de ʃɛ̀u ki yi kɛ̀ch, mǫ́ń ɛ́ní fa re dǫ́ń ki fɛ́ń? yi re cham adi? Ká è kùdǫ.

Chɔ̀ɣi, ka kɛ́ɣi fɔ̀ɛ ɛ́ɣɛ́n, ka wiɣa pach, ka tyɛ́ń ǫ́ǫ́lɛ́ yɔ̀tè ɛ́n, e ńwǫl ki ńa-wɔ̀dɛ́, ka ńal akyɛ̀l ńa-ǫ́ǫl yɔ̀tè ǫ́ǫ́n ńwɔ̀ɣlǫ ki ńa-ńárɛ́. Tyɛ́ń ɛ́ní chuńe ǫ́ǫ́n mǫ́dǫ, ki rei ɛ́ ǫ́ǫ́n yǫ́ka (yǫ́ǫa) mɔ̀ɣi, kíne: ńa-wɔ̀da y dɔ̀ńǫ cha mɛ̀kǫ, ki ńan ńári ke wei ńɔ̀me rei ɛ́ɣɛ́n, kifa wa mɔ̀ɣi.

A dɔ̀ńí ńal ʃɔ̀ɣ, ka gɛ ńwǫm, ka gɛ bɛ̀dǫ ki ɛ́ɣil ɛ́ɣɛ́n, ka ǫ́ǫl ɛ́ɣɛ́n ɛ yigi kyɛ̀l. A chɔ̀k.

Two men were travelling together. On their way they became hungry, but they had food with them; each had a bag full of food. But one man was stingy, he was a niggard. But the other man used to eat of his food. And he asked his companion, saying, "Brother, shall I not give you of your food?" He replied, "No, don't give me!" His friend was silent; he left his friend hungering. But the next day he asked him again, "Man, brother, shall I not give you?" He replied, "Of my food or of yours?" The friend answered, "Why, of yours." He replied, "Don't give me!" Again he asked, "Shall I not give you?" He asked, "Of my own or of yours?" He answered, "Well, of mine." Then he said, "Give me a little!" And he gave him of his (of the stingy one's). But the stingy one did not know that it was of his own. He was almost dying of hunger, so he ate. When he had had enough, he rose and began to talk. The next day his friend asked him once more, "Shall I not give you some food?" He replied, "Of mine or of yours?" The friend said, "Of mine." But he again gave him of

[1] "I will not be given"; "may I not be given".
[2] "a small chūē", that is: a little bit.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

his (the stingy one's), and he ate. The next morning he said, "Let us go!" His friend replied, "All right." He had recovered his strength; he wanted to feel his bag. When he found that there was but a little left in his bag, he asked, "Why, who has eaten my food?" His friend said, "You yourself have eaten of it every day." He replied, "How, did you not leave untouched my food?" The friend said, "If you had died of hunger, for what reason should that food have been left? what should you have done with it?" The man was silent. 539*

That is all, and they went into their country. When they arrived in their village, they found that both their wives had born children, one a girl and one a boy. So they were both very glad, and they became friends. The stingy one said to his friend, "Friend, some day when my son has grown up, then let him marry your daughter, because we are friends."

The girl grew up, and they married, and they lived in both their homes (inhabited the homes of both their parents), and their homes became one. It is finished.

93. A Goat-story.

Dyɛl a kɔ̄l̀ kí Tūńò kí Achɛte-gwok, ka kíta Ákùrùwár, ka dyɛl á lɔ̄yò, ka ní tʃʊ́ńa fɔ̄n, ka ní nɛ́nò, ka ní ńwɔ̄lò. Ka ɖʊ́kí dyɛl ní kɛ́ɖò, ní kɛ́ɖò fɔ̄n, ka ní ńwɔ̄lò, ka ní ɖwɔ́ɖò, ka ní kɛ́ta fɔ̄n, ka ní ńwɔ̄lò. Ɖʊ́kí ka ní ɖwɔ́ɖò kí ńwɔ́lɛ kí bāńɛ, ka ní kɛ́ta fɔ̄n, ka ní ńwɔ̄lò, ka ní ngʊ́ò, ka ní ɖwɔ́ɖò kí ńwɔ́lɛ ke bāńɛ, ka gɛ́tɛ́ Tūńò Achɛte-gwok, ńwɔ́lɛ gɛ̄r.

A goat was brought from *Tūńò Achɛte-gwok*, it was brought to *Akurùwar*; there the goat ran away and turned to a certain village, there it stayed (for some time) and brought forth young ones. The next day the goat went away, it went to another village and brought forth young ones again. After that it arose, went to some village and brought forth young ones. The next day it arose, with all its young ones behind it; it went to another village, there it brought forth young ones; it stayed there for some time and then arose with its young ones behind it. At last it arrived again at *Tūńò Achɛte-gwok*, with plenty of young ones.

94. The Glutton.

Fɛ́ń da kɛ́ch, kɛ́ch madugń. Dɛ́ jal akyɛ̄lò yɛ́ by byɛ̄l, dɛ́ ní chama bup. Ka byɛ̄l ɛ́ dʒ̄ńò, ka byɛ̄l e chɛ̄gò, ka dɛ́kɛ́ kɛ́ch gen kí byɛ̄l, ka ní chām kí abwok, kí ńɛ̄r, kí ním. Ka byɛ̄l chɛ̄gò, ka ńa gɔ̄lɛ́ kɔ̄fɛ́ kíne: ʃāɖí gin cham madugń! Ka yí ńɛ̄ch kí byɛ̄l, ka yí bɛ̄k kí abwok, ka yí ńɛ̄ch kí ńɛ̄r, ka yí kyɛ̄t kí omɛ̄t, ka yí kyɛ̄t kí ním, ka yí tʃʊ́ kí mańa mátʃɛ́! Ka gɛ́ ʃum, ka gík gní kɔ̄l, ko: chíp ńima kā! Ka fɔ̄lò fɔ́kè ɛ́n, ka e chāmò; ka ní chíkí chāmà kɛ́ń, ka ní chɔ́kɔ́ kɛ́ń. Kɔ́ è yūńò, ka e ko:

*539 *cham! e kōbẹ̀ kẹtẹ. Yẹjẹ bán chấm, ko: yí ḡ tin! Yẹjẹ ban. Ka fālẹ kwánè ẹn, e ko: ótyin yi ní chama bup, dẹ kōra būṭ ki yí, ẹ, chấm! Yẹjẹ bane cham; ka yẹjẹ chwópè ẹn, ka e ḡ.*

There was a famine, a great famine. One man had no more dura, he used to eat mud. When the (new) dura had grown up and it ripened, and the time had come for the people to rub dura-ears in their hands, and they ate the new dura, and maize, and beans, and sesame, and the dura was quite ripe, then this man said to his wife, "Prepare a great meal, boil dura, and cook maize, and boil beans, and roast green dura, and roast sesame, and prepare vegetables too." When all these things were ready, the woman brought them. He said to her, "Put them before me!" Then he sharpened his knife and began to eat. He ate, now from this, now from some other dish. When he was filled, he said, "Eat!" — He said this to himself. — But his belly refused to eat any more, it said, "You will die at once!" His belly refused. Then he took the knife and said, "Formerly you (belly) used to eat mud, and I was tired with you, why, eat!" But his belly refused to eat. He took his knife and stabbed his belly, and he died.

95. Bachet.

Ye[1] *jal má riṭ, ye da wạt bánẹ́, níṅẹ́ Bachet; wẹn chuńẹ mẹ̀dẹ. Ka Bachet gẹ̀tè ki fārẹ, ká è bẹ̀dẹ̀ wổì, ẹn a jầgẹ̀. Ká tẹ̀rẹ̀ chùnè gẹn yígí márách ki Bachet; ka gẹ ní biẹ̀ bẹ̀ gúń. Ka Bachet ní chwọ́l, ka e bẹ̀nẹ, é tyètẹ̀ kí kòt. Ka ní fyẹt chè yi riṭ kine: ńẹ̀ a tyétí? Kine: wuo! Kine: ya biẹ bẹ̀ gyẹr kí kòl. Ká riṭ è kò: wạt bánà, wiji nẹ̀tí wìlẹ̀ ki gyẹr ki gblò? Ka riṭ chuńẹ yiga márách kí tẹ̀rẹ̀, kine: wu chaga fyẹt. Ka ńal ẹni wổì dẹ̀gẹ́ fārẹ́, ka kẹta fārẹ́.*

Ká tẹ̀rẹ̀ ní fòtè ẹn, ká jámè tẹ̀rẹ̀ ní kápè ẹn. Ka tẹ̀rẹ ní biẹ bẹ̀ gúń. Ka ní chwọ́l, kine: kòfì Bachet, kú bì ẹ yà wiy kyẹń, ka kú bì é chấtà tyẹ́lẹ́. Ka Bachet bẹ̀n, e chātẹ ki wiy kyẹń, chà fàch é chấńẹ̀, ká yípá wọ́k kí wíy kyẹ̀ń, ka tyẹ̀l àkyẹ̀lẹ̀ weyẹ wiy kyẹń, ká tyẹ̀l àkyẹ̀lẹ̀ yẹńa fèń, ka e bẹ̀n é chấtẹ̀. Ka riṭ e ko: á gìn ńẹ̀ à gwọ́k ki yín kẹ̀nàu? Ká è kò: fatẹ yin a kōp kine: yá kú chấtẹ̀ ki wiy kyẹń, kine: yá kú chātẹ ki fèń? A wéyá tyẹlà ákyẹ̀l kí wíy kyẹ̀ń, a weya tyẹla akyẹl ki feń. Ka riṭ é ńẹ̀tẹ̀, ká è kò: yí bẹ̀ṭ, yí fa nẹ́kè yán; kẹ̀ṭ dẹ̀k fāri!

Ka Bachet dẹ̀gẹ́. Ka dẹ̀gẹ́ yi kwọ́pẹ́, ka tyẹ́ń ẹni biẹ bẹ̀ gúń yi riṭ. Ka riṭ e ko: Bachet ụ nẹ́kè yán de chań tin! Kine kẹ̀ḷun! Ká gẹ́ kẹ́ḷẹ̀. Kine: kènè mẹnẹ ki tẹń gyẹ̀nẹ! wu bẹ̀nẹ̀! Ka mẹn ní kènẹ̀ (kẹ̀nẹ̀). Ka Bachet dwổí, Bachet fa kápè yi riṭ. Ká è bẹ̀nẹ̀, ẹ bụ tẹń gyẹ̀nẹ, má kụ̀lè ẹn. Ka riṭ è kò: ńān kụ ámẹ̀l ki tẹń gyẹ̀ńẹ, nẹ̀gè nẹ̀gè! Dwọ̀ṭí mal! Ka ḡāẹ ní ḡwọ́tá mál, ka tẹń gyẹ̀nẹ ní wèl fèń. Tẹ̀rẹ̀ lẹ̀nè á ḡwọ̀tí mal, ka Bachet è dẹ̀ńẹ̀. Ka riṭ e ko: Bachet, yi re fa ḡwọ́ṭ? E kudẹ. Kine: Bachet, yi re fa ḡwọ́ṭ? Ka Bachet ḡwọṭa mal, ka tẹń gyẹ̀nẹ bòyẹ̀n, mẹn dẹ́ń

[1] *Ye* "he" has here rather the sense of "there was".

ki fēn. Ka Bachet chyɛ́ŋɛ́ ɖ̣ɔ̀ɔ̀, ká ɛ́ yɔ̀ɔ́ŋ, kíne: ɔ́, ɔ́, ɔ̀! Ka rɪ̀ɪ̀ e fɔ̄chɔ kíne! ɛ́ŋɔ̀, Bachet, gɔ a gɔ́ɔ́kɔ̀ yí kɪ̀ŋàu? Bachet kíne: gyɛ̀ɔ ní ɛ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ɖ̣ɔ̀ ɔ́ɛ́ kɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀ gɛ́n, gɛ́ bɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɖ̣ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ? fa ní ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́l! Ká ɔ̀ kɔ̀: ará (ɛ̀rɛ́), yá fá ɔ́ɖ̣ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ? Ka rɪ̀ɪ̀ e ɖ̣ɔ̄ yi ɛ́ɔ́ɛ́ɔ̀, e ko: yi bɔ̀ɔ̀, kɛ̀ɛ̀, dɔ̄ɔ̄k fāri! 539+

There was a man, a king, he had a slave whose name was Bachet. He liked him much. He built a village for Bachet at a separate place, where Bachet became chief. But the people of the village were dissatisfied with Bachet, and they came to the king to complain. Bachet was called by the king, and he came carrying thorns (such as are used in house-building). The king asked him, "What are you carrying there?" He answered, "My lord, I come to make a fence (for you)." The king replied, "Ah, my slave, you still think of building me a fence?" And the king became angry with the people and said, "You lie!" He let Bachet return, and he went to his village.

And (again) the people were beaten by their chief Bachet, and their property was taken by him. So they went again to complain of him. The king gave order to call him, saying, "Tell Bachet, he must not come on horseback, and he must not come on foot either." And Bachet came riding on horseback, but when he approached the village, he alighted from the horse; he left one foot on the horse, and one foot was on the earth. So he approached walking. The king asked, "What is that? why are you doing thus?" He answered, "Did not you give order, I must not come on horseback, nor on foot either? Therefore I left one foot on the horse, and am walking with the other." The king laughed saying, "You are a clever one! you shall not be killed, go, return to your village."

Bachet returned, but he went on in the same manner (troubling his people). The people came again complaining to the king. The king replied, "Bachet shall be killed this very day!" Then he said, "Go! every one of you bring a hen-egg, and then come back." So every one brought an egg. But this order of the king had not been told Bachet, and so he came without an egg. When they were all assembled, the king said, "Every one who does not lay an egg, shall surely die! Rise up!" So every one rose up, leaving his egg on the ground. All the people rose up, only Bachet remained seated. The king asked, "Bachet, why do you not rise up?" He was silent. Again he asked, "Bachet, why do you not rise?" Then Bachet arose, but there was no egg under him. Bachet stretched out his hands crying, "O o oh!" The king asked, "What is it, Bachet, that you are doing thus?" Bachet replied, "Do you think all these could have laid an egg by themselves, if there had not been a cock? Well, I am the cock!" The king almost died with laughing; he said, "You are a clever one, go, return to your village!"[1]

[1] As the name of the hero shows, this story is of Arabic origin.

96. The Country Where Death is Not.

*539 *Jal mɛ̄kɔ mayɛ nut. Dɛ mayɛ ko, chamɛ bɔ̄kɔ ʈɔ̄, chama dwata fwōɲe bɩ ʈɔ̄. Wɑdɛ ko: fwōɲe bɩ̀ɲ ʈɔ̄ e yɛ̀ɲ kun? Kɩne: ɛ́, kɑ̄l yan, nut! D̲āɲ ɛ̀ni ba yū.*

Ka gɛ kɛ̄dɔ̀, fōɲ ɛ̀ni lɑulɑulɑu, fwoɲe yey bɩ ʈɔ̄. Ka ńí tɔ̄ńa pach mɛ̄kɔ, ka ńi kwachɔ pi, ka gɛ ńi ʈɔ̄ʈe, ka ńal ɛ̀ni pɛ̄chɔ̀ kɩne: ʈɔ̄ nut ki fōɲ? Kɩne. ɛ́, yi kɑ̄la kɛ̀ɲ, ɛ̀na fyɛ̀ɲɛ ʈɔ̄? Ka e ko: maya bɔ̄kɔ ʈɔ̄; maya dwata fōɲe bɩ ʈɔ̄. Kɩne: ɛ́, kɛ̄dun! Ka gɛ ńi kɛ̄dɔ, ka gɛ ńi ʈɔ̄ńá fān kɛ̄te, ka gɛ́ ńi fɛ̄chɔ̀. Kɩne: ɛ́, yina ńate ńò, ɛ̀na fyɛ̀ɲ ʈɔ̄? ɛ́, kɛ̄dun; ʈɔ̄ nut. Ka kɛ̄ta fɔ̀dɔ̀ málɑ̀ulɑ̀u, ka e fɛ̄chɔ kɩne: fōʈe wun bɛ̄t adi? yejɛ da ʈɔ̄? Kɩne: ɛ́, jɛ̄ fá ńi ʈɔ̄u. Ka mayɛ chuńɛ minɔ, e ko: dɔ̄ch, wɑ̄dà, yá kɑ̄l yi yín fōɲe fa ńi ʈɔ̄u yejɛ.

Wɑ̄dɛ mɛ̄kɔ mɑ̄dɛ̀, ka mayɛ kiʈi gɔl ɛ̀ni. Ka e ko: máyá ànàn, wei bɛ̄dɛ kí yín; yá kɛ̄ʈi fōʈe wɔ́n, ya ɩ maki run gɛ ádɛ̀k, fanɛ kɛ̀ɲ ɩ bɛ̄ńá bɛ lɛ̄ʈɛ̀ wún ki maya. Mayɛ chuńɛ mɛdɔ.

Ka ńal ɛ̀ni e dɛ̀gɔ̀, dɛ̀gɔ̀ fɔ̀ʈɛ̀ gɛ́n. Ka e bɛ̄dɔ fōʈe gɛ́n.

Ka d̲āɲ ɛ̀ni wijɛ kāgɔ; ká è kɔ̀bɔ̀: mɑ̄ʈ wɑ̄dà, wíjá kāgɔ. Ka ńal ɛ̀ni d̲wɔd̲ɔ, ka e dwatɔ jɛ̄. Ka jɛ̄ bɛ̄nɔ, ka jɛ̄ pɛ̄ka pɛ́ɲ, ka ńal ɛ̀ni ko: wú chwɔ̀lé yán kifa mayɛ mɑ̄d̲a anan. Wu gwachɔ ki ńyɛ̀ɲ, mɔk ɩ yɔ̀de wɑ̄dɛ, dɛ ko: wijɛ kāgɔ, dɛ rińɔ ɩ rɛ̄ɲ; dɛ fana fa kɩne: ɩ ńāl. Ka d̲āɲ ɛ́ní ywɔ̀ń, kɩne: ɛ́, jwɔk bóɔ̀ɲ, wija fa kāgɔ! Tɛ̄rɔ ko: ɛ́, mák, rejɛ rińɔ! Ka mák, ka kɑ̄l, ka táyi fɛ́ɲ, ka ńāl, ka riño pɑ̄ńì. Ka ʈɛ̄rɔ chāmɔ ki rińɔ. D̲uki ka ńyɛ̀ɲ gwách, ka ńyɛ̀ɲ kāń yi mɔd̲ɛ wɑ̄dɛ.

Ka wɑ̄dɛ bɛ̄nɔ, ka fɛ̄ka fɛ́ɲ, ka ʈɔ̄ʈe gin cham, ká è chàmɔ̀. Ka e pɛ̄chɔ̀ kɩne: maya agɔn ɛn? Ka mɑ̄d̲ɛ ko: mɑ̄d̲á, mayɛ mákè yi jwɔk, wɔ́ gwájɔ̀ ńyɛ̀ɲ, dɛ ńyɛ̀ɲ ak; dɛ ńāl kifa rińɔ ɩ rɛ̀ɲ; dɛ wɔn, ʈɔ̄ bogɔn ki fɔ̀ʈɛ̀ wɔ́n, d̲āɲ kɛ̀ɲ a mák yi jwɔk ńi chaka ńālɔ. Ńal ɛ̀ni ko kɩne: bɔ́h! ya ńeau māya!? eko: yū bɛ̄dɔ̀; ko: ya ɩ kɛ̄ʈ yèu! Ńal ɛ̀ni ko: yí gɔ̄ʈɔ̀. Ńal ɛ̀ni ko: ɛ́, ya fa gɔ̄ʈí. Ka ʈɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ, kama cham ki ńal ɛ̀ni; ka lwɔ̄k ki yi mɑ̄d̲ɛ. Ka gɛ kɛ̄ta kun malɑulɑu, kifa ɩ (ʈ) chám. Ka ʈɛ̄rɔ wɩʈé mūm,[1] kɩne: ɛ kɛ̄ʈi kɛ̀ɲ? Ka mɑ̄d̲ɛ eduɔgɔ; ka e ko: kɛ̄ʈ, yi ɩ cham ʈyau nami mayi. Ka ńal ɛ̀ni bia fōʈe gɛ́n, ka e kōbi ki pach kɩne: máyá a châm yì ńù.

Chōʈi, ká ʈɛ̄rò e ko: mayi fa ńa-d̲ái ɔ̀rɔ̀k. T̲ɔ̄ fa nūt ki yey fɛ́ɲ bɩ̀ɲɛ? dá kun tɔ̄k yi ʈɔ̄?

There was a man with his mother. The mother was much afraid of dying, therefore she wished to go into a country where there is no death. The son said, "Where is a country without death?" She answered, "Well, there is such a country, bring me there!" The woman was very old.

So they travelled into a very, very distant country, to (reach) the country where there is no death. They turned into a village and asked for water. When it was given them, the son asked, "Is there death in this country?" The people answered, "Dear me, where do you come from that you ask such a

[1] the people, (their) heads were perplexed.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

question concerning death?" He answered, "My mother is afraid of dying, so she wants a country where death is not." The people said, "Why, go away!" They went and turned to another village. There they asked again and received the answer, "Why, what kind of man are you that you ask about dying? Go away! There is death here." Then they went to a very distant country and asked, "How is your country, is there death in it?" The answer was, "No, people do not die here." The mother was very glad, she said, "Well done, my son, you have brought me to a country where there is no death." 539*

Her son had a friend in that town, and to his home he brought his mother. He said, "Here is my mother, let her live with you. I shall go to our country, and after three years I shall return to see you and my mother." His mother was satisfied.

So the boy returned to his native country and stayed there for some time.

But his mother became sick; she got a head-ache; she said, "Friend of my son, I have a headache." On that the boy arose and called the people together. The people came and sat down. The boy said, "I have called you because of the mother of my friend, who is here. Now collect money, that we may give it to her son (when he returns). For she says her head is aching; and because of that (because of her sickness) her meat (flesh) will spoil. For that reason," he said, "she must be killed (at once)." When the woman heard this, she began crying, "I am not sick! I have no head-ache!" But the people said, "Never mind, seize her, or her flesh will be spoiled." So she was caught, brought, thrown on the ground and killed; her flesh was divided among the people, and they ate it. The next day they collected money and brought it to the friend of her son.

And her son came back. He sat down, they gave him food, and he ate. He asked, "Where is my mother?" His friend answered, "My friend, our (your) mother was seized with sickness, so we collected money, — here is the money! — and killed her, lest her meat should be spoiled. For as for us, we do not die in our country, if a man is seized with sickness, we kill him." The boy replied, "Why, should I sell my mother? Never!" Then he said, "I will but go." His friend said, "You are angry?" He replied, "No, I am not angry." In the meantime the people came and wanted to eat the boy too. His friend therefore went to him saying, "Go, or you also will be eaten like your mother." He accompanied him into a distant country. When the boy came home, he said to his people, "My mother has been eaten by a lion."

That is all; and the people said, "Your mother was a sinful woman. Is not death in all the world, and should there be a place where there is no death?"

97. The King and the People.

*539 *Jal mɛ̱kɔ̱ bâ rɪ̱ɪ̱; kôp tɛ̱rɔ̀: gɛ̀r wɔ̀t! Ká wɔ̱ɛ́ ní gɛ̀r, ká yè ko: gɛ̀r kàl! Ká yè ko: fúr fwóḍó! Ká fwóḍó ní fûr, ká byɛ́l ní chɛ̱gɔ̀. Ká gɛ́ ní kâch. Ká ɛ̱ kò kɪ̱ne: kɪ̱ɪ̱tí wí pûm (pɛ̀m)! Ká ní kò: mwɔ̱n ràrɔ̀! Ka ye kō ne: fwòt byɛ́l! Ká yè kò: chwâch ókɛ̱ḍɔ̀! Ka dwai nɔ̱t. Ká yè kò: chwách ṭâgɔ̀! Ká ké chāñ kɪ̱ndù.*

Ká wàñ àkyɛ̱lɔ̀ chàmá dwāta fwoḍɔ̱ kɪ̱ mâl. Ká tɛ̱rɔ̀ é kɛ̱ḍɔ̀ bɛ̱ yáf kɪ̱ yɔ̱, mɛ̱n kɛ̱ɛ mâl. Ká tɛ̱rɔ̀ kámá dúɔ̱k pach: yɔ̱ bógɔ̀n. Ká ḍāṇ mâyú yôt, ka ḍāṇ ɛ̱ni é fɛ̱chɔ̀: wú kɛ̱ɛ̱u kun? Gɛ̱ kò: fáɪ̱ɛ́ rɪ̱ɪ̱ yè kō, chàmá dwátá fwóḍó kɪ̱ mâl? Dɛ́ yɔ̱ bógɔ̀n. Ká ḍāṇ dúɔ̱ñ è kò: wá! wú fá ḍɛ̱k! yɔ̱ nút kɪ̱ mâl mo-chāñe. Tɪ̱ɪ̱nú ṭàkágì mâl, ka kōɪ̱ ɛ̱ɛ̱nù mâl bāñg! O ṭúmé gɛ̱n, ká gɛ́ kɛ̱ɪ̱ gɛ̱n fàch.

Ká gɛ́ pyɛ̱ch yi rɪ̱ɪ̱ kɪ̱ne: fwóḍé á yôt? Ñɛ̱, á yôt. Dɛ̱ a kɛ̱k? Kɪ̱ne: ñɛ̱, a kɛ̱k. Ḍukɪ ka tɛ̱rɔ̀ kɛ̱ḍɔ̱ bɛ̱ fûr. Ka ḍāṇ dúɔ̱ñ ká yôt, ká fyɛ̱ch: wɔ́ fúr wɔ̱n kɪ̱dî? Furu mâl yàu! Ka tɛ̱rɔ̀ ní fùrɔ̀ mâl yau. A dúɔ̱k gɛ̱n, a fɛ̱chí rɪ̱ɪ̱, è kò: á rûm kɪ̱ fūrɔ̀? Kɪ̱ne: àwɔ́! Kɛ̱ɛ̱ kàchú byɛ́l! Ká námí dùwà.

Ka rɪ̱ɪ̱ ye ko: ḍúkí ya ká (= kɛ̱ḍɔ̱) bɛ̱ kèmɔ́ kɪ̱ fwóḍó. Ká tɛ̱rɔ̀ é bɔ̱kɔ̱. Kɪ̱ne: fwóḍɔ́ ágɔ̱n ɛ̱n? Wá jàt kɪ̱ yɔ̱ mɛ̱n kɪ̱ɪ̱ wɔ̱n mâl. Wú chàká fyɛ́t. Wú rè fà kōbùn: fwóḍó bógɔ̱n?

A man was king; he said to his people, "Build a house!" And a house was built. And he said, "Make a fence!" Then he said, "Hoe a field!" A field was hoed, (dura was sown and) the dura ripened. They harvested the dura. Then he said, "Lay it on the drying-ground!" He said again, "Make a treshing-place!" After that, "Thresh the dura!" He ordered, "Make a corn-basket!" So pegs were cut for fastening the corn-basket. He said, "Make a cover (for the basket)!" And so (he troubled his people) every day.

One year he wanted to make a field up in the air. And the people went to look for a way which led up into the air. At last they turned back, there was no way. Then there was an old woman, she asked them, "Where are you going?" They answered, "Did not the king say he wanted a field up in the air? But there is no way!" The old woman said, "Dear me! how stupid you are! There has been since early days a way up into the air. Lift up your dura-stick, and throw up seeds after it!" (They did so). When they had done so, they went home. And they were asked by the king, "Have you found a field?" They answered, "Yes, it has been found." He asked. "Is it planted?" They said, "Yes, it is planted." The next day they went to hoe. They found the old woman and asked her, "How shall we hoe the field?" She answered, "You just hoe up into the air!" So the people just hoed up into the air. When they returned, the king asked them, "Have you finished with hoeing?" They answered, "Yes." Then he said, "Go and harvest the dura." And so on as on former days (so

he always found some new idea how to trouble the people).

And the king said, "To-morrow I shall go to look at the field." The people were afraid. He asked, "Where is the field?" They answered, "We could not find the way which leads up into the air." The king said, "You have been telling lies! Why did you not say, 'there is no way?'" 539+

98. Wealth cannot be imitated.

Wi jáṅ mɛ̱kɔ chwɔ̀lá Ayǫ̂mɔ̀, bɛ̱da jal kɛ̱r, wûdɛ̱ chwɔ̀lá Awan; mârɛ̱ ɛ̱n; ka wɔ̱ɛ̱ pyau ki ɖɛ̱̀rè pyar abíkyɛ̀l; kat wɔ̱ɛ̱ mɔ̱̄kɔ ka pyar ánwɔ̀n; ka gɛ kɛ̱̂l, ka wɔde ńɛ̱̀k ka gɛ kɛ̱̂l; ka wɔ̱ɛ̱ pyau, ka wan akyɛ̱l chwɔ̱p, chiki chwɔ̱pɔ, ka gɛ chɛ̱̂p bɛ̱̄n, ká gɛ́ rûmɔ̀, ka ɖɔ̱k gɔ́ń, mɔ̱k kɛ̱̂l bɛ ńwɔ̱m, ka pyar abídɛ̱̀k. Ka jal de ńàrɛ é chwɔ́ù; kɛ̱ne: bɛ́ɛ̱̀k, ga ɖɛ̱̄ ńɛ̱̂, a kōle yáu gɛ gír nàu? O lɔ̱k ńāra ɣ ɛ̱́wɔ̀, ɣ lɛ̱ne ńāra kɛ́ kún, ka ye kɛ̱ne: kɛ̱pańɔ a ńwɔ̱mi ki ɖɔ̱k gīr? Ko: ɛ̱, yá bɛ̱dɔ̀. dwɔ̱̄gun ɖɛ̱̄ [1] wín!

Ka ńal ɛ̱ni kyɛdɔ, kɛ̱ne: ɖɔ̱k ba dwɔ̱k! Ka jal ɛ̱ni e yeyɔ, ka kɛ̱ti kɛ́lé ɖɔ́k, ka kwańa pyar dńwɔ̱̀n, ka ɖɔ̱k bɛ̱̄n dwɔ̱k. Ka wɔ̱ɛ̱ nɛ̱̂k, ga pyar ádɛ̱̀k, mɔ̱k cham yi tɛ̱rɔ. Ka ńān ɛ̱ni ká wɛ́kɛ̀, ka gɛ bɛ̱̄n kɛ́ gɔ̀n. Jal ɛ̱ni ko: ńárá bá dɔ́ń; ka ńwɔ̱m e ɛ̱umɔ, a bɛ̱̄ne pɔ̀tɛ̀ gɛ́n.

A ńɔ́yí yi jāńe mɛ̱̄kɔ, chamɛ́ lūńɔ, chamɛ́ pyauwe, chamɔ ńɔ̱ye wɔ̱̄t Ayɔ̄mɔ. Kâ ɔ̀ádɔ̀ ki wɔ̱ɛ̱ mɔ̱ń nɛ̱̂k, ka wijɛ mūm yi nɔ̱ke ɖɔ̱k. Ka wāńe yi dyɛ̱k. Ka Ayɔ̄mɔ ńɛ̱̄tɔ, kɛ̱ne: hɔ hɔ, chama ńɔ̱̄yɔ wɔ̱da chɔ̱n! ya ba duɔ̱ń! ya fatɛ jal kɛ̱r? Dɛ a ńan pɛ̱r wiɛ̱ wɔ̱n? Ya ba gɛ̱ta kun, ko kɔ́mà ńiná, bāda ba bɔ̱r! dɛ yi re ját anan? Kɛ̱r ńi ńɔ̱yɛ rɔ́ù; kāka ba duɔ̱ń. Fatɛ ɖɔ̱k ochāńi?

There was a rich Dinka-man whose name was *Ayɔmɔ;* his son's name was Awan. He loved his son and pierced the horns of sixteen of his cows and stuck tail-hairs into the holes.[2] Again he brought fourteen more oxen, and rams he brought, and he put hairs through the horns of these oxen too. One ox he speared, again he speared another one, and when he had finished spearing them all (those which he had set apart for being speared), he loosened the cattle which were to be given as dowry; they were eighteen. When the man for whose daughter these cows were to be given, heard the cows mowing, he exclaimed, "Oh dear, what do all these cattle mean which are being driven to me? Why are they so many? If my daughter (should marry the son of this man, and after that she) should die, the name of my daughter would be heard all over the country,[3] and the people will say, 'why was she married for so many cattle?' No, I don't consent; go home with your cattle!" But the boy (Awan, who wanted to marry the girl) said, "No, the cattle will not be returned." So at last the man consented. He went among the cattle and selected fourteen; the rest were sent

Remarks see on page 233.

*539 back. Then the thirteen oxen were killed as a feast for the people. And the girl was given to him, they came with her, her father said, "My daughter shall not stay with me any longer (because the dowry has been paid)." When the marriage-festival was finished, they returned to their country.

Now this man was imitated by a certain chief, who wanted to do the same thing; he too wanted to pierce the horns of his cattle, and wanted to imitate the son of *Ayǫmǫ*. But he lacked sufficient cows to kill, and he got into straits, because his cows were so few. He took goats instead of the cows, and when *Ayǫmǫ* saw that, he laughed, "Hǫ hǫ, he really wanted to imitate my son! I am great! Am I not a rich man? Is there any one so rich as to attain to us? My fame has spread everywhere, all people know my name; my arm is long! Why do you try such a thing, being short of cattle? Wealth can never be imitated; it is not a thing of one day. I have been raising my cattle since a long time ago."

99. Increase of Cattle.

Jal mẓkǫ bẓda jal kẹr, bẓda kway Jǫ́ṅò, wẓ̄tẹ gîr, kākẹ ba châkí, ṅi chaka tiṅe mal, ka e yẓ̄, ka e rūmǫ jāgǫ, ka wẓ̄tẹ chwǫlẹ, ka e ko: y ṭǫ́wá, ya kẹ́ kṅè pach. Tẓ̄ré yán, tẓ̄re ya kâl ḍǫk, ka ya kwōṅe yejẹ, y ḍǫk ṅi ṅwǫlẹ.

A ṭǫwẹ, a ṭẓ̄ri kal ḍǫk, a kwōṅe yejẹ, ka ḍǫk ṅí ṅwẓ̄lǫ, a chôk pān ẹni, a pa kẹr, Odwojǫ.

A certain man was very rich, he was a descendant of the Dinkas; he had many sons. His time was not near (that is, he was very old); he was so old, that he was carried (he could not walk any longer). Because he was so old, he gave up his chieftainship, he called his sons and told them, "If I die, do not bury me in the village; carry me, carry me to the cattle place and bury me in the midst of it, so the cow will bring forth many calves."

When he had died, he was carried to the cattle fence and was buried in the midst of it, and the cattle brought forth many calves. This village always remained a rich village, it is *Odwojǫ*.

100. The Haughty Prince.

Kwakadwai bẓda jal kẹr, ka e kẹdǫ, ka e ṅẓ̄mǫ, e ṅẓ̄mǫ ṅaṅ riṭ. Ka ḍǫk kẓ̄l, ga pyār abíkyẹ̀l. Ka chiki ṅẓ̄mǫ ki pyār abíkyẹ̀l.

Ka ṅi kẓ̄tǫ Tẓ̄r, ka lūm ṅi ṭùmò, ka kẓ̄tǫ Dǫ́r. Ká ḍǫ̀k è yáṅò. Ka ṅa riṭ e wẓlǫ, wẓ̄la yiẹ, ka gẹ ryẹjẹ, ka alẹtǫ bẓ̄n, kí châk, ki kwẹn mau, ki rīṅǫ. Ka ṅa riṭ mẓkǫ kyẹdǫ: ya ba dwata gik ak! Kifaṅǫ? A bẓ̄t Ochôlò, kfrẹ gîr, ka e kwẹnǫ.

Kẹ́ mẹ̄la kal mọl, ka ńarōjọ ńi nẹ̄k, gọ ńi châm. Ka e ko: wạte ḍāṇ, nẹ́ku ḍāṇ, ki ria y chōla! Ka wạde é nẹ̄kỳ, ka gọ chōlẹ. 539*

Kwakadwai was a rich man. He started to marry, and he married the daughter of a king. He brought sixty cows as a dowry. He married a second wife for sixty cows.

He used to drive his cattle to *Tẹ̄r* (a place of pasture), and when the grass was finished there, he drove them to *Dọr* (another pasture).

One day some princes were travelling, and they came to him. He entertained them as his guests; dura and dried meat were brought, and milk, and bread baked in butter, and meat. But one of the princes refused, "I don't want these things!" "Why not?" (asked the people). "Because he is a (mere) Shilluk (not one belonging to the royal family), and yet he is so rich!" He did not touch the food.

This (rich) man, when he went to his cattle place early (every) morning, he used to kill a calf and to eat it. And he said to his people, "Sons of men, kill a man! I myself will make amends for him!"[4] And they killed a man, and he made amends.

101. The Hyena with the Bell.

Ka jal mẹ̄kọ ńa riḷ, chwọla Lwal Pōlkóe, ka dyẹkẹ châm yi ótwṍṇ. Ka burọ kwṍńḷ, ka oṭwọṇ mák yey bur. Ka Lwal bẹ̄nọ, ka oṭwọṇ kyẹdọ, ko: wei, ky nẹ̄k. Ka wei, ka yẹḍe gọn kiṭi mālo, ka oṭwọṇ e kẹḍọ ki mālọ yẹḍẹ. Chami ńi maka lgi, ka lgi ńi rgńọ, ka kōrẹ būḍọ yi kẹch, ka e ṭọ̄.

There was a certain man, a prince, whose name was *Lwal Pōlkoe;* his goats were being eaten by the hyena. Therefore he dug a hole and caught the hyena in the hole. When Lwal came, the hyena begged him, "Leave me, do not kill me!" So he let her go, but he tied a bell to her neck, and the hyena went away with the bell about her neck. But now whenever she wanted to catch game, the game (heard the bell ringing, and) ran away. At last the hyena became tired with hunger and died.

[1] *ḍọk.*
[2] A sign that these cows were to be reserved as dowry for buying his son a wife.
[3] If the wife dies, the dowry paid for her has to be returned by her family; in this particular case it would be difficult for the father of the girl to give back so many cows, as some would die or perish in some other way in the meantime, and so the affair would turn out a shame to the father and the girl. [583]
[4] to show his immense wealth; it was a bagatelle for him to pay a slave.

XIV. REPORT ON A HUNTING MATCH, AND A JOURNEY.

102. Elephant Hunting.

*539 *Wá kẹ̄ṭ kí àkīm ki wạte chōl gẹ́n àbí-dẹ̀k, wạte bwoń gẹ́n áryàu ki Abaṭ kí obwoń yẹi, ká wá kẹ̄ṭá pōṭe Nuạr, lūm gīr, ka wa kẹ̄ṭá wọk, Abaṭ ye dọ̄ṇọ nam ki obwoń yẹi; ká lyech ywótì wọ́n, gẹ́n ádẹ̀k; ka wọ pẹ̄ka pẹ́n, ka yā ṭōṭe ki toch, ka Akwọkwan ṭōṭe yi toch, ka Ńań ṭōṭe toch, ka toch (twoch) akīm mákè lūm, ka toch mwōjọ; ká lyech é rẹ́ṇò, ká wọ́ dúògò, lyey bógòn. Dụki ka wọ dọ̄gọ; ka lyech ywótè wọ́n; ka wọ́ rìṇọ, lyech fídè wọ́n; ka yōtè wọ́n, ẹ́ mạ̄dò pí mẹn an lūm bogọn. Ká wá kẹ̄ta yi lyech, wạte bwóń ádẹ̀k, wọ́nè[1] chọ́l wọ́n ádẹ̀k, ká wọ́ kẹ̄dò, ka Akwọ́-kwán é pánò, ka Aryań ká é pạnọ, wọ́ dọ̄ṇò wọ́n áṅwẹ̀n; yán ki akīm ki wạte bwoń ryẹl, ká wọ́ kẹ̄ti yi lyech e shákí shákí, ka akim e kò: wá gọ̄chà lyech ákyẹ̀l, ka wọ gọ̀chò, ka lyech é rẹ́ṇò, ka yán rẹ́na bāṇẹ́, lyech wọ́n kámá ṭō, ka yá kẹ̄dọ, ya rīṇọ, ka gọ̄chè yán tyẹl ádẹ̀k,[2] wọ́ kẹ̄dọ kẹ́ń, wọ́ kẹ̄ta kẹ̄le ṭim, ka lyech e chùṇò, yá bì, yá nẹ̀n, yá nẹ̀n, yẹn gīr, ka lẹ̄ṭè yán, ká yá lẹ̄ṭè ẹ́n, ká gọ̄já ki mach. Lyech é ywọ̀ṅ, ka lyech e bẹ̄n, é rīṇọ, ka ya chyẹ̄te ẹ́n, ka tyẹlá nẹ́kè yáṭ, é kúché yán, fa rạ̄mọ̀. Ka lyech é chùṇò, cha (= chama) yá gọ̄chè ẹ́n, ka é rẹ́ṇọ, ká wọ́ kẹ̄tí kí ẹ́n, ka yá mák yi rōdọ́, ká yá duọgọ, lyech á kẹ̄ṭ, ya duọgọ, ya chāṭọ; rẹmọ gīr, dẹ yọ́ kúchè yán, ká yá kọ̀lá yi yu lyech, yá wań kí gẹ́n, láù bógòn kí dọga, pi bogọn, ka ya pẹ̄ka ṭa yaṭ, lūm gīr; ka yá bwógó, ka yá dwodọ, ka toch gọ̄ch yi akīm, ka toch líṅè yán láu láu láu, yá kẹ̄dọ, ya rīṇọ, ka toch ńí gọ̄ch gẹ́ gīr. Ka ya bẹ̄nò, ka toch gọ̄chè yán, ká toch líṅ yì gẹ́n. Chuńe gẹ́ mẹ̄dọ, chuńa ṭyau mẹ̄dọ; ká yá bẹ̄n, ká gẹ́ yōtè yán, gẹ́ gọ̀ch aṅwak, ká yà ṭōṭe yi pí; rōdọ̀ bań ṭūm, ka ya ṭoṭe yi mọgọ (gin cham), ká chwàkí é báṅò; ka ya kẹ̄ta nam, ka ya budọ ki yejẹ. Ká yá mákè yi kòjò, yá bẹ̄t ki dọ̄ch ki nam; ka ya ńi mạ̄dọ ': pí; ka yá bìà wọ̀k, ká wọ́ bẹ̄n wọ́ bìà gat. Ka wọ́ bẹ̄dọ dụki, ka wọ bẹ̄n wọ́ bíẹ̀ fōṭe chọ́l, wọ́ màk jẹm áryàu, wọ bẹ̄nò, gin cham bogọn, wọ́ ńi chámà rìṇọ ẹ kẹ̄tẹ, ka wọ bia Atārò, ká tàń yōtẹ̀ wọ́n gẹ́ gīr. Ká wọ́ kẹ̄tá wọ̀k, ká tàń pwôt, ábí-dẹ̀k, mẹ̄k a gọ̄chè yi akīm, gọ̄tjè wiy tūṅg, ká è tọ̄. Ka yẹ̀ì é pạ̄ṇò yi ríṅò, ka wọ bẹ̄n.*

We went (by boat), the doctor, eight Shilluks, two white men, Abbas, and the white men of the steamer. We went into the Nuer country, there was much grass along the river. When we left the boat, Abbas remained near the river with the white men of the steamer. We found three elephants, when we saw them, we sat down on the ground, they gave me a gun, *Akwọkwan* and *Nyań* too received a gun. The gun of the doctor was entangled in the grass, and

[1] more frequently wọna, see Grammar.

[2] "three feet", that is: three times.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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it suddenly exploded. When the elephant heard it, it ran away; we returned because the elephant was no more (i. e. the elephants disappeared). The next morning we went again and found again an elephant. We ran pursuing the elephant. We found it drinking water in a place where there was no grass. We went towards the elephant. We were three white men and three Shilluks. While we were going, *Akwǫkwan* and *Anyań* stooped down (i e. hid, being afraid); so we four were left, I, the doctor, and the other two white men. We went to the elephant and approached it closely, then the doctor said, "We have got one elephant!" We shot, the elephant ran away, and I followed it; our elephant had received a mortal wound. I followed it running and shot it three times. We ran into a place where there was a forest; there the elephant stopped, I came and looked and looked, there were dense trees; at last I saw it, and it saw me, and I shot it with the gun. The elephant cried, it came running, and I was chased by it, I knocked my foot against a tree, but I did not heed it, it did not make a wound. The elephant stopped and I intended to shoot it. It ran again, I ran with it; and I was seized with thirst; I turned back, the elephant ran away, I turned back and went; there was much blood. But I did not know the way. I went along the elephant's path, I was quite lost to my companions; there was no more spittle in my mouth (from thirst), I had no water. I sat down under a tree in the midst of much grass. I became afraid and arose. Then there was a gun fired by the doctor, I heard it very, very far off. I went running and heard them fire many guns. At last I too fired a gun, it was heard by them. Then they rejoiced, and I too rejoiced, and I came and found them, they had shot an anwak; they gave me water. My thirst would not cease, and they gave me food, but my throat refused to take it. I went into the river and lay down in the water. So I became cool, I lay in the water a long time. Then I drank water. At last I came out. And we came to the river-side. We stayed there till the next day, then we came back into the Shilluk country. We had been away two weeks. During our return we found no food, so we ate nothing but meat. We came to the river Ataro, there we found many waterbucks. We went out of the boat and shot eight waterbucks. One was shot by the doctor between its horns, and it died. The boat was quite full of meat; so we came home.

103. A Journey.

Ka wǫ́ wɛ̨̄lǫ̀, wɛ̨̄lǫ Tūńǫ, ka wǫ ka pōṭe Nugr, ka wǫ kɛ̨̄lè yi nam mɛ̄kǫ, chwǫla Ńeygrǫ, ka wǫ ka Teryau, ka wǫ tǭńa wok, ka wǫ budǫ rech, ka wǫ kɛ̨̄dǫ, ka wǫ tǭńa kal riṭ, chwǫla Pèḍṍ, ka wǫ tǭńa lwāgg, ka e pɛ̨̄chò kine: wgte Chólǫ̀, wu kgl

*539 *wu kɛ́n? wǫ́ kò: wa kāla fōṭe Chǫ́lǫ̀! Kine: wich apǫ́nǫ? Kine: wa chaka ńeau wǫ byɛ́l. Kine: bǘh, a ṭō wun yi kɛ́ch? E ko: kɛ́tu lwak! Ka wǫ kɛ́ta lwak, ka ońwǫk kā̰l, ka nā̰k, ká châm yi wǫ́n; ka chak kā̰l, ka wǫ chàmǫ̀, ka ńyɛ́ń a kāle wǫn, ńeau ki byɛ́l. Ka wǫ bɛ̄nǫ, ka kɛ́ti yi yāṭ, ka wǫ bɛ̄nǫ, ka yɛ́i mákè yì pàr, ka yɛ́i mudǫ, ka wǫ kwāńǫ wǫk; a bɛ̄ńd, a tōńa Ńebōdǫ̀, a bɛ̄na pach, a bɛ̄na Peńidwai; kɛ́ch kɛ̄ch!*

We travelled to *Tonga* and from there came into the Nuer-country; we were travelling on some river, whose name is *Ńeyɛ́rǫ*. We came to Teryau, there we landed; we roasted fish. We went and turned to the home of the king, whose name was *Pɛ́dō*. We turned towards the cow-house. He asked us, "You Shilluk children, where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the Shilluk-country." He asked, "What for?" We replied, "We want to buy
[574] dura." He said, "Why, are you suffering ("dying") from hunger?" Then he said, "Go into the cow-house!"[1] So we went into the cow-house. A ram was brought and killed, and was eaten by us; and milk was brought, and we ate. Then we brought forth money to buy dura. (After we had bought it and brought it into our boats) we went into the boats and returned home. But one boat was seized by a hippo, it sank, and we swam to the bank. So I came home turning towards *Ńebōdǫ*, I came home to *Peńidwai*; the famine was very great.

[1] the cow house serves as a residence for guests.

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XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

A chip tuṅ lèṅ, leṅ a chip shin Aṅ̄ŋ̄ṅo; Bal kẹ̄chọ! Yana bāṅ Ńikaṅ; chẹ ya dọ́ṅ á bẹ̄r; kōfá yín ki mọk jwọk; rịẹ e kạ̄l jwọk. Wora ḍwòṇ kwom lèṅ! Yana bāṅ Ńikaṅ! Leṅ a chip shine kwdyẹ, ki Oṭ̄ọ̄ọ tuṅ leṅ Ńàbḅḍọ. Ńikaṅ a yụ̄tị, kuro gọ̄k Jaṅ.

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Aṅ̄ŋ̄ṅo*. Bal is strong. I am a servant of *Ńikaṅ*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the tidings of God; the king comes with God. The kings arose against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Ńikaṅ*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Oṭ̄ọ̄ọ*, as far as *Ńabḅḍọ* war is raging.

Fāri ụ laki mẹn, ṅa Ńikaṅ? fāri ụ gẹ̄r ki tọ́ṅ!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Ńikaṅ*? Your village will be built by spears!

Wei yiẹ̄gẹ yiẹ̄gọ̀! Fa Ńikaṅ fa ṅi ṭùmí, lwdgá á kyẹ̄t, ki Wụrokwar á kyẹ̄t; lwdgá fa tūgọ! akyẹl a dḅṅọ, ka lọ̄kọ bāṅ gẹ́n, Areoṅịdḭṅ, fa wụ̄tè Gẹ̄ṅjwọ̀k, fa wụ̄tè Àbōl! wei yiẹ̄gẹ yiẹ̄gọ, fa Ńikaṅ fa ṅi ṭùmí.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Ńikaṅ* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wụrokwar* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Areoṅịdḭṅ*, from the village of the children of *Gẹ̄ṅjwọk*, the village of the children of *Abōl*. Let them carry away, the house of *Ńikaṅ* will never be finished.

Agḅ̄gjáṅ Anḅṅ-wán, wa teau áṭérûk. A waṇi, a waṇi yọ, dẹ kạ̄lá Fḅjọ. Màchè rẹ fa dḅ̄gé rẹ, mache rẹ fa dḅ̄gé rẹ. Akōlé-Ńákwè, a kạ̄l jwọ̀k. Mache yọ fa dḅ̄ge rẹ.

Agogjang Anongwan is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the Sobat. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Akole Nyakwe he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Yá fịt lyà fọ, ya fịt lya féá, Ńikaṅ, ya fịt lya fọ, ya fịt lya fọ, jal duọṅ, ya fịt lya fọ.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Ńikaṅ*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

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Ká dé byń Ágwęt, wąt Jōk, ya re (de) ḷọ́ńì yinọ, yá yiệlè Kẹch Alál, yá yiệle yi kwāyọ, kẹch Alal, wúrú Wąt.

But for *Agwęt*, the son of *Jōk*, I should have left my country, and gone far away; I have been saved by the strength of Alal, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful Alal, the son of *Wąt*.

Ńá Dāk, yi kwacha ṅọ? Ya kwacha ṅẹdọ! Chẹ ya kẹti kun, fura yán. Ya yiệlè yi kwá Ayādọ. Wanọ Na Dāk gẹ̄rọ pach kí túk, ówáu fa lẹ́ń mẹ̄kọ.

You son of *Dāk*, what do you ask for? I ask for a hoe, for wherever I go I hoe the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather *Ayādọ*. The mother of the son of *Dāk* has built us a house under the deleb palms; the branches of the deleb are like an army.[1]

Mọ́ké byẹl Ńakāyọ, ya chụ̄ṭí, ya yụ́ńọ, mọke byẹl Abuk, man Dẹ́ń, ya chą̄ṭí yá yụ́ńọ.

By the dura-beer of *Ńakāyọ* I walk, I am filled with it, by the beer of Abuk, the mother of *Dẹ́ń*, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Akōl a duọk mal; yá nẹ̄na rẹ. Kī nẹ̄ni gwach, rūme yéjá ṅẹ́ńọ. Dāk a shwọu, shwọu obwoń Dẹ̄rọ.

Akōl has returned. I live through him free from oppressors. The anxieties of my heart were many. But *Dāk* roared, he roared the white people away to *Dẹ̄rọ*.

Mẹnọ kí gyẹ̄nẹ, mẹnọ kí gyẹ̄nẹ, gyẹ̄ne Dāk yọ, mẹnọ kí gyẹ̄ng . . . .

Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to *Dāk*.

Ya rọyi rọi! gnẹ gin āńọ? bwońọ! Tẹ̄rọ ywọgọ mal. byẹl a kẹ̄l yi obwoń. Kwayẹ fa tẹ̄k, na Dāk a kẹ̄l jwọk. Ńá gọ́l kwaté kót ún, wa kẹla wiy tuń! Obwoń chama yákà yán. Tẹ̄rọ bẹ̄n nụ́tí yąk ẹ̄n. Ńan a tọ́ń yán? Yan a rą̄ṭ lābọ. Shàgé, dọk lwāgi, yi y náké kí nan mẹ̄kọ.

I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dura is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of *Dāk* is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your hosts, fight another tribe!

[1] The rustling of the leaves of the deleib palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

105. Mourning songs, and others.

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Abâ ńa Ńikań, Amygle wâ tţk. Fâ nţná ya dţńţ twàlţ. Lwgn fan ółţá, fâ jáń wţń. Amygle lwgń, wgt Kwájèriù, dţ kâl, dgń é twàlţ, fay dgń é twàlţ, fay dgń e yârţ. Agûmwél fang jâgg.

Aba, the son of *Ńikań*, my father *Amygle*, is no more. Look at me, I am left poor. *Lwgń* is away, he, our chief, *Amygl Lwgń*, the son of Kwajeriu. Our family is left destitute, our village is left destitute, our home is left reproached. *Agumwēl*, he was a great chief.

Afygk wat Deń, liawţ tţr. Aryal-bţk ggń ţeań, y kwaya Ajwgt-ńimiń.

Afyek, the son of *Deń*, is waylaying in the grassy place. Aryalbek loosens a cow and gives it to *Ajwgt-ńimiń*, to herd (= to possess) it.[1]

Ayidţke, wgt Ryal-dwţt Wun-diâro, Ayíkţ, Wúnè-ghi-bţl, ya wań ki yŭ kun a kgl ţn.

Ryalawet *Wundiāro*, Ayiko, Wunegenbel Ayidoke, I lost the way in which he went.

Akwţnéyţr, yina mań júr, de ya dţń bţr! Jiníbţk, Akwgneygr, kwārţ fa ţgwa pal. Gţ ki rache weya dgń á bţr. Akwgt a ţţńg fal; ya yafa jāgg Dunkţk, ya yafa Okwoni, Ajāl-ńebań gwań, Ńámâilţi.

Akwoneyor, you captured people, but I was left poor! Jingbek, Akwoneyor. their grandchildren are dying in the wilderness. They live in misery, are left destitute. *Akwgt* threw me out into the bush. I am searching for chief Dunkok, I am searching for *Okwoni, Ajalnyaban-gwań, Nyamailai.*

Akwgneygr, yi kiţa kgń ki lwāgi? Akwţţg nţtí jâlţ. Olām-bgń a gţl chōr. Olam ńa Ńikań, Dulgi wgt Kēr, Kwālgi a gţl chōr. Na Ńikań ki mayi Bţk.

Akwoneyor, where have you brought people? *Akwţţg* has never been cursed by his subjects,[2] *Olām-bgń* is a preserver of men in the famine. Olam, son of Nyīkang, Dulai, son of Ker is a preserver of people in hunger, a son of *Ńikań* and of his mother *Bţk*.

Agwţţt-ńaneţoń, feń a fâţ chyţ, lwak a rgń, Agwţţt ńa Ńikań! Dţ ywggg mal lţbg táńţ chńţ.

Agwetnyanedong, the country is starved, the people are dying. Agwet, son of Nyīkang, they are mourning, stretching up their hands.

[1] A song of cattle stealing.

[2] has always been loved.

*539 533 *Adęl-tuń, yi kęła kęń? Nuęr a wanj, ya kęła fāńá lńńà jwęk, Awen, ńa Yęr.*
"Adoltung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going to the town of God, oh Awen, son of Yor."

Akol Dāk ńa Ńikań, Kaye-Dūrę, Akolúku, Akol-Kwālai, ńa Ogāk Fęlę, kwai ţāę, ya yiţlè yín, a yiţda yin shęn ki dyèrí, ya yiţlè. Yákęl, maye Dāké, Amęl ńa Ogāk (= Shal), kwagi ńí fyèń ńí fyèńę: Shal kęła? Kęń ma wāńę; ńan ńí gōnj kęń? nańs chiţę ywódá kí Déńę, wętí shwai ywoda, kwāk Amęl, ńa Ńikań.

Akol, Dak, son of Nyikang, Kaye Duro, Akoluku, Akol Kwalai, son of Ogak Felo, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakol, you father of *Dāk*, Amel, your people are continually asking me, "has Shal gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at *Deńę*, eating of soup found I, you people of *Amęl*, the son of *Ńikań*.

Aják-bàń-wękl-jęk, kwacha kwārę, kwacha tyęń fa jwęk, ríţ e dwęk mal. Kwacha kwayę yan. Tòm è gęjò; yan da Ńikań, ríţ e dwęk mal; ţńá fa yęńa shìnd? Yan da Ńikań; fań a yiţl, a yiţl é rętń; ya fura byţl, ya fākę, ya ţáńa shìne, Wuro-kwń, kęń bādá!

Ajak-banweljok, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with *Ńikań*, the king[2] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with *Ńikań*. The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Wuro-Kwa, strengthen my arms!

[196] [1] "licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] *Ńikań*.

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XVI. RIDDLES.

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106. Riddles.

Adûk gŋáŋ lìŋì: mḿ́ ɔ́fûn. The gray one is going under a pond: Loaf of bread, which is put into the fireplace.

ɛ́ŋ́ gŋ́ná ɛ́ŋ́ná ŋ̄ɲ̄ɛ̄: tátí kál. my necklace is seen beyond the river: The unbarked, white fence sticks.

ɛ̄ɛ̄ŋ̄gì kí rei gɛn fa gŋ́ŋ̄: tɛ́ná ɡɛ́ná. Brothers who never hurt each other: The two horns of a cow.

Ajwɛ̄ŋ̄gɛ lɛ́ wɛr, ɛ́ yɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ: yíep ɡɛ́ná. which sorcerer spends the whole night in swinging?: The tail of the cow.

Anor-nor kīmɛ́ wɛn Fashōdɛ: álíyò. Anor-nor visits his father (the king) at Fashoda: The grass called *olɛyɛ*, which is used in making ropes. When taxes, cows etc., are brought to the king at F., the rope with which the things are bound, gets to F.

Fwɔ́t, fa fyɛ́l: bɔ́l. It is beaten, yet is does not ease: The drum.

A rɛ́ɲ́ a rɛ́ɲ́, fɛ́ɛ́ manì: tɛ́ɛ́lít. (Dinka-language, except the last word.)

Akur jɔ́ɔ́ dɛ́ɔ́: ɔ́ɔ̄ɲ̄ɛ. white pigeons: Bleached bones.

A pɔ̄ ɛ̄ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ tɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ̄ɲ̄ɛ: Ɛ̄ɛ́ ɡɛ̄ɲ.

Adûk ɔ́ɔ̄ɲ̄ɛ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɲ́: ɛɛ́ɲ́ɛ. The gray one who is spotted is driving her little ones: The hen.

Adûk ɔ́ɔ̄ɲ̄ yí fɔ́ɔ́ɲ̄ɛ: ɔ́ɔ́ɲ́. The gray one is running towards the fields: The mist.

Ŋ̄ɛ́ɔ́k gwɔ́ɔ́ fɛ́ɛ́: dɛ́ɛ́. The black-white cow is making white the earth: The moon.

Ŋ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ɲ́ yɛ́ɛ́ ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ ɔ́ɔ̄ɲ̄ɛ́ tɔ́ɔ́ bɛ́r: yíɲ. Little children stand continually at the side of the heaps of ashes: The ears of man.

ɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄ɲ́ ɡɛ̄ɛ̄ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ fɛ́ɛ́: Ɔ́rɛ̄ɲ. Two brothers, their mouth is turned down: The nose.

Adɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ́ jɛ̄ɛ̄ɲ́ yíɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ fɛ́ɛ́: ɛ̄ɛ̄ɲ. The calabash of God which is turned downward: The fruit of the heglig-tree.

Agɛ́r agɛ́r, yɛ́ɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́: ɛ̄ɛ̄ɲ. A long row of trees full of white birds: The teeth. Along the rivers one sees frequently trees which are literally covered with snow-white birds.

Wɛ̄ɛ̄ fɛ́ɛ́, kɔ̄ɛ̄ɲ́ fa ɛ̄ɛ́: ɛ́ɛ́ɲ́ɛ. Thrown on the ground, yet not broken: Mucus from the nose.

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Tatel pīṇ̱ rate: chāl ḡīṇ.

Yīṇ̱ ḷīṇ̱ ḷí yīṇ̱ ḷīṇ̱: wení ḡīṇ. It is on this side and on the other side: The eye of man.

Ya wīḷí yi ḳtí ḳní? ḡīṇ́ ḡīṇ. I am travelling, where are you going?: The shadow of man.

Wā dīṇ̱ì, í bā ḳí: bár. We remove, he does not go: The ashes. If people leave a home-stead, the ashes remain behind.

A rigí rīk ṇyre ṇṇní: Tedgt.[1]

[1] Some of the riddles have not been translated, their meaning being obscure, some have for this reason been omitted altogether.

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[For information on the grammar of the Shilluk language, see Category 116, pp. 7-15, 23-29, 46-94, and 198.--Analyst]

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[For texts and their interpretations, see category 116, pp. 96, 109-120, 122-127, and 135-242. --Analyst]

[Since different authors assign variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 791, and 754.]

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4:Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA
edited by
DARYLL FORDE

EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

PART IV

THE NILOTES OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN AND UGANDA

by

AUDREY BUTT

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE
17, WATERLOO PLACE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

[TITLE PAGE]

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all.

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation.

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. Lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river.

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition

there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the gol of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the gol; he holds the [illegible] according to the work and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his gol. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (piw)

Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a bur which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and bur are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained there. There is often a gow, a bur with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

The Settlement (pooth)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spatially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recognised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *nedh*. It is said that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, originally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *nedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *nedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *nedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

The chief of the settlement, the *reth*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stranger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each wath kinship group has a dual loyalty, to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jago* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the minor lineages subordinate to the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage.

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pun dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pun dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pun dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyole nyer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2)

The wath lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the wath lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3)

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, S.N.R. 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

631 Mbomo Dolalajak Athodoui Detuik Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Detin Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golban, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Mbomo and Tonga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

644 180

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

614 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

565 614 644 This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

(c) *Nyireth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bong Reth

The *bong reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bong reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides, and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 722 795 567 675

The *bong reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bong reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 644 608 644

The *bong reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bong* 565 644 614

614 565 644

nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

565 614

The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

643 [173] [175]

The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

622 643

The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

613 622

The *jal dwong par* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs.

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.)

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Lusk & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Homo & Tonga
.....Division (*Lusk*)	.....Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement (*Fash*)	*Jago*
Hamlet (*Puc*)	*Jol dwong puc*
Homestead (*Gol*)	*Jol Gol*

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.)

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king-is-absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful.

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.19.

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol
672 leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

673 Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial
682 authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or
676 judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. Accord-
679 ing to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a
680 girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

678 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the
679 form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtain-
683 ing compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is
[711] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.127.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.142.
(4) Oyler, S.N.R. 1930, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [173]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2) 775

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

643 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth*'s
644 sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not
649 allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid
669 this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth*'s sons from the time of their birth.

The Death of a Reth

The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world
648 of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was walled up alive in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death
[114] of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne "..... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the *reth*.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been
[114] given - apart from information by Nornol - by Howell and Thomson who were in Shillukland at the election of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and of his suc-
643 cessor, King Anei in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree,
[644] for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.34-5.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Luak, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Dak. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Dak may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabele settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
171 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

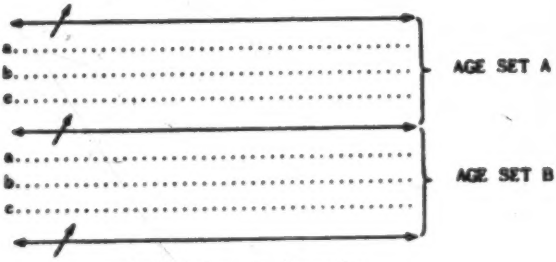
AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

561 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
[881] organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *rie* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 'head', 'neck' and 'middle'. 561

Elders in Retirement



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the *ngol* or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each sits in a special place and sings its own song. [764 574]

Age sets emphasize the solidarity of the settlement by organising the generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear 182 561 621

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ben)* is elected. The *ben* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.67.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *nogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114] [182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

582 could marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working
613 of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each
836 lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary *ora* relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is *ora* in the second degree. B, C and D may have an *ora* relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an *ora* relationship between the two
[753] lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwalo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

601 Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

771 There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

776 The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups al-
[771] though beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang.
[782] The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

776

Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind;
Juok *Nen*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acweci*, " creator;
Jane Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tin*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayin*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail. [753]

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bareth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine. 346 778 778 793

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are 778 782

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which
825 Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengait, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit
775 after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr
825 and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community.
791 People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be *ajungo*, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an *ajungo*. 756 787 791

According to Seligman when a man becomes an *ajungo* he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an *ajungo* are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an *ajungo* marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an *ajungo* possesses a 'gourd of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the *ajungo*'s house and is consulted for purposes of divination.(2) 756 791

Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalyat

The *jalyat*, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the *ajungo*. The *jalyat* is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a *jalyat*, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery. 754 [683]

The *jalyat* is thought of as being a monorchid and, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes and effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure. [683]

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1920, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

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754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Deiyet

Deiyet appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyet*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyet*.

The Evil Eye (Twap)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuogo* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing ceremonies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

815 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole junk* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an on-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

In addition, the

Shilluk believe in ow which is thought to be the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died with a grievance and is angry at some wrong that has been done to him.(1) They also speak of ewye, meaning a bird, but Seligman was unable to discover what this meant.

A dead body is buried at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is usually dug by elderly male relatives. The body is wrapped in skins, and sacrifices of oxen, goats and fowls are made after the burial, according to the family wealth. The mourners bathe in the river; no food taboos are laid on them but they shave their heads and do not wear ornaments or go to dances during the period of mourning. After a month has passed the mortuary ceremonies are held, a number of sacrifices are made and beer is brewed for the mortuary feast. According to Westermann the horns of an ox are often placed on the grave.(2)

THE ANUAK

Detailed information on the Anuak is derived almost entirely from two articles by Evans-Pritchard.

ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

The Anuak are, like the Shilluk, a riverain people and their villages are distributed along the banks of rivers in the Eastern Sudan and in Ethiopia. In the western regions of Anuakland the ecological conditions are somewhat different from those in the east. The western areas are true savannah, flat, almost treeless grassland, which is flooded in the wet season. In the east there is forest savannah which gradually turns into tropical rain forest. In the rainy season the western half of Anuakland is cut off from the eastern half by deep water-courses and swamps. These factors have had considerable repercussions on the political organization of the country and largely determine the distribution of the villages and the economy.

In the savannah areas of the west, villages are built on rocky ground at the edge of the flood plains and the occupants may have to move during the rainy season for fishing, fresh pastures and for drinking water. Villages built some miles back from the river (owing to flooding during the rains), also have to move. For such villages there is a wet-season village site and a dry-season village site. The regions in the east are thinly populated; small independent villages are strung out 1-2½ miles apart and often with swamps and rivers in between so that in the wet season a village community may be completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months. In certain localities, as along the Gila river, villages are surrounded by dense beds of reeds and it is impossible to reach them except by the few paths available. Such villages are very difficult to attack. Where the villages of the savannah areas are not protected by these beds of reeds they are, or were in the past, protected by stockades and moats, the homesteads being closely wedged together owing to the lack of space on the mound occupied.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.97.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.115.

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AFRICAN WORLDS

STUDIES IN THE
COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS AND SOCIAL VALUES
OF AFRICAN PEOPLES

Published for the
INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE
by the
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO
1954

[TITLE PAGE]

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THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian influence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. R. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

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partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematisation, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organisation. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

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105 Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Luo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of whom the Luo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Luo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are chiefly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign enemies and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous customs, particularly that concerning the election and disposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might explain some apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

Social Organization

614 The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about 100 different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate

[1] G. Schweinfurth, 1873, p. 93.
[2] P. Munro, 1918, and Howell and Thomson, 1946.

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existence. The smallest unit of Shilluk social structure is the family (*gol*) living in a homestead of one or two huts. From one to fifty or more such homesteads built together form a hamlet, the members of which keep their cattle together, and are gathered round a headman; a group of hamlets forms a settlement, of which there are about a hundred in Shilluk-land. The settlement is composed of branches of different descent groups, one of which is dominant within the settlement and forms a nucleus around which the others form themselves into a distinct community. This dominant descent group or lineage provides the leader or chief of the settlement. Settlements are politically opposed to each other, though there have been in the past loose confederations of settlements, which have been used, and sharpened in outline, for administrative purposes. The whole of Shilluk land is divided into two provinces, Ger in the north and Lusk in the south. All the Shilluk recognise a common head of their whole land, the *reik*, who is here called the king; the king always comes from the royal clan, the *Ancwek*, founded by the first Shilluk king, Nyikang; it is the largest clan in Shilluk land, and may have representatives in any settlement. There is now a royal capital at Fashoda. In Shilluk tradition the earliest Shilluk kings had no fixed capital, but reigned from their natal homes. Now, although the capital at Fashoda has been long established, the wives of the king are sent away from Fashoda to various parts of Shilluk land to bear their children, and the children of the king (*ayiwek*) are brought up away from the capital. Only those princes whose fathers have been installed as kings of the Shilluk can themselves claim to be installed and, in theory at least, princes who are thus eligible may at any time advance their claims by killing the reigning king. Besides the royal clan, and the lineages of 'commoner' clans, known collectively as the *colo*, there is a distinct clan called *ocwo*, originally a branch of the royal house, but said to have been established by an early Shilluk king. Members of this clan have special duties to perform in connexion with the king, but do not have royal status. In addition, there are the *kang reik*, servants of the king, composed of wives of previous kings, descendants of personal attendants of the king, people possessed by the spirit of Nyikang or of some other king, and others who in one way or another have become retainers dependent on the royal house. From these come the guardians and priests of the shrines of Nyikang, of which there are several in various parts of Shilluk country, and the shrines and graves of other Shilluk kings. Offerings are made at these graves and shrines as part of the religious cult of Nyikang and the royal house, which is the main cult of the Shilluk, though offerings are made to their own ancestors also by the heads of the commoner lineages. Their totemic observances seem to amount to little more than not eating the totemic species, and both totemism and the cult of ancestors of commoner descent groups are said to figure less largely in Shilluk religion than the cult of Nyikang and the kings. Shilluk totemism may in fact be of Dinka origin. Besides the priests of the Nyikang cult, and operating apart from them,

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105 there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuja*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *Juok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

101 In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those 173 who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most 173 detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the 821 present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic 186 validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

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Differences and divisions between the Shilluk and other Nilotic peoples are attributed to differences between Nyikang and others who are thought to have been once closely associated with him. Differences between the Shilluk and people whose culture and system of thought are quite unlike their own are attributed to an ubiquitous God, *juok*. Leaving aside for the moment the Shilluk classification of people within their own kingdom, I mention briefly some of the stories referring to the relationship between the Shilluk and some other Nilotes, and between the Shilluk and foreign invaders.

According to one Shilluk tradition,[1] in the original migration from their first homeland, 'the land of Duwat', the Shilluk were with their leader Nyikang, and with them were the Dinka led by Dengdit, the Anuak led by Gilo, and the Luo led by Odimo. There are various versions of this story, and the presence of Odimo in it is inconsistent with other stories about him. The kin relationship supposed to exist between the leaders also varies from one account to another. In this version, the Anuak first broke away, and then the Dinka, and finally, when the Shilluk were on the fringes of the country they now occupy, the Luo turned away towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The story shows some idea of successive developments in a necessary chronological order, and the stories of the relationship of the Shilluk with the Luo contain circumstantial details, some of which are confirmed in independent accounts given by the Luo themselves.[2] These are people who are thought to have been involved in Shilluk history from very early times; we are not given any indication that the Shilluk attempt to account for their existence, but only that they themselves account for their relationship with the Shilluk. It is not so with the stories about white and brown people. One tells, for example, how it was that God (*juok*) came to help the *turuk*, the Turk or European,[3] rather than others of his sons, the people of Darfur, the Abyssinians, and the Shilluk, who were afraid or refused to approach him.[4] Another version, found also among other Nilotic peoples, attributes the success of the light-skinned people both to superior guile on their part, and to some preference shown them by God. We are also told that when God began to make men, he made them from light-coloured clay, until his hands became dirty towards the end of his task, and he then made the Shilluk, who lost their equality with the light-skinned people.[5] Like other Nilotes, the Shilluk seem to have singled out writing and guns as the gifts with which God gave supremacy to the foreigners;[6] and Shilluk songs recorded by Hofmayr[7] suggest that circumcision has come to stand for much that is contemptible in foreign custom and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 14.

[2] J. P. Crazzolara, 1950, has tried to build up the traditions of the Luo (Lwoo)-speaking peoples into a connected history.

[3] Though Turks, Arabs, and Europeans can be verbally distinguished from each other in Shilluk, Europeans, particularly when they are officials, are often called *turuk*.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 241.

[5] Ibid., p. 107.

[6] Westermann, 1912.

[7] 1925, pp. 360 ff.

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173 behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic
186 foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed to-
829 gether as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of
[173] foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a meta-physical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the
186 way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the
[114] lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

173 The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Hessy, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *yo pany*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Hessy, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 258. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 364. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 299.

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173 originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

173 There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said
173 that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the
[205] Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

173 Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[171] [1] Oyler, 1928 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[1] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.
[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.
[5] Oyler, 1928 (i).
[6] Ibid., pp. 155 ff., et al.
[7] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

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emblems.[1] The story shows that, from the earliest times, the Shilluk suppose the kingship to have been a source of rivalry between the sons of the previous king. Nyikang is not thought to have been the elder of the brothers, and there is no account of any superior claim on his part, except that he also had a following. There is no emphasis in the myth on any customary order of succession and so today any son of a king who has once been installed is theoretically eligible to become king if he can press his claim. In the past, at least, a man could retain the kingship only if he was able to defend himself against rival claimants. Rivalry over who shall be king is intrinsic to the Shilluk type of kingship, and may perhaps be seen as the most extreme form of the separation of the person from the office consistent with hereditary right to succession.

In the course of their wanderings, Nyikang and his followers came to a country occupied by Dimo,[2] where they lived for a while, and Nyikang married Dimo's daughter. She bore children, of whom the most important was his son Dak. Dak then quarrelled with Dimo, whose people wanted to kill him. Nyikang made an effigy of Dak, which was speared in Dak's place by the followers of Dimo. Effigies of Nyikang, Dak, and another son of Nyikang called Cal, are now used, as will be described, in the ceremonies for the installation of the Shilluk king. This is the first mention of an effigy, which was thus an idea of Nyikang. In one story Dak is a mischievous and quarrelsome figure, who grew to a tremendous size. He is also very intelligent, and there are accounts of how he and Nyikang, in contest with Dimo, were able to blind Dimo's people and his cattle, thus forcing Dimo to give up the fire, which he had hidden, and to release the rain, which he had stopped. The significance of this power of Nyikang and Dak to cause blindness will later be suggested. Here we remark that the effigy of Dak, used in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is now a long figure made from bamboos and surmounted with black ostrich feathers, and that Dak is still a symbol of the warlike qualities of the Shilluk king. He is the fighter while Nyikang is the leader. The third son, Cal, who is also represented in effigy in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is made not of ambatch, like Nyikang, nor of bamboo, like Dak, but of rope, and the feathers which form his head are the grey feathers of the female ostrich.[3] He plays a less important part than Dak or Nyikang in the ceremonies. We are told that Cal was a coward, and therefore Nyikang thought it safe for him to remain with him and Dak, while he sent away another of his sons, Buro, because he was as headstrong as Dak.[4] It is said that Cal succeeded his father as king, but did not reign for long and disappeared, to be succeeded by his brother

[1] Hadenyo, p. 14. The emblems then were a skin for slinging across the shoulder of the king, and a hoe of some kind. Other emblems were later acquired. The story shows how Shilluk ideas of kingship are bound up with the possession of distinguishing emblems by the king.

[2] Who is sometimes said to be a brother of Nyikang. The relationship varies with the context of the telling of the story.

[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 68.

[4] Oyler, 1918 (i).

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173 Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of
Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the
182 Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the
643 aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son,
Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-
173 Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people
182 and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the
602 loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further
173 migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *rudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to
773 Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred
821 when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the herd of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the
613 Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles
773 of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yengaro*, *Tengaro*, or *Dimdiro*, and other details of the story are said to connect with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The résumé here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 139–61.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 38.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix-xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Duk.
[5] Hofmayr, 1903, p. 35.

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or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus, all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., passim.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 105.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

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which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bershebs'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hadenyr, 1905, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hadenyr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1928 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

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Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river, the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the ceremonies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Musmo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 73. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 482.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very unsettled. The details of his confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

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the smaller units which they comprise. Such a logical model would be misleading for the interpretation of the significance of the moieties, Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. These seem to function primarily, if not exclusively, in the election of the Shilluk kings, successors to Nyikang. In the election of 1943–4, of which we have a full description,[1] the two leaders of the religious moieties had first to reach agreement upon the successor of the dead king, and their choice was confirmed by a representative of the king's clan, which is not identified with either moiety. An electoral college, representing various settlements of Shilluk-land, then confirmed the choice, which, according to Shilluk custom, had to be one of the princes whose father had already been king. In this case the choice was very limited, and the electoral college at once accepted the proposal made by the leaders of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. Disagreement between these over the choice of the king is said to have led to fighting between the moieties in the past, and thus to civil war in Shilluk-land.

The division of the kingdom into Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang thus becomes effective at the election of the king, and the preliminaries to the installation of the new king do indeed create the division which Nyikang, the king's ancestor, is said to have created in the past.[2] When the leaders of the moieties have reached agreement, there is still a ceremonial opposition between them until the king has actually been installed, when the moieties are again put together in a single kingdom, the kingdom which Nyikang originally united under himself. The Shilluk kings conceive their country as a unity by dividing it into moieties, which separate and then unite, over the election of the king. The theme of the resolution of duality and separateness, perhaps an idea paralleled by that of crossing from one bank to another of the river, in order to make a unity consciously recognized by the Shilluk, may also be seen in other features of the installation ceremonies of 1943. The Shilluk king must be possessed by, or identified with, Nyikang, so that some writers say that he 'incarnates' Nyikang. At the installation ceremonies an effigy of Nyikang is brought from northern Shilluk-land, where Nyikang is said to have disappeared during a dance.[3] There is a mock fight between this effigy, accompanied by the effigies of Dak and Cal, and the king-elect. In this fight the king first retreats from the effigy, is then captured by it, and finally must seize from it a small girl, who plays an important part in the ceremonies. She appears to represent the wife of the king's office and, since the king is to take the place of Nyikang, who represents that office, he must also take the wife. Hostility between the king-

[1] The election may have been considerably modified by European and earlier rule, and the element of election by vote may have been stressed at the expense of a rather different principle, described below (p. 137).

[2] Howell and Thomson, 1948, p. 30. Pumphrey (1941) quotes a story in which the ancestor of Gol Dhiang, which may well be of later foundation than Gol Nyikang, is attributed to a later Shilluk king, but it is still a king who made it. This seems to refer to an earlier stage in the evolution of the kingship. Here we speak of the kingdom as it was at the election of 1943.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 42.

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643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang'.[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[775] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

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considered Nyikang in the form of an abstraction somewhat removed from the real person he is for the Shilluk. Even for the Shilluk there is an element of the ideal in Nyikang, who is to that extent an abstraction. Their divine being, *juok*, is a still more abstract notion and ultimately explains a wider range of diverse phenomena.

Juok is usually said to be the supreme being of the Shilluk, to be spirit, and to be 'the greatest spirit', and to be in some sense above Nyikang.[1] He is thus not inappropriately spoken of as 'God', provided that the use of this name is not allowed to introduce a more sharply defined concept of his nature than the notion of him formed by the Shilluk themselves. In many cases it would make the Shilluk texts more intelligible, and involve fewer contradictions in translation, if we were to think of *juok* not so much as the supreme being in a quasi-social hierarchy of 'beings', but as that being upon which, for the Shilluk, everything else is contingent. It is clear that if the Shilluk are asked whether God has a body or is spiritual, they answer that he is spiritual or 'like the wind', for he exists for them in no single mode, is omnipresent or multipresent, and is invisible. I do not think, however, that this separation between the material and the spiritual, by which *juok* must be placed in one or the other category, is one which would spontaneously occur to the Shilluk. They have different words for the 'spirits' of the dead. 'Spirit' generally, if it is to be distinguished from matter or body, is *wot*, which comes from the common Nilotic root meaning life or breath, and thus soul or spirit, and distinguishes what is active and alive from what is inert and lifeless. So, in translating the word *juok* as 'God', and saying that he is spirit, it is desirable not to introduce foreign conceptions of the nature of the Shilluk God as he is in himself. There is no Shilluk definition of his nature comparable to that with which those accustomed to revealed religions are familiar.

Juok, the being which created and still maintains all the world and what is in it, is one in essence, though, as it were, with many facets, which seem to refract him into a multiplicity of 'beings'. These resemble what we think of as spirits and manifestations of various sorts, and for us our use of these different words is enough to separate what they denote, conceptually, from God. For the Shilluk, who use the same word *juok* for each item in the multiplicity of forms and manifestations, and also for the principle manifest in them all, the conceptual distinction between the supreme being and other beings associated but not identical with him is not verbally made.

Hofmayr records a complex metaphysical statement made about *juok* by a Shilluk, who explained that *juok*, God, 'is from one side spirit (*wot*), and from the other side spirit, but from front and back he is body (*dol*)'.[2] By this we can only understand that the human experience of *juok* may be an experience of something which takes material forms, but that these have

[1] The fullest account of the meaning of the word *juok* is in Hofmayr, op. cit., and most of what follows comes from that source unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Op. cit., p. 109.

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a third, a spiritual or ideal, dimension. To put this in another way, the Shilluk quotation suggests that what is material has another, non-material, dimension, and we are told that *juok* is 'present to a greater or lesser degree in all things'.[1] Although *juok*, as the first principle, is the ultimate explanation for everything, the notion of *juok* seems to be particularly used to account for such phenomena as elude explanation in less abstract terms. It is a necessary logical concept for the Shilluk. Seligman quotes Dr. Heasty as saying of *juok* that 'he appears to be one, and yet seems to be a plurality as well . . . anything the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*'.[2] That is, what the Shilluk cannot otherwise account for, they account for by this concept. So, for example, the creation of the world and of life is the work of *juok*, and he may also be an explanation for sickness and death. The presence and powers of the foreigners are explained with reference to *juok*, for those who are specially gifted are supposed to be so by virtue of the stronger flow, in them, of the being which created and animates the universe. *Juok*, therefore, is the support of Nyikang and the Shilluk kings. Since they represent, for the Shilluk, the order of the society and the world in which they live, and since *juok* has his place in that order, it is to be expected that for them Nyikang should also be an indication of the nature of God. So, in what Hofmayr says is the oldest Shilluk song, Nyikang is represented as speaking for God 'thus God says'.[3] This association between God and Nyikang is, of course, what has led to the anthropological study of Nyikang and his successors as 'divine kings'. God and Nyikang are two terms of Shilluk thought which cannot be reduced to any third term, but co-exist and participate in each other.

Relation of Nyikang to God

Examples of this are numerous. It is said that there are few direct appeals to God, and that Nyikang is usually invoked as an intermediary. Westermann quotes a prayer which 'is said to be the only prayer to *juok*', and says that the Shilluk were taught it by Nyikang. This explanation was, presumably, given him by a Shilluk, and is an example of their interpretation of God by Nyikang already mentioned. Part of the prayer runs:

> There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikang; it is thou (Nyikang) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thou: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikang, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who lifteest up (the sick).[4]

The association between Nyikang and God in this prayer is so close that it is sometimes difficult to know which is addressed. Since the Shilluk myth and tradition tell them much more about the nature of Nyikang, who is a man, than about the nature of God, who is not, it is to be expected that they

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 5.
[3] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 171.

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should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

> We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyler, 1928, (ii) p. 283.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

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776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [753] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its [643] interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

182 643 776 Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of 173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to 776 kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though [114] in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 154, Nyikang made the effigy.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *jook*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or deposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuego* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *jook*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to man'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1913, p. 61.

[2] 1912, p. 186.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1913), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestions made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

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a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juogo tarv*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the superhuman than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred wood of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the rath (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an epitheton of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 135.
[3] Howell and Thomas, 1948, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 159.
[7] Oyler, 1928 [ii], p. 283.

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judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 232.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 56.
[4] Oyler, 1928, iii, p. 108.
[5] Seligman, 1932, p. 56.
[6] Ibid., p. 66.

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theme of these ceremonies was the evidence of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent this order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 130. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

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of its occupant, are most clearly recognised. Then the elected king, wearing on his wrists the emblematic silver bracelets and followed by a bearer carrying a fan made from the wings of the saddle-billed stork, comes down from the mound of the shrine at Aturwic; he is lifted on to the sacred stool of Nyikang, and receives the allegiance of the chiefs of settlements, who stick their spears into the ground before him. Though he sits in state as a king, he is admonished by the chiefs and told what is expected of him. At the election of 1943–4, the chief of Tonga said to the king: 'Our job is not to keep order, that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat.'[7] Although he was speaking of a new, administrative situation, we may see here the idea of the king as a source of social order, who fulfils his function merely by existing. The king's office keeps the Shilluk in palpable relation with an ideal order, which they hold to be the true order of their universe. There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk only believe what they see'.[8] In their human king they are also able to see what they believe.

[7] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 71.

[8] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 377.

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6. Band X-5 (1955) 1955 F223 Skizzb. F223

WIENER VÖLKERKUNDLICHE MITTEILUNGEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON DER

VÖLKERKUNDLICHEN ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT
IN DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IN WIEN

5. JAHRGANG NR. 1

WIEN 1955

[TITLE PAGE]

Some Characteristics of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Bied

The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°47' N. to 9°38' latitude, particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 30 miles - metres north of Kaka to approximately 30 kilometres east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Bahr-el. These they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kaka to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometres up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometre to a kilometre off the river bank giving the impression of being very [illegible]. Also, on the banks of the Sobat i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, widely from the east or west and slightly toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west till the Bahr-Nile. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara alike, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle as far to the west. This also is quite widespread only in those areas where cattle grazing from the river banks to the Jebel mountains. The topology of this area is not more although some minor betterment is still carried on parallel to the Nile and joining other areas to drainage channel which lets the Nile north of Kaka.

The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long river front they are the most skilled fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important river is one called Sobat which takes its water from the Nile, or more precisely from the bahr-el-ghazal against Nikkel and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometres broad, and then discharge again in the Nile south of Lake. Again there is another river called Khor Ayaqor which stems from the west and discharges into the Nile. This river is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This river is the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shilluk land is divided. On its banks one of the important rites of King installation takes place.

The Shilluk country is open or have a flat land covered with herbaceous grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river and their banks. The most famous tree is the Sabal Sarrosus orientalis which grows to beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rainy season in the end of April and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations.

Fangak	(10°13')	1[illegible] mm
Malakal	(9°34')	[illegible] mm
Kodok	(9°53')	[illegible] mm
Kaka	(10°45')	5[illegible] mm

The Shillah, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Dilotic tribes, and there is no great tendencies so among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, here Sorghum vulgare being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Sudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1917. But the Shillah as well as the other Dilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 300 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shillah land. It was abandoned and Sesame began to take on importance because the country contains a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

Cassavas, to the latest census available there are about 80, see Shillah.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shillah land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 30 men, 10 of whom are members of the Shillah royal family, and 5 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at United Farm, but they came from different parts of the Shillahland covering the whole area from north to south. Primarily I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Kilabel, and the percentage decreases north-ally and south-ally. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Jabarna, Sua, Public (Drink district), Jebeg, Jiel, Jebeg (north of Kodal), Kwam, Ishiang, Lal, Fylagar, Inner Lal; Mudi (n.e. corner Jal), Nile, Bedy (n.e. Kilabel), Tambuta (northern bank), Pamik, Tarajak, Kaga, Pikam, Kylagar, Ruto, Tanga, Jiep and Kylgah.

I have taken the following measurements following the points designated and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7) Head length and breadth, face length and breadth, frontal and upper frontal heights, stature and sitting height. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calipers, and the anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are mostly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both nubians and Dinka Shillah and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

*♂	Seligman (20)	C.I. 74.3	F.I. 93.9	P.I. 83.0	S.I(m) 77
	Mind (34)	74.8	85.3	84.5	77.0

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillahland - 10 of the men measured by me are from Duer (northern Shillah province), and 20 were are from Lak (southern Shillah province) - we get a very interesting, namely it revealed that the Shillah are not a homogeneous people as far as nubiaite index and stature are concerned.

-II-

		C.I.	I.I.	S. (cm)
"F"	Guru Dyew. (12)	72.2	84.7	178.6
	Lunk " (22)	71.1	86.4	176.8

This is further and clearly illustrated from the measurements taken only on the Cole I say common Skilluk other than the members of the royal family and the Dewre members:

"F"	Guru Dyew. (6)	73.3	85.2	178.5
	Lunk " (17)	71.7	85.0	176.5

Here the differences are shown more clearly than those in table "F" in which royal members are included. This means, that the royal members have lost, so to say, a compensatory effect on the indices and further it means that the royal members have different anthropometric qualities. This is shown in table "F".

	C.I.	I.I.	S. (cm)
Dagnie (1)	72.8	83.9	178.9
Dale (8)	72.5	87.2	176.5

Also there is a tendency among the royal family members to differentiate physically, in north and south. This may be seen clearly in table "F".

Lunk (5)	71.1	83.9	178.7
Lunk (3)	72.5	87.9	179.2

The nose indices for the 6 women were

"F"			
Dale (3)	72.1	86.1	182.9
Dagnie (1)	72.22	85.1	185.7

Here we also see the differences between commoners and nobles, though the number of samples is not sufficient to stand by itself. We depend more on the results of the 36 men measured to state that differences of physical characteristics also exist Skilluk wise.

Now here are some notes on the comparing tables, to sum up, for the time being, a hurried conclusion liable to illustrate if new anthropometric studies on the Skilluk and related tribes are undertaken in the future.

1. The difference in the Nasal index in table "F" may be attributed to difference in the points of measurement between Professor Seligman and me. Seligman has taken his samples from a certain area in the Skilluk-land. If this happens to be the case, it is most probable that the majority of the samples were taken from southern Skilluk-land in general, and the districts of Tango and Kwayiang specifically, because my samples in this area has the highest nasal indices recorded, as shown in table "E" below.

2. The remarkable differences between north and south, shown in tables "F" and "F", are a matter of the first degree of importance. This is the first time, as far as I know, that this difference has been brought to light, and its importance is not a self-contained racial matter, but is connected by Skilluk cosmology in which Earth and Sky stand opposed to each other as the political north and in certain there as the religious north.

The racial differences may be fully understood and explained by Shilluk mythology. Nyikang, the demigod and the Shilluk culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shilluk land and created his headquarters at Ryilual, in Fungang district. Then he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, to found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Bahr and Bung, or according to one authority (9) Dungalanga or Berebra. It seems to be that the Funjs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but were reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile. At any rate, Nyikang conquered the present Shilluk land in a peaceful way sometimes, and by means of force in these instances these people showed resistance. The people either fled to the Bahr mountains and beyond, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shilluk citizens and thus incorporated into the Shilluk nation. 144 173

The high cephalic index in the north may be attributed to a Bahr influence, more specifically to an eastern Bahr influence, or to a mesocephalic influence from the Ler Bung Hills. 171 144 174 171

There is no other nearby area of mesocephalic than the eastern Bahr Hills. The most nearest area of mesocephalic is the Ler Bung mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 400 kilometers northeast of the Shilluk land across the Nile. Here first are some anthropometric measurements from both mesocephalic areas:

Bahr Hills (10)	C.I.	B.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)
Fagulu (7)	79	85	76.5	64.5	
Ilyay & Lufufu (14)	76.42	92.26	82.26	46.99	173.82
Lyeme (8)	76.49	97.43			
Tirwal, Abdo, Jamil, Lodrem					
Ghoum (7)	77.77	92.37	82.42	45.35	169.8
Bahr mean (11)	76.30	94.03	83.48	48.23	173.2
Ilyay (40)	75.95	94.6			
Ler Bung Hills (1)					
Bung (5)	74.6	83.3	84.9	46.5	178
Ingessana (42)	73.1	92.4	82.8	44.3	177
Ghoum (7)	73.4	96.3	82.2	45.9	
Uduk (5)	77.6	97.0	77.9	43.7	167
Burun (30)	75.2	89.5	83.1	44.6	178
Jum Jum (17)	75.3				
Mahan (45)	75.1	96.0	84.0	47.0	178

Hypothetically we can say that there has once in the past formed a mesocephalic belt, one extended through the migration of the Ingessana Tribe of the Bahr Hills, on the eastern bank, and the Shilluk and Reggaba tribes on the western bank of the Nile. 174 174

Both areas, within themselves, do not form racial entities, but are more or less racial areas. Thus they are merely conglomerations of different physical and cultural types which have flux from the plains in front of any component. But the most important factors that influence them (not politically, but from our scientific standpoint) is their mesocephalic character.

19d 19d Now it is impossible to suggest that all people fled to the hills because of an instance of superior invading some will actually stay in their land and will incorporate with the newcomers. At first they may well form a caste, they may also be reduced to slavery, but through the factor of time intermarriage will occur, and the conquerors and conquered will fuse into a harmonious unit. This process depends upon the policy followed by the conqueror; it will be allowed to develop if the conqueror accept the aborigines in the form of their society. The negative picture will result if the invaders insist upon wholly exterminating the aborigines. Many factors define the policy of the invaders, but the most important is the numerical factor. If it is a big aggressive war, then there is no question of peaceful incorporation and amalgamation, and if they form a clear majority race, they will be keen on the amalgamation policy. The latter case was that which we can deduce from the Shilluk legend. They were an here upon populating the country that they tell us that Nyikang, through his supernatural power and the help of Juk, his son, caught spectacle people from the river, and changed animals into men to make them their subjects and to incorporate them into their nation.

If this was the case, then we should be able to say that the present Shillukland, before the coming, of the Shilluk of Nyikang, was populated by at least a mesocephalic group in the north and a dolichocephalic group in the south, culturally and perhaps politically separate. The longheaded group may be the racial substratum of the Nuba area of the Nilotes of the Sudan.

19f 19f 3. The further heterogeneity of the Shilluk, which table "D" reveals, is quite understandable. The Shilluk legends and myths tell us that the founder of the nation and his followers came from a far country near "Fan Dam" which means a broad and big river, a lake, a salt sea or a lake shore.

The physical qualities of the royal family members, as shown in table "D", do not give any clue to the real origin of this migration, because these qualities are shared by most of the inhabitants of the bigger area around the Shilluk land. Long-headedness is nearly universal in Africa. The tendency to broadness, to race and may be attributed to Arabian (Libian) influence in the northern half of the continent and to Nyang influence in the central parts. From other evidences such as their legends and the legends of other Shilluk-speaking tribes, as well as other circumstantial evidences we can speculate on the original home of the Shilluk. Many theories have been introduced to account for the origin of the Shilluk, but here is not the right place to discuss this controversial problem.

4. In table "E" we see further diversity. The tendency to a higher cephalic index is readily explained if we understand the Shilluk social institutions. The kings very seldom according to the law of sanguinity which is prevalent among the Shilluk, leave the throne. The wives of the king are pregnant, they are sent to their villages to give birth. The royal babies are never born in Fashoda, and they stay in the village of their birth under the protection and guidance of the village chief.

We can conclude that the racial heterogeneity of the Shilluk is not simple. Three factors play a role in the ethnic composition of this nation and like many other nations, these different elements are fused into a social and cultural unit.

Card No	G.I.	P.I.	P.I.	U.P.I.	S.Con	Lock-over	Sample 1	2	3	4	Total	G.I.	P.I.	S.
D 6	70.6	85.4	70.3	43.3	136.9									
C 7	73.7	84.3			183.4	•					53			•
D 2	70.5	89.1			180.8		•				55		•	
D10	69.8	88.6	66.0	35.1	136.4							•		
C 9	74.6	83.7			160.3	•	•	•	•				•	
D 4	75.3	86.6	65.7	43.4	161.6						55			
	73.3	85.3			139.3									
D 8	63.7	93.7	45.3	44.9	132.3	•					53	•		
D 9	71.4	88.8			139.0	•					53			•
D10	71.5	100.0			160.1	•					58			
D 9	69.9	97.7			138.8	•		•	•		59			
C 4	71.0	88.2			139.2	•		•	•	•	53			
C 2	73.1	88.6			164.3	•					53		•	
D 6	70.1	80.0			166.3	•					58			•
D 3	70.1	78.2			139.4	•					53			
D 4	71.4	74.9			139.1									
A10	70.3	83.7			138.4		•	•	•	•				
A 9	70.4	75.0			180.4	•								•
A 8	70.5	80.7			161.1									
A 7	71.4	80.3			167.6		•	•	•	•			•	
A 6	74.0	78.4			165.3									
A 5	74.5	83.4			139.3			•		•				
A 4	71.4	83.9			166.3			•		•				
A 3	71.8	80.2			169.2	•	•							
	70.3	83.6			139.3									
C10	74.5	86.9			139.3	•	•				58	•		•
C 2	73.5	84.0			139.7	•	•		•	•	58			
D 1	70.8	90.6			165.0	•	•	•	•		58	•		•
C 2	73.3	80.3			164.9		•		•				•	
A 1	73.5	88.4			163.8	•	•	•	•	•	58			
	71.3	85.3			165.3									
D 3	71.8	83.3			165.0								•	•
A 8	70.1	78.0			139.0						53		•	
A 1	70.5	93.6	66.0	43.3	166.1									
C 7	68.8	93.8			167.4									
D 3	68.5	88.0	73.3	46.0	165.3						58			
A 6	73.0	78.0			138.3	•	•						•	
	71.3	85.3			138.3									

Case No	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]		*	*		[illegible]				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]			*	*				*	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*		*		[illegible]	*			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]		*			[illegible]				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		*			[illegible]				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]									
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]									
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	*	[illegible]							

The sign * shows that i.e people practices handing out lower [illegible], or only [illegible].

i = left upper arm and shoulder

[illegible] = right upper arm and shoulder

[illegible] = both [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible]

[illegible] = [illegible]

Ritual Death.

The most important ritual such using the Shilluk is one rite of [illegible] or [illegible] on the Fashoda called [illegible] which [illegible] from most the rest in the other way, namely the [illegible]. The old [illegible] have [illegible] one of these [illegible].(6) Both [illegible] that "Shilluk [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] one of [illegible] or more....[illegible] but I [illegible] to discover any Shilluk [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible] one of [illegible]. Both [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the part of the Bari and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] on the [illegible]. A profile of a Shilluk [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] has a [illegible] of [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] across the [illegible]. These [illegible] are of no [illegible] [illegible].(6) They [illegible] according to the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the [illegible]. [illegible] Shilluk [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Other body marks are also made of skill, of both no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to put these lights on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - complex, figure, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm.

Clothing.

Hofmayr states that "... to cover the unfortunatelit and fallen the Nuba and Dinkas, we guilty "to keep for the Spirits." (8) He also states " Almost the Nuba to Shillukands feel bare also feeling ging, stand as all the cattle to dancer Nuba and others." (9) and " Longues beginner but such other dances Nuba, children shillukands Shilluk and religious the hold passport let, so children also wanderer back also shillukands. Be cuite bare and the Footbalit the Shilluk the dances Nuba the wanderer betweenn." (2). During my experiences among the Shilluk I noticed no great differences among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes, this being that the Shilluk were always dressed at home as well as to their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Male dress is called in their own tongue LEG, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mostly white. The LEG is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (of) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other embroidery which is well described by Hofmayr.(22) But the question is that SHILLUK is a element Shilluk dress; it is either European one made from the northern Sudan. Th Shankalgos and the Beer or the Nuba, who are supposed to have been friendly with the Shilluk, go, men and women, quite naked. Hofmayr's statements, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 34 or 35 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk are bound to dress due to the introduction of Dutchman culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress through to both Christianity and Islam. Or, if this were due to Dutchman culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Nuba and Lang, among whom comparatively more Christianity and Islam have been there among the Shilluk ? Hofmayr contradicts himself in the same book. Ibid, the ancient Shilluk King, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, ordered himself, and " Kum mulumbrier ...ommung Kiledde Col nich ch.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history.

I have also no knowledge of a century to which the difference between the two sexes go, or were, so far as that which is could understand from Hofmayr's descriptions, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married.

There is also a traditional necessity of importance in the Shilluk political organization. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of blood relatives, has to be confirmed in his post by the King. This takes the form of invesiture; the new chief with a LEG with the King "personally dressing him also over the juguts himself shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a branch (a lineage group, homogeneous to a settlement) may be invested with a LEG "directly from the King, or from the settlement) may be

[18] "such good attention and possibilities for dress and cosmetics, so little care for the children"

[19] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but now that the Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, a sign that a better time is coming. Already we see yet that the standard of the Shilluk is changing from this country."

29| invested with a LAM, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
62| (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAM plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters
of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

29| I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluk, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Refer-

113 [1] Seligman, C.G., & B. Z.(Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932 p.48
[2] Hofmayer, V., The Shilluk, Vienna 1927, p 267.
[3] The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
[4] Tewfik, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, p.87)
[5] Ibid, pp. 882/887
[6] Ibid, p. 892
[7] Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in anthropology, London.
[8] " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
[9] Hofmayer V., The Shilluk, Vienna 1927, p 99
[10] Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1924, pp. 594/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
[11] Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 498
[12] see above, Table "C" No 4 & 6, and 5 & 6 have three lines.
[13] Bell A., 1932, p 28
[14] see above, table "D"
[15] see above , table "D", and in p 3, he was the son of King Kir, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
[16] Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
[17] Bell, A., 1932, p 28
[18] Hofmayer, V., The Shilluk, Vienna 1927, p 344
[19] Ibid, p. 347
[20] Ibid, p. 347
[21] This may be explained by the club to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Fetimar, wear a overgrown-curved lance in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
[22] Hofmayer, V., 1927, p 347/348
[23] This is the man I have observed the Shilluk the same under the influence of circumcision or who was converted to Christianity were European shirts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
[24] Hofmayer, V., 1927, p 38
[25] Bell, A., The Dilling of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1927, p. 32
[26] Ibid, p 32
[27] There is a similar ceremony among the Bung of investing the new chief with a head dress.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

VOL. LXIII

[TITLE PAGE]

PUBLISHED BY THE
Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
50, UPPER BEDFORD PLACE, RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

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CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE NATHIAN SUDAN.

[With Plates XV-XVII.]

By A. E. Tucker, Ph.D.

Between spending, children's games fall into three groups: Imitation of real life, e.g. keeping house, hunting, war; games of skill, usually played sitting down, e.g. primitive draughts, spillikins; and round games, accompanied by singing, of the "ring of roses" type. This article will confine itself exclusively to the last-mentioned group, in an attempt to place on record some of the numerous children's songs, before they are lost in favour of European substitutes. 524 121 797

The tribes studied are the Shilluk Shilluk, Nuer, Dinka, and Jur in the Upper Nile and Bahr-el-Ghazal Provinces, and the so-called Nile Hamites Bari, Latuka and Acholi in Mongalla Province. One or two Zande games have been included, but the songs were obtained from Azande outside their own country. This article does not deal with Arab games, as the Arab area lies well north of these tribes. Nearly all the material has been taken from boys attending Mission schools; hence I was unable to get girls' games or games including children of both sexes except in one or two cases. There is little likelihood of the words or music being "corrupted," however; in most missions, beyond the introduction of football, this aspect of native life has been ignored. [124 114] 797

The best time for games is a clear moonlight night in the dry season. Parents do not encourage play during the rainy season, so there is work for the children to do the next day. Even where parental authority is far away, as, for example, in a mission, they have sufficient standing still unless itself felt. The photographs reproduced here were all taken at "request performances" during the day. It takes about half an hour for the subject to work up sufficient enthusiasm for a truly representative picture, whereas at night this enthusiasm is spontaneous. The clothing of the boys is, of course, according to mission standards. 524 [321 867]

The singing is largely in simple and anti-simple, and a reliable song-leader is needed; strangely enough, he is very often one of the smallest of the group. The rhythm is still marked by hand-clapping, foot-stamping, or by the action of the game. In many games this rhythm seems to differ from the natural rhythm of the song, as it appears to our ears. Hence I indicate all hand-clapping, etc., above the music of the songs. [17] 524 533

The only way of obtaining a true record of any song is to do so while the game is in full swing; otherwise the complicated non-European rhythm is lost. A song sung alone by one boy the day after is vastly different from the same sung by moonlight, where every player's 126 524 533

* Interpretively, but not physically or rationally, the bride are closely allied to the Shilluk. [17]

? Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Nilotes FJ2

N 126 524 533

while body enters into the rhythm. It is this factor which is often overlooked by those who take and analyze phonograph records of native songs. It is difficult for a native to sing in proper tempo and with true gusto when he has to keep his head half buried in a phonograph horn all the time; and phonographs are notoriously bad for chorus work, as is well known. Phonographs have their use, of course, where difficult note intervals are met with, as will be obvious from several of the songs recorded here.

N 533

The words of these songs count for little, often having nothing to do with the action of the games; some are mere refrains on crops or cattle; sometimes a song is slurred out of recognition, and can only regain intelligibility after thorough dissection on the part of the investigator at a later and calmer period. In this aspect the Shilluks and Nuers are the greatest offenders, many of their songs consisting of mere nonsense syllables, which they themselves do not pretend to understand. (In such cases they usually give out that the words are "Dinka.") This being so, the translation of the vernacular given here, where this has been possible, must be regarded as very "free," as more attention has been paid to the song rhythm than to the literal meaning of the words.

S [533]

N 171

It is remarkable how much similarity there is between European children's games and the games that these children play, almost as though there were a sympathetic tie between children the world over. But it is worth noticing that we have lost much of our children's music, as witness the number of our games which are played without song. For the sake of simplicity, I shall classify these games roughly under the title of their nearest European equivalent.

N 128

[*Note on the music notation.*[1] Although the following tunes have been transcribed in staff notation, it must be noted that the scale intervals in the native singing voice are different from, and probably truer than, those on the piano (which have been compromised to enable one to play in different keys). Hence this rendering must be regarded as only *approximate*; where there is any appreciable difference between the song and the written note, I have indicated this in the text, the "uncertain note" being marked with an asterisk.

I have also taken liberties with the shape of the notes in those songs where strophe and antistrophe are important. Thus: *Strophe*: words in italics and notes with tails up; *Antistrophe*: words in normal script and notes with tails down. Where there is no part singing, I have transcribed the words in normal script.]

Ring-Games.

S 524 [516]

The great majority of singing games necessitate the players' squatting or standing in a ring, therefore I shall begin with a description of the principal squatting games.

1. *Hong the dipper.*—The "dipper" in this case is a ring or bangle, which is passed from hand to hand. Fig. 1, Pl. XV, shows the game as played among the Shilluk. The children sit round

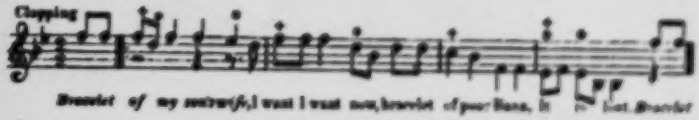
[1] I am very much indebted here to Miss Ursula Northcliffe, who kindly read over this article in manuscript and offered constructive criticism with reference to the notation.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Acholi: FK4
BARI F35
Latuko F317

S 524

in a ring, their feet under them. One of them has the missing bracelet, which he passes round surreptitiously. The leader sits in the middle and sings: "Bracelet of my son's wife," and the rest join in: "I want, I want now. Bracelet of poor Baya. It is lost." They clap their knees on the first beat of each bar.

S [533 539]

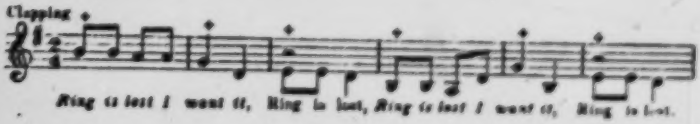


The leader may turn to any member of the circle, and, instead of clapping with his hands, lays them palm upwards on his knees; the boy now challenged has to lay his hands down palm upwards during the chorus. If he has the bracelet, he has to sit in the circle.

[*Note.*—In the foregoing song there is a note which I have written sometimes as D and sometimes as E♭. In reality the note lies halfway between the two notes recorded. This, of course, does not refer to all Shilluk songs.]

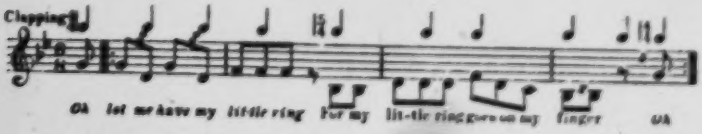
The Acholi version shows a simpler scale:

A 524 533 539



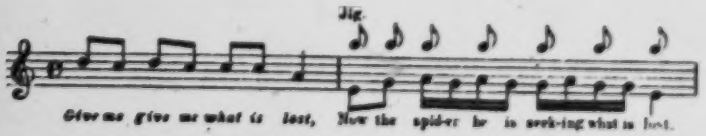
The following song, taken from the Latuko, illustrates how the clapping rhythm can differ from (to our ears) the natural song rhythm:

L 524 533 539



Among the Bari, the game is played with the legs stretched out in front, while the players sit in a line. One boy hides the ring, and the seeker is confused by the rhythmic jigging of the players' knees. (See Fig. 2, Pl. XV.)

B 524 533 539 516



7.Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Dinka F313
Jur F314

D
524
[516]

The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing inwards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is called the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S
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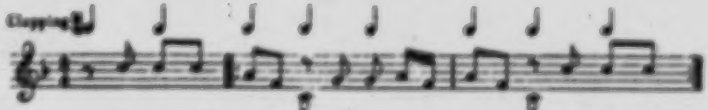
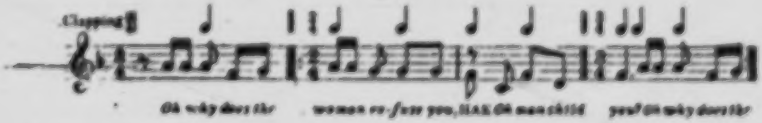
[516]

2. "*There stands a lady on the mountain.*"—There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (in 3/4 time): "Oh man child you," and the chorus shout "Hak" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to:—



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. Then the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has milady's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

S
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J
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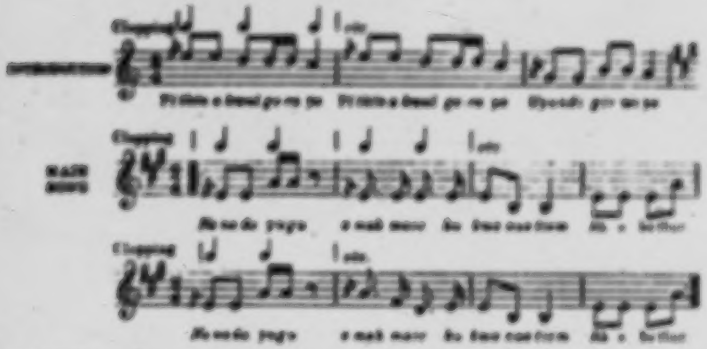
3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the Jur.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bracelet. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, slapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk-speaking tribe in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

T/Tucker K-5 (1929-1933) 1933 V321 Shilluk V323
Jua P714
Dinka F313

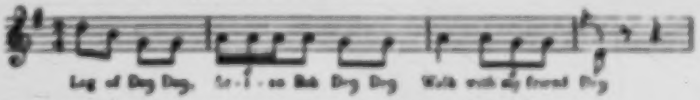


J 524 533 539

[The main part to be repeated *ad lib.*, with occasional reversion to the introduction.]

On the "Ah" the man in the centre will suddenly slap the knees of one of those sitting round. * This player must at once place his hands on his chest out of reach. If he is not quick enough and his hands are slapped, he is banished from the game. This continues till only one man is left, who is proclaimed the winner. J 524

4. Another game, requiring a man in the centre, is played by the Dinka. The men crouchers, while the rest stand closely round and over him, with their arms round each other's necks, so that he is enclosed in a cage of bodies. In his crouching position he can see only their legs. He grabs a leg at random, and cries, "Whose leg is this?" Should the owner of the leg be called, for example, Deng, the boys howl in chorus: D 524 [516]



D [533 539]

[Thus, if the boy's name is Mayen, they shout "Leg of *Mayen*, Arian Bok *Mayen*, walk with my friend *Ma!*"]

He now grabs the next boy's leg, and so on, till all the boys' legs have been touched. When he has gone the round, he has to try to creep out of the circle, and the game usually ends in a rough and tumble.

5. "*Kene dewe diau do.*" The Shilluk version is the most complicated. The boys sit in a circle, or, it might be, a right-angle, with their feet stuck out straight in front of them. An older boy squats on his haunches before them and chants a queer formula, much longer than any European equivalent, tapping the feet as he chants, till the last word is said. The foot last tapped is "out" and the owner must sit on it. He goes on in this way till everybody is sitting on both his feet, *i.e.* practically kneeling. He then begins with the first boy of the line. There is a formula and response, and then he bows down in front of the boy with his eyes shut and his head almost touching the boy's knees. The boy has to stand up without S 524 [516]

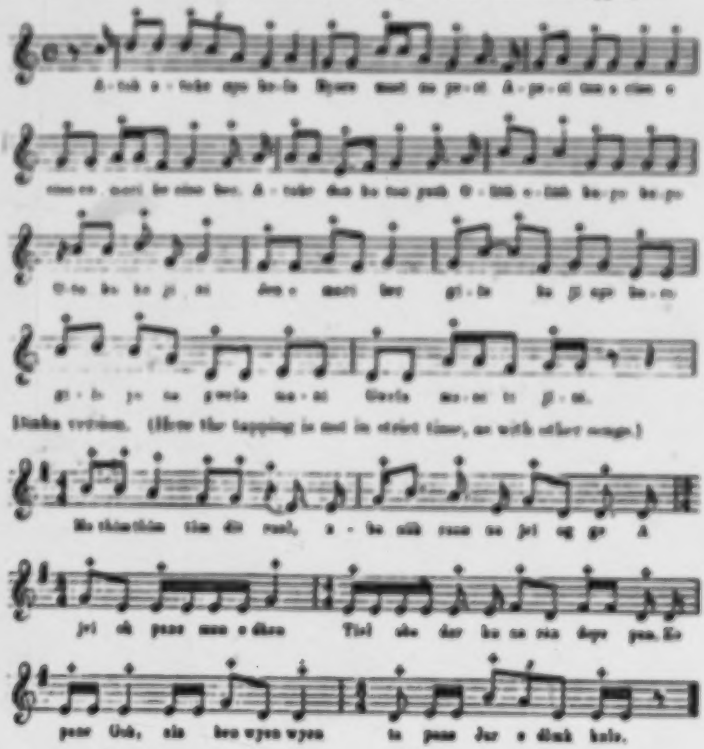
?/Tucker E-5 (1929-1955) 1955 F313 Ehi/Ehi F313
Ibadan F314
Jur F314

S 534

touching the man's head with his knee. (He may use his hands to help himself, if he wishes.) If the man knows the boy's knee crook as he does, the boy is made to stand on one side. If he knows do not crook, he stands somewhere else. Thus we have two groups -crooky and non-crooky knees. (Of course, the longer one is forced to sit on one's feet, the greater the likelihood of crooky knees!) The last part of the game is vague, because it was difficult to get the words. The two groups throw challenges at each other, and the game ends with the non-crooky knees pursuing the crooky knees and punishing them.

In the Ehiko and Jur versions, a player is out of the game as soon as both legs are "out," and the game proceeds till only two boys are left. These are allowed to stand, but are well honoured in by their neighbours, because the last man will have to make a dive for safety or be well pinched by his comrades.

The Jur song is given here ( ) indicates the notes on which the feet are tapped) :-



Ehiko version. (Here the tapping is not in strict time, as with other songs.)

T.Tucker K-6 (1929-1933) 1933 F11 Thomas F11
Bag: F25

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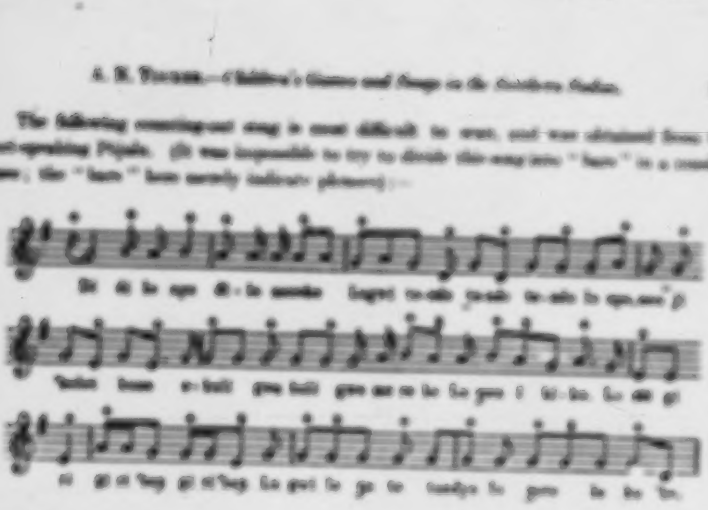
The following counting-out song is most difficult to write, and was obtained from the best-speaking Pipals. (It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a musical sense; the "bars" have merely indicative phrasing):—



6. "*Simon says 'thumbs up!'*." A very peculiar Mulbah game which necessitates sitting in a circle with the legs straight in front; may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up!'" except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round; so, for this game, eight, twelve or sixteen is a good number for the players. Outside the ring, on opposite sides of it, stand two men with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest.

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First movement: Song-leader sings, "Nyikep was about to wear his boat." The boys all lean forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees still, while they chant: "Hraph! Hraph! Hraph!" (Fig. 5, Pl. I.)

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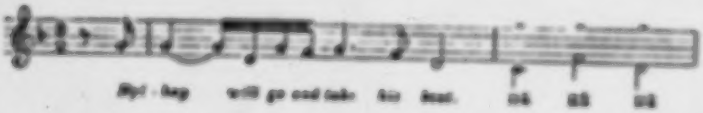
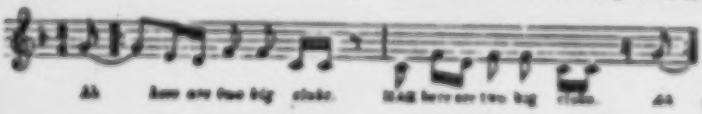


Second movement: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs!" The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hak! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hak," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, whack their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, so the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 1, Pl. XV.)



?/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shi/Yuk F223
Mapa F322

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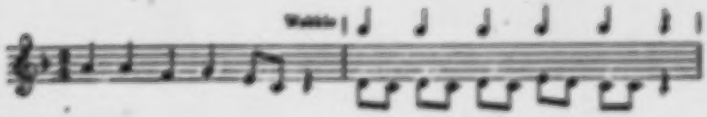
Third movement: The boys all chant together "Open and shut, Open and shut!" At the word "Open," all the toes are bent backwards, at the word "Shut" they are all bent forwards, so that the centre square of toes looks like some great black sea-anemone opening and shutting itself.

Fourth movement: Keeping their feet and toes still, the boys wobble their knees rapidly up and down. I was unable to get the words of this song, but the tune is as follows:—



These movements can come in any order, according to the will of the song-leader.

N
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[516]

7. *Now girls are fond of ring games, but there is little action in those that I have seen.* The girls kneel in a ring; one girl sings a song of about three lines, and the rest repeat it, clapping their knees. Then the girl next to her takes up the song, extemporizing upon the same theme with a view to scoring a "hit" off one of those present. If she succeeds, she is greeted with yells of approval, and all join lustily in the chorus, while the third girl cudgels her brains for the inspiration necessary to cap this verse if possible. These witticisms usually lie around the nature of friends or bear some obscure reference to well-known incidents, with the result that an investigator without intimate knowledge of the children's daily affairs finds the songs unintelligible. This is one of the verses:

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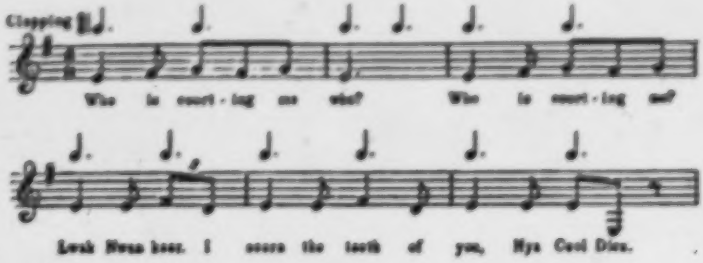
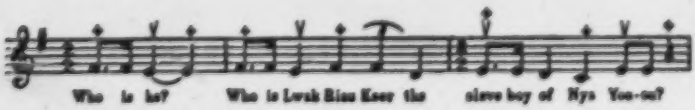
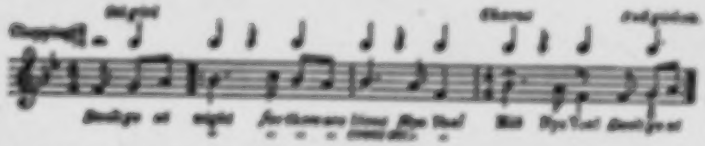


In the following song the voice rhythm (indicated V) differs markedly from the clapping rhythm (indicated ↓):

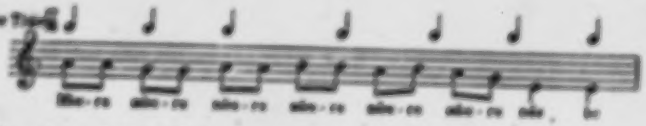


?/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shiloh F323
F323 Nuer
F318 Mika

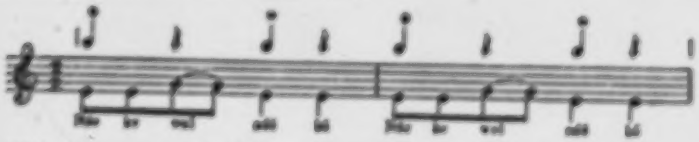
The following singing game requires rapid thought and great memory. Each girl in turn has to think of a different animal's name, the aim being not to repeat the name a previous girl has sung:— N 524 533 539



8. *Ring o' Roses.* There are many games which comprise some dancing or capering in a ring. In the following Beka game the players first dance round in a ring, holding hands, singing:— M 524 533 539



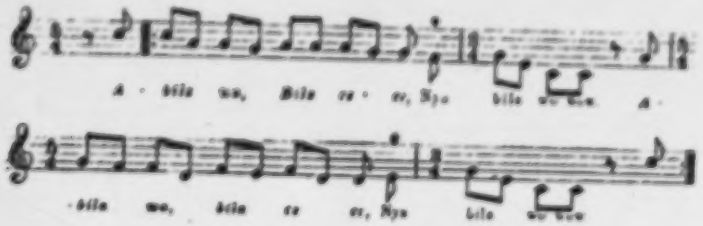
Then, with a change of the music, they swing their right legs over their arms, and hop round until they fall down. (See Fig. 5, Pl. XV.)



[*Note.* The note transcribed E sounds somewhere between E and F.]

9. A popular form of "Ring o' Roses" is played as follows. The Shilluk version has two parts, but the words of the song have no decipherable meaning. (Here again I heard a note which was difficult to place. I have transcribed it sometimes E and sometimes F.) S 524 533 539

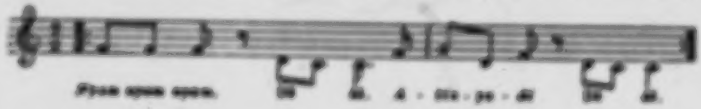
First movement: The players stand in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders, and sway as they sing:—



?:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Achuli FK4
Bari F35
Lotuko F317

S 524 533 539

Second movement. The leader will drop his hatchi and run round the boy to his right and back to his place. (See Fig. 6, Pl. XV.) This boy will now run round the boy to his right, and so on, until everybody has run round his right-hand neighbour, and no one is left with his hands on his neighbour's shoulders. After which the children revert to the first movement. The song for the second movement is sung at almost twice the speed of that for the first movement.

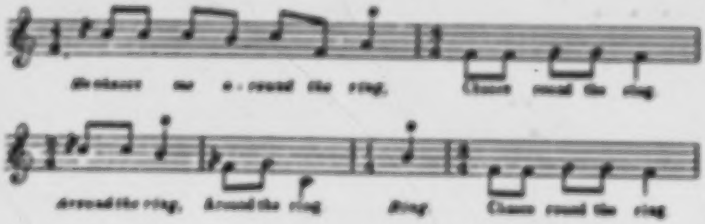


A B 524

Among other tribes, only the second movement is gone through. In the Lotuko song I have transcribed the "uncertain note" sometimes as A and sometimes as Bb.

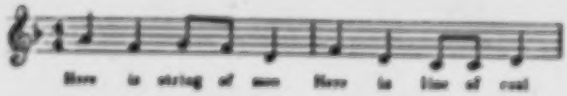
Lotuko:

L 524 533 539



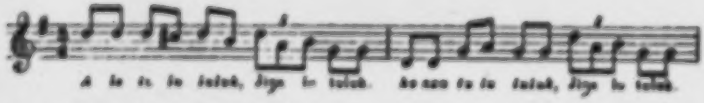
Achuli:

A 533 539



Bari:

B 533 539



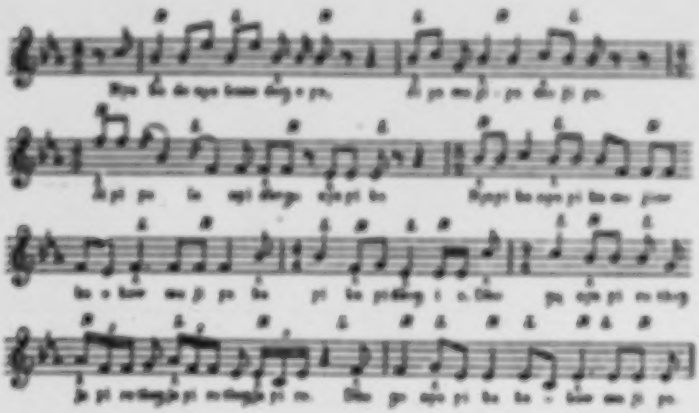
S 524

10. The following Shilluk ring-game is a difficult test for the players' rhythmic sense, and many Shilluks fail, much to the derision of their comrades. The players stand in a ring, holding each others' shoulders, and a stick, about three feet long, is laid on the right-hand side of one of the boys, pointing towards the centre of the circle. The players now sing a supposedly "Dinka" song, and the boy marks the rhythm by springing, with both feet together, to and fro across the stick. At a certain point in the song, to be determined by himself, he must

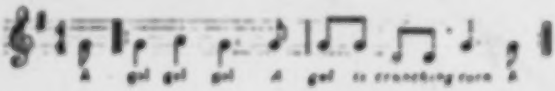
T/Tucker, E-G (1929-1930) 1931 - 9321 Shilluk 9321
Lotuko 9317

double his time, i.e. spring from side to side twice as fast, and on the last note he must end up on the right-hand side of the stick, i.e. opposite the side from which he began, so that the circle may move round one place, while his left-hand neighbour has an attempt. Should the unfortunate dancer finish up on the left-hand side of the stick, he is hooted out of the game. 5 524

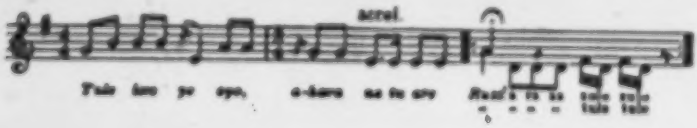
In the following song I have indicated by the letters R and L the jumpings, right and left, of one of the successful players. This is, of course, not the only way in which the rhythm is distributed :— 5 524 533 539



11. Another Shilluk jumping game consists merely of springing from the ground to a rapid rhythm, the legs going apart and together. An important point is that the left heel should hit the right ankle when the feet come together in mid-air.



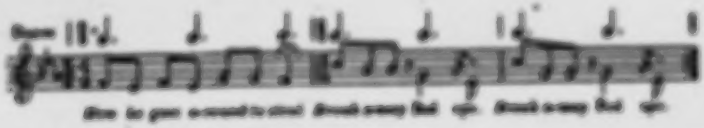
12. I have seen among the Latuko a form of ring game in which, at the word "run!" the song-leader will swing his section of the line into the middle of the circle. When this is done very vigorously, it is hard for those on his immediate left and right to keep their feet. L 524 533 539



J.Tucker K.4 (1909-1911) 1911 P211 Sheffield P211
Lab.Ko P217

L 524 S23 S24

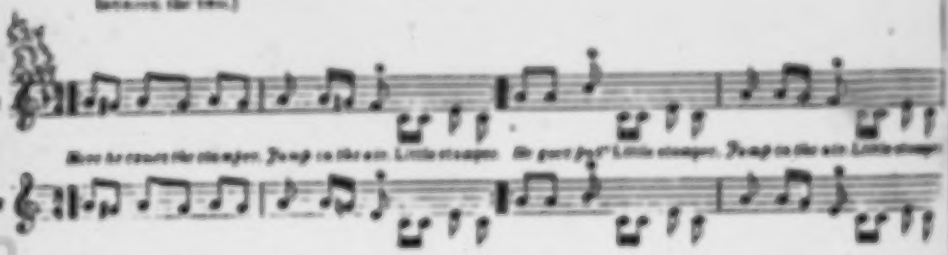
13. The Lotuko have two ring games, in which a boy in the centre is "an." In the first he is called "the ape," and the other players are supposed to dance from one foot to the other as they sing:—



L 524

The "ape's" ambition is to grab the leg of one of the players and to upset him backwards. The player's neighbours try to prevent this by supporting him. If the "ape" succeeds, the upset player takes his place.

In the second game, the boy in the middle tries to jump on the toes of those who are not quick enough in jumping out of the way. (This song was difficult to transcribe, owing to the main notes being between E and F. Consequently I had the impression sometimes that the song was sung in the key of F major (No. 1), and sometimes that it was sung in the key of A minor (No. 2). I applied both apparent versions. The true version was probably somewhere between the two.)



Chasers and Following Games.

S 524

14. *Fox and Geese.* This version of an old favourite is appropriately named "Lion and Goat," "Leopard and Sheep," "Leopard and Dog," according to the locality of the tribe concerned.

The Shilluk game is nearest our conception. The "Sheep" crouch in single file behind their leader, who faces the "Lion" all players crouching on hands and knees. (See Fig. 1, Pl. XVI.) The spectators supply the song and clap their hands in time. At every beat the Lion advances a pace, pouncing alternately from right to left and grunting "Ha!" and "Ha!" at each pounce. The line of Sheep retreats in time with him, bleating "Me!" to his grunts, and the leader has to prevent the Lion from catching one of the Sheep by blocking his path. Both sides move in strict time with the music, and no irregular pounces are allowed.

T/Tucker R-6 (050-1953) 1955 F323 Shillah F323
Nilotic F32
Dinka F312

Of the two songs mentioned here, only one of them has any reference to the game in the main.

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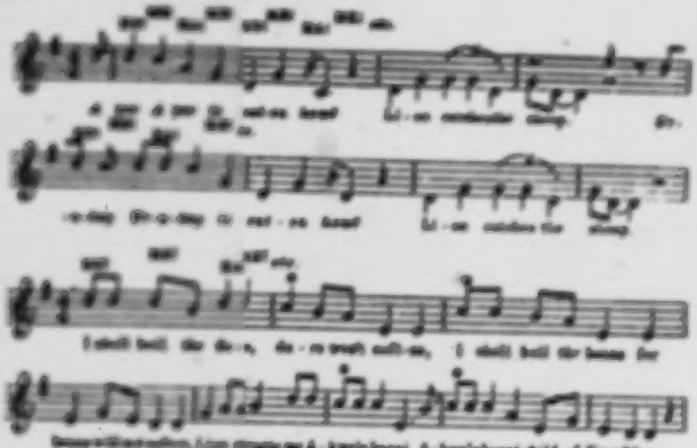

Among other tribes the game resembles more our game of "Cat and Mouse." The singers stand in a large circle, holding hands. The Leopard has to chase the Sheep in and out of the circle, the two calling to each other with grunts and bleats. The Sheep is allowed to rush in or out under the singers' arms, but the Leopard's progress is barred as far as possible, and he has to try to break through. When caught, the Sheep becomes Leopard, and a new victim is sought.

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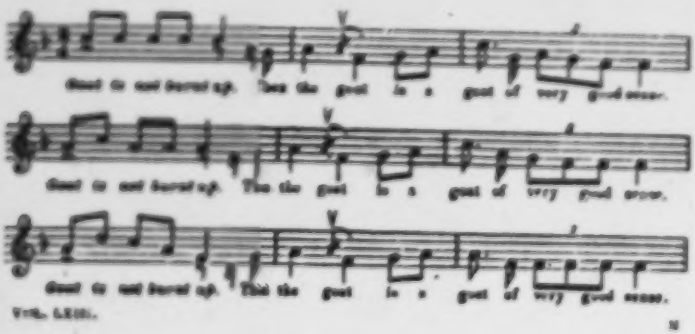
The singers incessantly jog from one foot to the other during the game, as an African can stand still while singing. Here again the words of the song need have no reference to the game.

Dinka:



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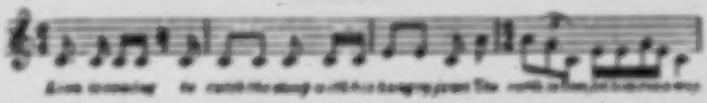
Acheli: FK4
Duke: F312
Bor: F35
Lobedu: F317

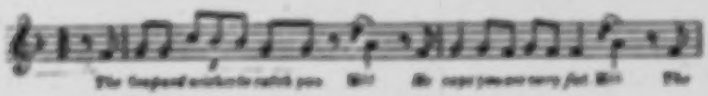
A 533 534

Acheli:



L 533 534

Latuka:



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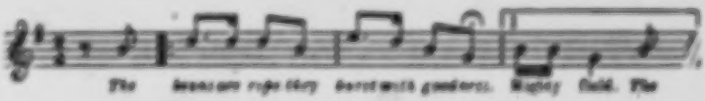
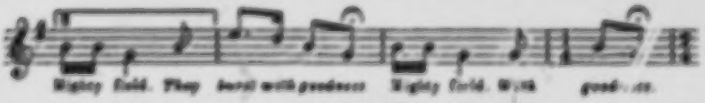
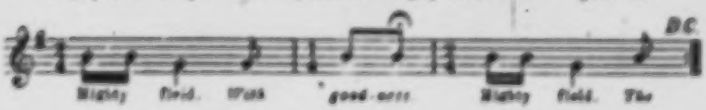
Another Dinka version requires the singers to sit in two lines facing each other. (See Fig. 2, Pl. XVI.) Both the Lion and the Sheep crawl on all fours. The Sheep may break through either line at any point, but the Lion is kept back and may only pass unhindered round the group or up the passage in the middle. The singers clap their knees as they sing:—







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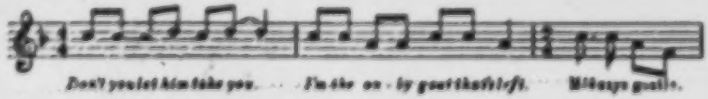
The Bari method is quite different. The Goat lies down, curled up on his side, and his protectors kneel closely round him with their faces towards him. As they sing they clap their knees.



The Leopard prowls round the circle on all fours, grunting in time to the music. Every now and again he tries to break through the human barrier and get his claws into the Goat, and it is the duty of the singers (whose backs are towards him) to sense when he is about to make an

?/Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F221 Shelbah
Bnl. F35
Achd. F64
Duke F34

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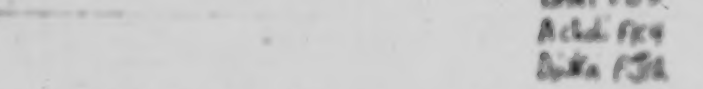
stick, and block his progress by clasping each other round the waist. When at last the Leopard breaks through to his prey, they sing:—



15. *Follow my leader.* Though this type of game is common to almost every tribe in Africa, I have only the records of two versions, played by the Asholi and the Dinka respectively.

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Among the Asholi the boys stand in single file, each lightly holding the waist of the boy in front. The leader sings "Close in!" and the line advances, describing an ever-lessening circle or whorl until the centre is reached. Then the leader has to wind his and his followers' way out, singing "Open out!" till he has straightened his line out again. It is a very pretty pattern to watch, and is not unknown in "figure marching" in European schools.

In the accompanying transcription I have given the Asholi words, as no English words could fit the tune so well. The boys shuffle in time with the music, the right foot marking the commencement of each bar.[1] The following words mean "Close in!":

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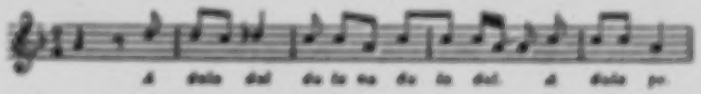

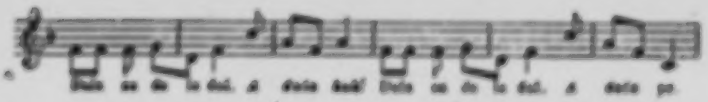

For "Open out!" the same tune is used with the word "*gaya*" substituted for "*dala*."

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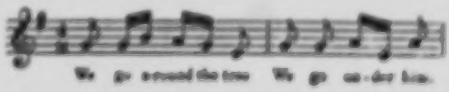
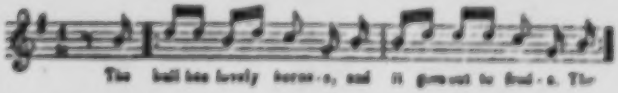
Among the Dinka the boys hold hands, so that they have to run sideways. After running in a rough circle for some time, the leader makes a dive for the space between the last two boys, and the whole line passes through, including the second last boy, who has to turn round rapidly under his own arm.





[1] It is worth remarking here that native rhythm is not to be right-handed. In the drum rhythms that I have studied the principal beat always falls to the right hand, while in all marching or shuffling, etc., it is given to the right foot.

T/Tucker E-6 (1929-1931) 1935 F323 Shilluk F323
Dinka F324
Acholi F324
Lotuko F327

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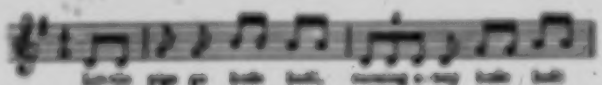
Very often the end boy will stand still, and the rest of the line then proceeds to wrap itself round him, singing:—



The whole game is done at the double, and is played much faster than among the Acholi. The words have nothing to do with the game, being, as others as not, rubbish or fantastic balls.

Acholi Version.

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10. *Gwogo and Lemma.* The versions of this popular game differ from tribe to tribe, but all have this feature in common, viz., the two principals stand facing each other with their arms making an arch; they do not clasp each other's hands, but slap their palms against each other to a rapid rhythm, while the other members of the game dash through the arch. The game is considerably more vigorous than among European children, and the "last man" is seldom captured without a scuffle.

Shilluk:

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Lotuko:

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Acholi:

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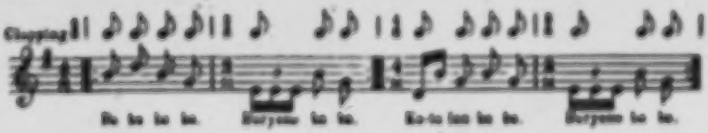
531



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The "last man" is treated variously. Among the Shilluk he is banished from the game, and this continues until only two players are left, and these have to chase each other. Among the Lotuko and Acholi the game proceeds upon more European lines. The captured player is

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Ackl: P39
Lakota P37
Omai: P25

A
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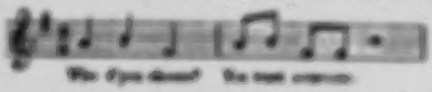
ended which of the two principals he (or she) would choose, and lines up behind the chosen one accordingly. (Only the Adult music is given here, as the Lassies do not sing this part.)



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When all are lined up, each group the line of the player to front. The principals move forward side by side, armed with this sticks or bits of creepers, while their respective chosen of players shuffle behind attached to their sashes.

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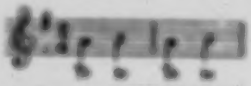
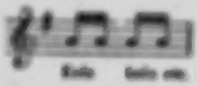


At a given signal, each principal turns upon his revolving followers and belabours those who are not quick enough in getting away, shouting "Kule! kule! kule! kule!"



17. *Ole Roger de Crosby.* (*Brighton Creek.*) This pitcher-type of circle game is one of the most popular throughout the Southern States. The Lassies furnished us with the best example. (See Fig. 3, Pl. XVI.) The players are arranged in two close lines, facing each other, with hands clasped high to form a long tunnel. They sing:

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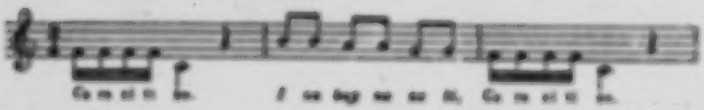

The leading couple will suddenly whirl round violently two or three times, and then proceed jerkily together down the tunnel, the first boy moving backwards and dragging his partner after him with much rhythmic contortions of body and legs. As soon as the end of the tunnel is reached, they join on as an extra arch while the next couple follows through.

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The first song has two unity of expression.

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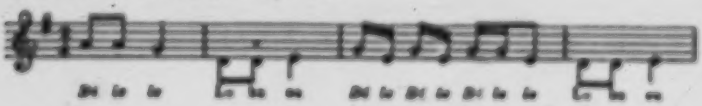
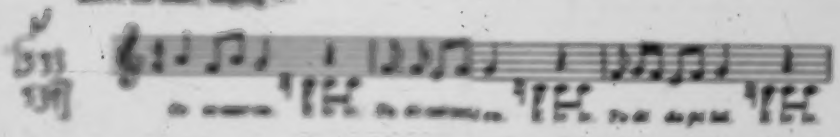


Nuer P322

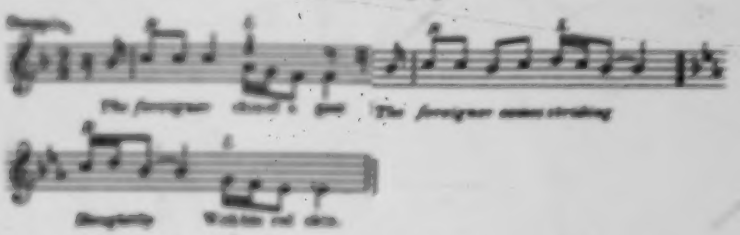
LOW GAME.

N 324 (1) **Hide and Hop.**—The Nuer have a game of this name of which the details are rather vague. The children stand in two lines, facing each other, some dozen yards apart. A member of one line advances towards the other line with a peculiar prancing step, waving his hands above his head, singing :—

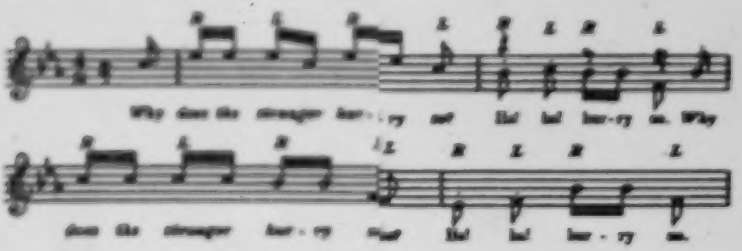


(The words, so far as I could make out, are nonsensical.) He singles out a member of the other side and chases him round both lines and back to his place. What happens if he catches him I could not find out.

S 324 (2) The following Shillah version is evidently a recent invention, and probably confined to the particular group of Shillahs I was studying. The boys line up in two ranks, as if for "Hide and Hop." One line advances towards the other, marching slowly to "goose step" (see Fig. 4, Pl. XVI), while the other line retreats, both sides singing :—



Then the song is repeated, while the other line advances, and so on, to and fro, several times. Suddenly the pace is doubled; the boys running; still legged, those advancing trying to kick the shins of those who are retreating. The song now is :—

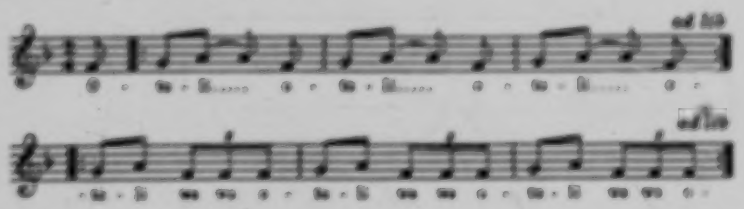


As before, on every repetition the direction is changed.

?:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Bari F35
Dinka F34
Latuko F37
Acholi F37

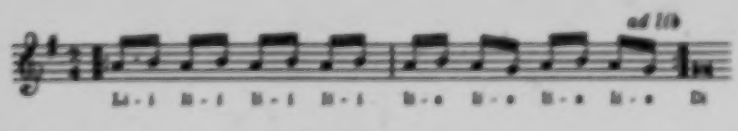
This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "shit of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Kots and Mop." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step:—



without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song:—



the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

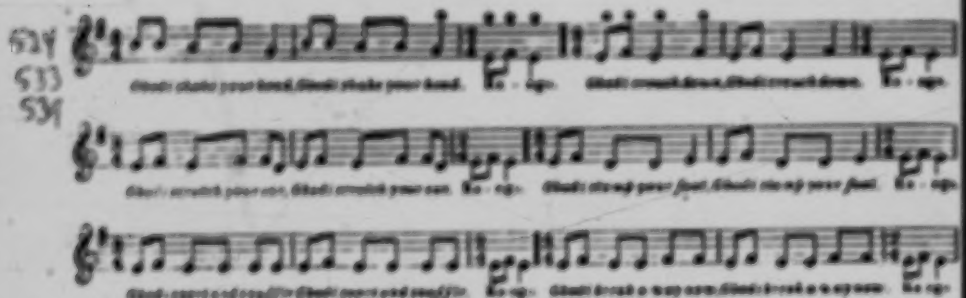
Imitations of Animals, etc.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs:—

20. *Buck-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbodi,"

?:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Sketch
Ashanti F37

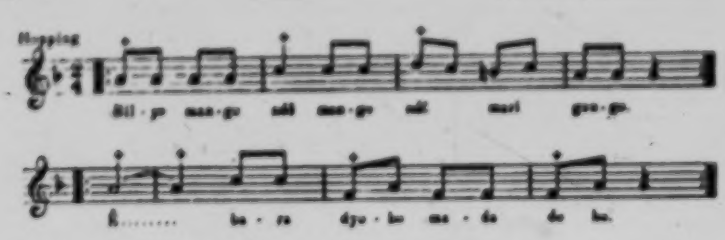
624 the back-back. He sings, striking his antlers to the words, and the others reply, copying him. Thus, for example:



At the words "Ghadi break away now," he makes a wild dash for safety, and tries to break through the circle. If he fails, he has to act "Ghadi" again.

[*Note.* There is more than one "uncertain note" in this song. What I have written as G and F♯ should be taken as a note somewhere between the two; in addition, what I have written as E sometimes sounds more like F ♮. This is one of the many instances when the absence of a phonograph was deplored.]

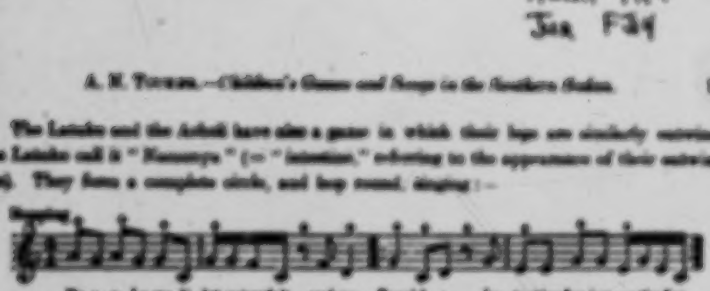
21. *Hoodo.* A Zande animal game is in the form of "Follow my Leader." The boys stand close behind each other, with their hands on the shoulders of those in front, and their left legs entwined. (See Fig. 1, Pl. XVII.) The whole line advances slowly, the members hopping painfully, while they sing:



It is the aim of the leader to perform as many snake-like coils and twists as possible before the line breaks up—which it does very easily.

7.Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F313 Shilluk
Lotuko F317
Acholi: FX4
Jur F34

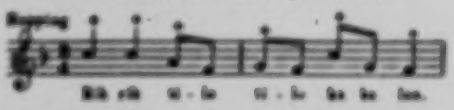
The Latuko and the Acholi have also a game in which their legs are similarly entwined. The Latuko call it "Kasunyu" (= "intertwine," referring to the appearance of their entwined legs). They form a complete circle, and hop round, singing:— L A 524



524 533 534

At the cry "Ham!" they clap their hands above their heads, thus impelling the stability of the circle, which is soon reduced to a tangled heap of arms and legs.

The Acholi play this game similarly, but do not clap their hands:

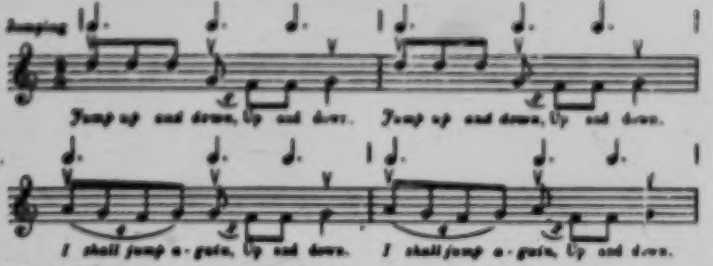


A 524 533 534

H. Gingh.—Another Latuko game is supposed to imitate the clumsy swinging, to right and left, of the giraffe's head as it walks. It is again a modified form of "Follow my Leader." (See Fig. 2, Pl. XVII.) The boys advance in jerks, swinging their trunks from right to left in time with the leader, and singing: L 524 533 534

[*Note.* The sung rhythm marked V seems to differ from the rhythm of their leader, which is on the first beat of each bar.]

I. Frog.—I met this game among the Shilluk-speaking *Jur* of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The boys stand round the "frog," who is doubled up in an extraordinarily uncomfortable position (see Fig. 3, Pl. XVII), and while they sing he has to jump backwards in a circle without falling over. J 524 533 534 [516]



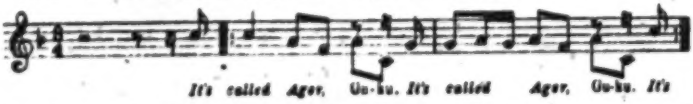
[Note how the sung rhythm marked V—seems to differ from the jumping rhythm.]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Acholi FK4
Lotuko FJ17

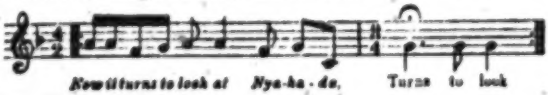
S 524 516 24. *Hoopoe.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing: –

S 524 533 539



Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like: –



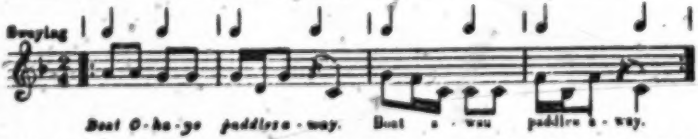
At the word "Turns," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird shews its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Luku-luku-luku!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

S 524 [825] This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a harmless little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

25. *Canoe.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side: –

S [533 539]



Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Heigh!" the whole line heels over one to one side. They recover, and heel over on to the other side. They recover, and heel over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

S [171] A L 529 A 533 539 Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: –

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk
Acholi FK4
Lotuko FJ17

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L
524

On the "pstor" he tries to push the line over with the stick, while the boys, equally determined, resist him. If he fails, he has to try again.

The Latuko also have this game, but with no singing accompaniment.

000

Naturally a short article like this could not deal with all the kinds of singing games played by these children; nor did my time allow me to find out all the varieties of any one game among the different tribes. This random selection, however, picked up casually from different corners of the Southern Sudan, and covering primitive races with mutually unintelligible languages, should serve to show the main foundations on which the great majority of children's singing games are built. It is specially interesting to note that these foundations are, to all intents and purposes, identical with those that underlie the forms of European children's games, viz., the *ring*, the *arch* and the *line*.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Mittu FJ18

BSM 524 516 291 997

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

FIG. 1.—SHILLUK VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

FIG. 2.—BARI VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

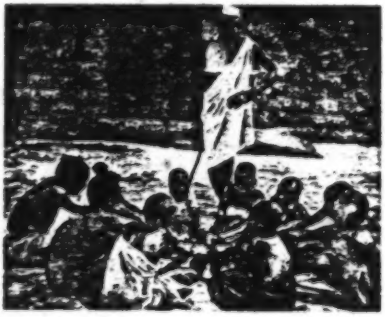

FIG. 3.—"NYIKANG WAS ABOUT TO SEIZE HIS BOAT" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 4.—"HERE ARE TWO CLUBS" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"NDEKE WAI NDEKE" (BARI).

FIG. 6.—"NYAM NYAM NYAM. DE DE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(A)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Dinka FJ12
Lotuko FJ17

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

ADLS
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FIG. 1.—SHILLUK PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

FIG. 2.—DINKA PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

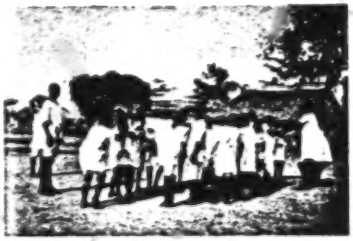

FIG. 3.—"SIR ROGER" AMONG THE LATUKO.

FIG. 4.—"THE FOREIGNER COMES STRIDING" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"GBODI SHAKE YOUR HEAD" (AZANDE).

FIG. 6.—"GBODI CROUCH DOWN" (AZANDE).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 167(B)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Lotuko FJ17
Jur FJ14

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVII.

ALJS
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FIG. 1.—ZANDE "SNAKE."

FIG. 2.—LATUKO "GIRAFFE."

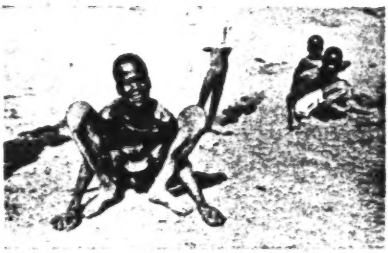


FIG. 3.—JUR "FROG."

FIG. 4.—SHILLUK "HOOPOE."

FIG. 5.—SHILLUK "CANOE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(C)]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE
INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

JOURNAL DE
L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL AFRICAIN

ZEITSCHRIFT DES
INTERNATIONALEN AFRIKANISCHEN INSTITUTS

Editor
DARYLL FORDE

Assistant Editor
B. E. WYATT

VOLUME XXIII
1953

LONDON
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

[TITLE PAGE]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

175 IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal
648 and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be
177 idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

671 By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships
692 from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of
[648] 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative
[114 system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized
648] repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

671 We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has
[648] acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[113] [1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*podk*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pac*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pac*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gel*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·5 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 25.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nim giw*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [837] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

> Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [848]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

> Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 191 583

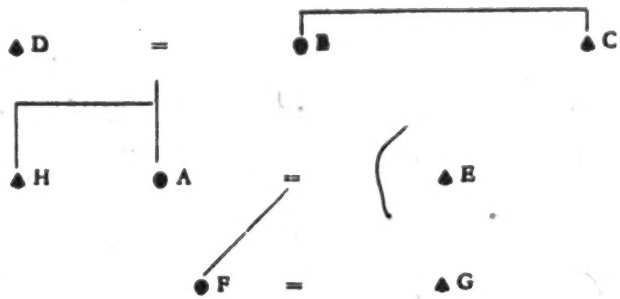
[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

583 of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a [17] recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the [686] number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts [672] are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to [178] the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever [582] followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally 592 expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [548] and prostitutes.[2] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [839] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[2] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1955) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden' [177 648 681]

586 *Active Divorce*: This is simply known as *tag*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *geiny tag*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known [684] as *kwor kwob*. The expression *kwor kwob* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kier mac*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

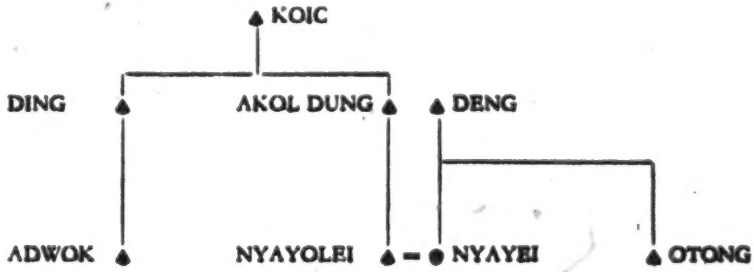
(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kwor* [613] *kwob* or *kier mac* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood [848] of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *okeijo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

586 Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by
69 the Courts.

Kak *wad* Banykwee *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

[583] Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £Ea.500m/ms. in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kier mac* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



[583] Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .500m/ms. in cash. The marriage took place in *reth* Padiet's time

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

(*circa* 1915) Nyayei bore no children and ran away with another man. All the cattle have been returned since then, but not the sheep and the goats nor the grain. Adwok then claimed one bull in place of the grain. The Court in the final instance decided against Adwok on the grounds that no cattle as *kwor kwob* (*kirc mac*) had been retained by Otong and the sheep, goats, grain and cash must be held to represent them. 586 69

Dissolution of Marriage owing to the Death of the Wife

This is known as *tug juok*.[1] Pumphrey says: 586

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister known as *kai ot*, or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals), making deductions for the children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death.[2] [587]

This statement requires qualification:

(*a*) If the wife dies soon after marriage and without issue, all cattle should be returned to the husband or, in some cases, another girl from her family might be given to replace her. The Shilluk refer to this as *kai ot*, which, as Pumphrey states, means literally 'substitute of the house'.

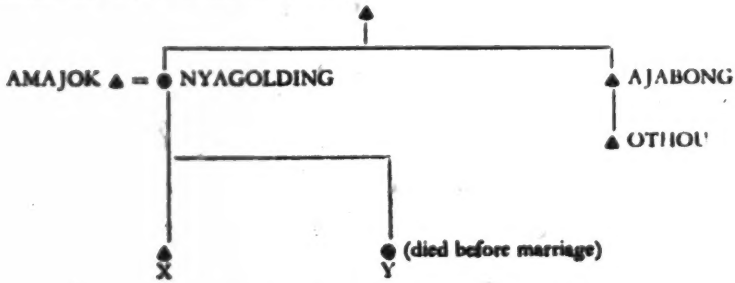
(*b*) If the wife dies a long time after marriage and after giving birth to children, thereby fulfilling her procreative obligations to her husband, *kai ot* may still be claimed, but is recognized as being only two head of cattle. *Kai ot* in this sense is intended to assist the husband to marry again, but it is often claimed, not by the husband, but by the wife's male children many years after her death. In fact, it frequently happens that a man claims *kai ot* on the death of his mother or of his father's wives. It is also a subject of frequent litigation in the Courts.

(*c*) If the wife dies in childbirth, the child dies too, and she leaves no other children, then all cattle should be returned with the exception of two known as *dhok wic dan* or *dhok remo*. *Dhok wic dan* means literally 'cattle in the place of children' while *dhok remo* means 'cattle of blood'.

It should be noted that the deduction known as *kwor kwob* would not be claimed in addition to *dhok remo*, and only applies if no children are born to the wife. 69 586

The following disputes settled before the Court provide examples:

Amajok *wad* Deng *v.* Othou *wad* Ajabong



[1] *Juok* means God: hence dissolution by act of God.
[2] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 32.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

69 Amajok married Nyagolding for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagolding gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Othou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger *wad* Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Aciethgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Aciethgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhok rewo*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not
[613] confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[571] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts
[178] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1935, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to
586 divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> it is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeijo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okujo* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *guitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okujo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okujo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *Awar Awob nion*
gier and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox.
Pumphrey remarks that,

[832 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1939 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ2

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yac nian ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yac cie dhano* or *kwor yac cie ot*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okeno* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of *nidi* Kur (1901).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (*dwak*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen farther removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

The following court case illustrates the procedure.

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Tsytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yar nian ajur*)

Tsytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bridewealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *ateje*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Tsytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogeng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yar ric dhum*)

Dogeng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil, but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is considered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogeng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yar nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female nyireths

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *nyireth*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

. . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nimet* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *nyireths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *nyireths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *nyireths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *nyireths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *nyireths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *nyireth* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwor*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *nyireth* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *nyireth*, as the bride-pgice would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyireth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *ŋiroth* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *ŋiroth* with her child or children moves on in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *ŋiroth* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *ŋirethś*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *ŋiroth* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwareth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

71 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *wuot* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

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Though there are differences of detail in the matter of divorce, the general principles are again similar and both the legality of marriage and the legal status of children are established by the same method, the transfer of cattle being the material symbol of the transfer of legal rights. As elsewhere in the Nilotic world, litigation over rights in marriage and parenthood is common in the Shilluk courts; not that the rights and obligations are in dispute but rather that persons refuse to honour them. It is also possible to trace the gradual development and crystallization of custom and usage into customary law now consistently enforced by Shilluk tribunals established by the present Government. 171

There are also points of contrast. The most obvious of these is the rigidity with which the amount of bridewealth is fixed. Among Nuer and Dinka, where the ratio of cattle to humans is generally higher, the number of cattle claimed in bridewealth is greater but it is also more elastic and, provided certain minimum claims are met, will fluctuate according to the prevailing condition of the herds. By sticking permanently to a fixed number, even a comparatively small one, and regarding any cattle outstanding as an almost perpetual debt, the Shilluk marital system is the cause of many social maladjustments, some of which have already been described. These difficulties may well be aggravated if the population increases while the herds continue to be depleted by epidemics of rinderpeste or trypanosomiasis. 171 583

Résumé

NOTES SUR LES SHILLUK DU HAUT NIL: DROIT COUTUMIER: MARIAGE ET DROITS SUR LES FEMMES 000

Les mariages chez les Shilluk sont effectués par l'exécution de plusieurs cérémonies ayant une importance tant sociale que rituelle, qui sont accompagnées par le transfert de bétail représentant le paiement du mariage. Le transfert de bétail figure, également, dans les actions de divorce et détermine le statut légal des enfants, car il constitue le symbole du transfert des droits légaux. Ces caractéristiques des droits de mariage chez les Shilluk sont également rencontrées parmi les Nuer et les Dinka, bien qu'il y ait des différences de détail, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la répartition, parmi les parents, du bétail qui constitue le paiement du mariage. De plus, la quantité de bétail représentant ce paiement, parmi les Shilluk, est toujours de dix têtes, et les arrérages en suspens sont reportés quelquefois à perpétuité. Ceci est une cause fréquente d'inadaptation sociale et de litige, et les difficultés qui en résultent sont susceptibles d'être aggravées par l'accroissement de la population et l'épuisement des troupeaux par suite de maladie.

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AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE
INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

JOURNAL DE
L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL AFRICAIN

ZEITSCHRIFT DES
INTERNATIONALEN AFRIKANISCHEN INSTITUTS

Editor
DARYLL FORDE

Assistant Editor
B. E. WYATT

VOLUME XXII
1952

LONDON
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

[TITLE PAGE]

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AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

VOLUME XXII APRIL 1952 NUMBER 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

THE LAWS OF HOMICIDE AND THE LEGAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *RETH*

P. P. HOWELL

INTRODUCTION

PUBLISHED literature on the subject of the Shilluk is considerable[1] and there are also many interesting accounts of specific subjects buried in the files of the Administration. Nowhere, however, is there a complete account of all aspects of Shilluk life. Moreover, there has been a tendency to concentrate on certain aspects, notably the Divine Kingship, to the exclusion of others. In 1941 Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and I published two articles: the first a general summary account of the Shilluk tribe based on Mr. Pumphrey's observations and wide experience; the second a more detailed analysis of one Shilluk settlement,[2] the result of fieldwork carried out in 1937. In 1944 I had the privilege of attending the installation of *reth* Anei Kur and, together with Mr. W. P. G. Thomson, published a full account.[3] Subsequently Mr. Thomson published his 'Further Notes on the Death of a Shilluk Reth',[4] after the death of *reth* Anei in 1943. This, with Professor Evans-Pritchard's Frazer Lecture, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*,[5] represents the total of information published on the subject of the Shilluk in recent years. 114

The Shilluk are an exceptionally conservative people and, perhaps the legacy of centuries of resistance to external aggression, have a natural distaste for innovation. Yet times are changing and it is therefore all the more important that the gaps in our knowledge of Shilluk society as it was during the last few decades, and is now, should be filled. During the last two years I have had occasional opportunities to visit the Shilluk and to continue fieldwork, begun in 1937. The results of these investigations, [181] 121

[1] See Bibliography, pp. 118–19.

[2] Pumphrey, M. E. C., 'The Shilluk Tribe', and Howell, P. P., 'The Shilluk Settlement', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[3] 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor.' By Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., ibid., vol. xxvii, 1946.

[4] Ibid., vol. xxix, part ii, 1948.

[5] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Frazer Lecture 1948 Cambridge University Press, 1948.

[p. 97]

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121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of
[171] the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[131] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[191] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their
361 permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

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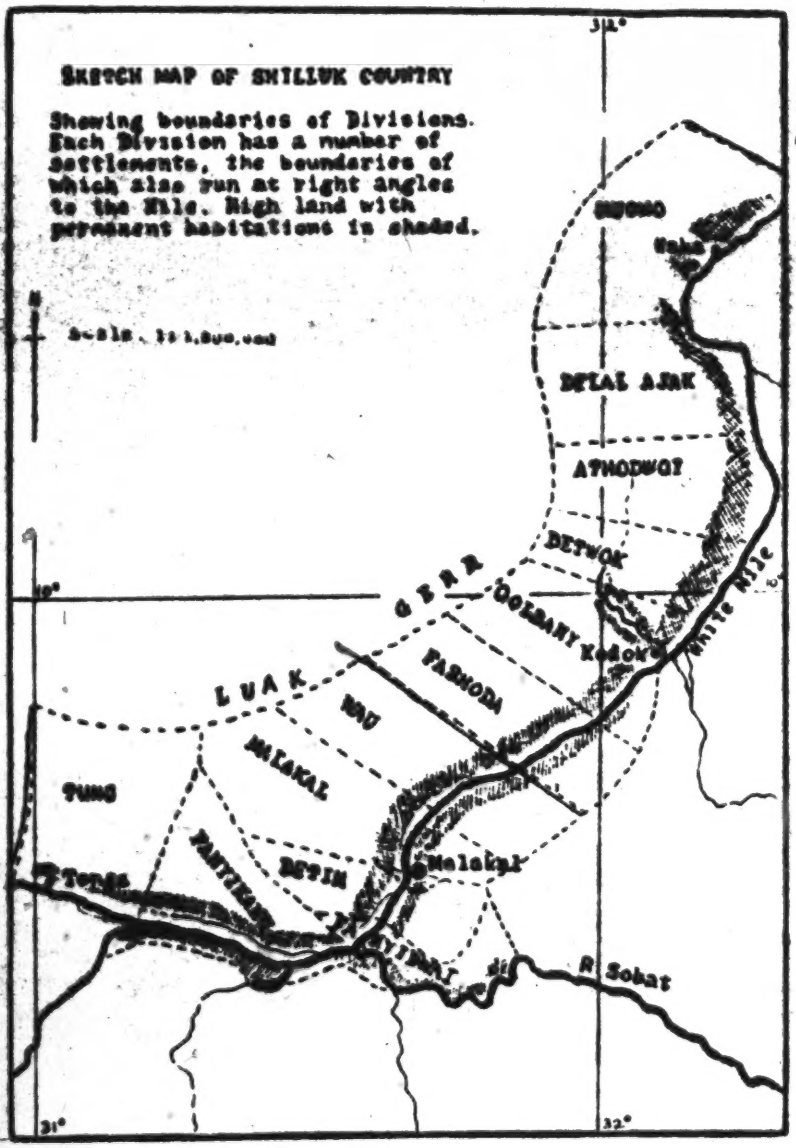

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *orero*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past
[792 *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orero*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they
582] intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang*
[554] *reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and
643 stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary
[161 campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946
233] and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:2·5 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

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that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 621 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology., London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *podh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

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643 776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral deity is called Juok. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is Juok but Juok is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he thus exists both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*kwureth*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached and is the human intercessor for mankind with God. Voluntarily by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fortunes of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less clearly, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth*'s divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),[3] though some might resist his more mundane powers.'[4]

The Problem of Authority

177 643 648 The extent of the *reth*'s authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedures, especially in the past, and an answer must be attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1867 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, since then it has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called 'Indirect Rule', through the agency of the *reth*. However unsuccessful this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*[5] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang in Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka cult of Deng has sometimes found favour with certain Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though it has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 33–34.

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is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 648 693

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoc, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti. 175 643 648

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1932. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the 669 175 631 648

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kasgar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the [631] country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is 643 not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, [692] such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of 631 administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the 692 village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would 642 tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gert lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present [177] 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off-shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at 643 Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. 682 The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy 692 would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tich*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he [114] thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they 631 were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the 642 kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed-settlement chiefs in office, he did not

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.
[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.
[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

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631 642 nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.[1]

My own opinion is in accordance with these views. At any rate, if such terms are used, it should be made clear that they are qualified by the considerations already mentioned. In comparison with modern conceptions of an organized State system, or with such highly developed political institutions as are found in some African kingdoms, such as that of the Baganda, the Shilluk system cannot be said to have reached, without external influences, a high degree of rigidity or efficiency. When compared, however, with the acephalous systems of their Nuer and Dinka neighbours, it is apparent that the Shilluk had, even in early times, advanced much farther along the road towards 'politically organized society'.

Homicide and Blood-feuds: The *Reth*'s Rôle as Peacemaker

171 682 A study of the laws of homicide is likely to reveal, not only the nature of the legal system and whether or not a system of public law was in existence in the past, but also whether such law was in fact enforced by the *reth* or his representatives. In an acephalous society like that of the Nuer, and probably among the Dinka as well, we know that homicide was, until the advent of the present Government, treated purely as a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions. Thus an act of homicide would instantly lead to a blood-feud between the two segments of society concerned. A feud could be composed either by retaliation against the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen—which might lead to yet further hostilities—or by payment of an indemnity in cattle equivalent to the life of a man, to restore the equilibrium. We know too that a special functionary existed, the *kwar kwac* or 'leopard-skin chief' of the Nuer and the *bany de ring* or 'Chief of the Spear' of the Dinka. These experts were invited by the participants to intervene and mediate between them and to supervise both the secular and ritual processes of composition and peacemaking according to accepted and conventional patterns. In no sense did they have the authority to impose their demands for peace on the people or forcefully to intervene between them. They were called upon to do so only when the will to come to terms was already there, largely determined by expediency.

We know that among the Shilluk acts of homicide were followed by feuds, often more bloody and lasting than any likely to occur among the Dinka and Nuer. We know too that blood-feuds could be composed by the payment of compensation and the performance of the ritual which accompanies such payments. But here there is a difference. While in Dinka and Nuer society there were many recognized hereditary mediators, among the Shilluk there was only one, the *reth* himself. The functions of the *reth* in the processes of peacemaking are therefore relevant. Was he, like the *kwar kwac* and the *bany de ring*, simply a mediator and ritual expert competent to conduct the negotiations only on the demand of the people themselves, or was he able to intervene between them with an independent and neutral force behind him? In collecting the accepted indemnity, did he hand it over to the injured party as compensa-

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy. 171 682

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish règime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature. 682 114

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says: [621] 561 701

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *beng*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947: 701 578 624

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 57.

[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.

[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

701 have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself
578 is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is
624 appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bany*, like the *ajireth*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

578 On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their
701 *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing
[643] singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

578 I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that
643 the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

175 There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many
628 men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace cere-
[643] mony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been
628 mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

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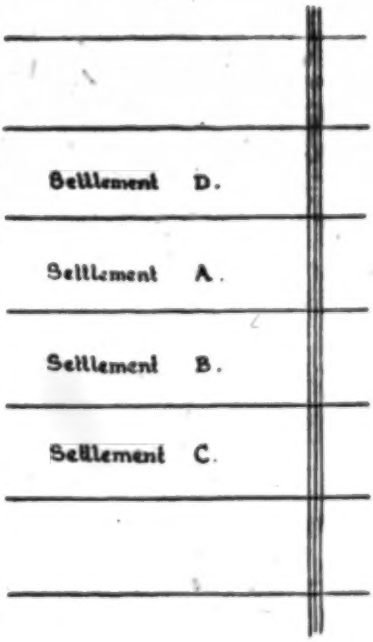
Other examples are recorded in the Shilluk District records.[1] Another important factor is the nature of Shilluk territorial organization. Settlements can, in a sense, actively continue a feud only with their immediate neighbours on either side. Thus, if a man of settlement *A* (see fig.) kills a man of settlement *B*, this may be the beginning of a feud which, though sometimes dormant, frequently breaks out again, because both sides are easily mobilised against each other; also it may lead to serious clashes in which the casualties may be considerable. At the same time, the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively greater. A feud between settlement *A* and settlement *C*, and even more between settlements *D* and *C*, is less easily sustained, though the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively less effective owing to territorial distance. Moreover, owing to kinship links which stretch across the boundaries of the settlements, there may be a tendency for intervening settlements to oppose further strife, or sometimes, on the other hand, to take sides in the affray, in which case internal warfare on a much wider scale may result. Demographic factors are here important and more easily discernible owing to the peculiar nature of Shilluk country and the way in which it is segmented in a continuous line from north to south, the boundaries being more or less at right angles to the Nile.



This form of sustained blood-feud between settlements in Shilluk society[2] is characteristic and endemic, and there are many instances both during the régime of the present Government and also during the previous Turkish administration, of which no official records are extant, but concerning which references may be found in the literature of early European travellers. Other forms of internal strife are either on a greater scale—widespread clashes often connected with subversive movements against the *ruling rib*—or minor hostilities within a settlement which concern the component lineages; from the evidence available, these appear to have been less prolonged than feuds between settlements. The first type of hostilities cannot really be

[1] The authorities were much exercised over the problem of feuds and homicide—at any rate up to 1933—and the incidence of homicide was until then very high indeed.

[2] I do not here attempt to correlate the Shilluk 'settlement' with similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. If one called the four main provinces 'primary segments', the divisions (*lak*) would be 'secondary segments' and settlements would be 'tertiary segments' as described among the Nuer. The use of similar terms, however, presupposes a similarity of structure which does not exist, for segmentation among the Nuer is based on the analogy of a lineage, but this is not so among the Shilluk. Furthermore, can the Shilluk 'nation' (sometimes called tribe) be compared directly to a Nuer 'tribe'? Similar difficulties arise when we attempt to compare political or social units among the Dinka, although

669 621 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence [631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds [628 643] between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably [626] sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth's *Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, 692 but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Ngok Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within* [621] a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jago* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwe* Omon lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwe* Omon are set in Ogod *Bute* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Wellcome Report, 1911.

There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes:

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance.

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Pabur, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pabur and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the ornaments and cattle away from the village, even the clothes of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that:

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ryen orok* (' men of crime ') or *ademe* [' slaves ' of the Royal Household].

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances.

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Owaci and Thworo already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows:

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the sections of Owaci and Thworo on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and 2nd. He then went to Thworo where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Thworo companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a much sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. 1600.

628 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight
643 hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[634] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back,
[782] held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud. Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under
[787] a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Fzalo and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that
[648] he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.
[114] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, Fatworo, and Fzalo[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mamur*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ngel*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the restoration of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.32.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

tinual guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak'. 628 643

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice' is tainted with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. [648] 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, untypical of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Later we hear that 'he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added most seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' Then, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were pelted with the stomach contents. [114]

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a murderous or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the guilty and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was *nothing incompatible in it with methods of these days*.'[2] 177 628

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1903, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.' 643 648

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition 628 643

[1] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] 'A note on Customary Law', dated June 1951 (unpublished). The italics are mine.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara *Khamr*: خمر, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

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daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *col dhano*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wic dhano*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinkas, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a wano*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *okic* or *akic* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwac* takes the *yang kwini* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *rwath rom* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwac* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these might

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[649 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of
682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical
791 expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Juok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

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further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied. 683 671 643

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples. 683 171

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim. 754 [114]

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka. 683 754 [171]

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason. 627 671 643 797 687 688

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide 114 131

[1] For example, the Nuer *rudi* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwego*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *yuob*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name 682 of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo reno*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the 628 Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 643 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact 692 additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against 114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* [671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 23.

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Résumé

LES LOIS SHILLUK CONCERNANT L'HOMICIDE ET LES FONCTIONS JURIDIQUES DU *RETH*

APRÈS un récit sommaire de l'histoire du peuple Shilluk et des caractéristiques de leur société, l'auteur examine l'autorité et les fonctions administratives du roi (*reth*), et plus particulièrement ses fonctions juridiques concernant les vendettas et les cas d'homicide. Il suggère que les traditions des Shilluk et les récits des premiers explorateurs et anthropologues ont eu tendance à exagérer les pouvoirs du roi en le représentant comme l'autocrate ou même le souverain tout puissant d'une société hautement organisée. Pendant le régime turque, ainsi que sous l'administration actuelle, l'autorité du *reth* a été soutenue et, dans une certaine mesure, augmentée par un système de gouvernement indirect; mais l'auteur exprime l'opinion qu'avant l'intervention de ces autorités externes, les fonctions du *reth* étaient principalement, sinon entièrement, rituelles. Il paraît que le *reth* agissait comme médiateur dans les vendettas entre groupes, qui survenaient fréquemment et persistaient souvent pendant de longues années, mais il est douteux s'il possédait le pouvoir d'intervenir avant d'y être invité par les participants. L'auteur examine, comme exemple de procédures judiciaires, les lois concernant l'homicide, et exprime l'opinion que l'homicide était regardé traditionnellement comme un délit privé pour lequel une indemnité en bétail, d'après un barème déterminé, était demandée par la famille du défunt dans le but d'acquérir une épouse pour le groupe d'apparentés. Des bestiaux supplémentaires remis au *reth* constituaient une sorte de rétribution pour ses services de célébration des rites de réconciliation et purification, et non d'" amendes " dues au chef d'un état à titre de pénalité pour un délit public.

10: Rind E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

WIENER VÖLKERKUNDLICHE MITTEILUNGEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON DER

VÖLKERKUNDLICHEN ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT
IN DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IN WIEN

3. JAHRGANG NR. 2

WIEN 1955

[TITLE PAGE]

OF FUNG AND SHILLUK

Mohamed Riad

121 Any one who deals with either the Fung or the Shilluk, historians as well as anthropologists, must say a word about the
114 possible relationship between the two kingdoms. Many pages have been written on this subject by well known writers, but the lack of a good comparative study that would envisage the whole problem in its various aspects is noted in some of these works. Others were motivated by "a prioristic" conceptions, or one-sidedness, or depended entirely upon certain points, or "... fever for verbal similarities". 1)

The last word in the controversy has not yet been said, and most probably will not be said. I do not contend that this paper will put an end to the controversies, but I think that by taking into consideration the historical as well as the anthropological points of view, we can reach a safe stage at which we can build our own point towards this complicated subject.

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A) The PROBLEM :

The story begins in 1790, the year James Bruce of
114 Kinnaird -an English traveller- published a voluminous work describing his journey to discover the sources of the Nile,
175 which took place between 1768 and 1773. In 1772 Bruce was in Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, which was the most important and the most powerful state of the Eastern Sudan in the Middle-Ages. In this city Bruce got a glimpse of history of Kingdoms and tribal movements in this part of Africa. Bruce transmits to us what he heard (and maybe what he imagined) 2) in such a statement:

174 "In th year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 13, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces ..... This race of negroes is in their own country called Shilleek .... At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of

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1) Arkell was so described by Chataway, p.117

2) It is agreed upon that Bruce always imagined many things, and in his writings pictured himself as a hero who escaped dangers through his bravery etc. ... Read a short description of Bruce's character in Crawford, pp. 253-254

"Shillooks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohamedism for the sake of trading with Caire and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organisation of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Achmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazugle, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarize these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Funge and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 424. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).
4) Seligman, p. 423.
5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crawford to a certain extent).
6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Bouscily, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chataway and Nalder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Soba.
7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

B) The SHILLUK :

131 The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 350 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely
144 negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king
173 of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyakang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, wielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 The racial difference between north and south within the
635 Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Rind, pp. 71-76

9) Rind, pp. 71-76

10) Rind, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 40.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king. 144 635

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang stem, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when? 144 174

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Duk, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 12) It follows then that any effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland aroung the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic homes, again around this Nilotic eclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory: 174

A) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in these parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and so a sign of authority". 13) [M]

B) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. 173 174

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12) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rezeiqat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

13) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

174 So here is the choice: Nyikang's homeland may be either a civilised state or a semi-civilised state with real kingship, or a pure nomadic type which did not know agriculture, and presumably with a sort of chieftainship. Again there are states with kingship in the North represented by Alwa kingdom with her petty kingdoms in the Gezira, and states with kingship in the East represented by Kaffa kingdom and many other petty kingdoms in south-western Abyssinia. There are also Nomads in the North - in the vast plains of Kordofan and southern Darfur, and in the East represented by the Galla stock. Through future studies we can solve this problem by deciding the possibility of the North or the East as the original home of Nyikang, but this is outside the compass of our present investigation.

Now we come to the third point, namely, when did the migration begin, or when did the foundation of the Shilluk kingdom take place? Naturally, the fixing of such a date will be merely a hypothetical one, built upon the conventional way of dating the period of African kingdoms. The kings list of the Shilluk includes 32 kings up to the present time. Concerning the Shilluk specifically, we have three ways of reckoning the date of Nyikang:

a) by allowing 13½ years for every king as a reigning period 14) and by beginning with king number 31, who reigned until 1951, we get the date of Nyikang at 1533 A.D.

b) by reckoning 13½ years to each king who preceded the king number 23, whose reign began about 1863, the first time the Egyptian government reached the Shilluk country, we get the date of 1566 A.D. as the time of establishing the Shilluk kingdom.

c) the third criterion is getting the mean years of reigning for kings number 23 to 31, whose dates are known to something approaching certainty, and allowing for one king who governed only one year , and then applying this mean to the whole list of the Shilluk kings, we arrive at the date of 1610 as the beginning of Nyikang's rule. This date is the result of 11 years multiplied by 31 kings.

As all these dates are merely hypothetical, and as it is in reality a way of giving only an idea about the time, and not a fixed and a valid date, it follows that to stick to one of these dates, and to build theories upon, it is neither correct nor scientific. What we can say is that about the second half of the 16th century Nyikang founded his rule in the present Shilluk area. If dates give clues to the history of origins, could it have been the case that the upheaval in the Gezira area -the result of the downfall of the Alwa kingdom of Soba about the beginning of the 16th century- had, to a certain extent, something to do with the arrival of Nyikang and his family in the Shillukland? At any rate, we will return to the point of timing the Shilluk migration later on.

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14) "Mr. B. Struck, by taking into consideration all the available (written or unwritten) chronicles of African dynasties, has made a calculation on the average duration of the reign of an African ruler". Westermann, P. LI.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a MAM DOUM , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existance of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converteos- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in men's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77
16) Westerman, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains. [114]
17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [648]
18) The government does not allow it any more.

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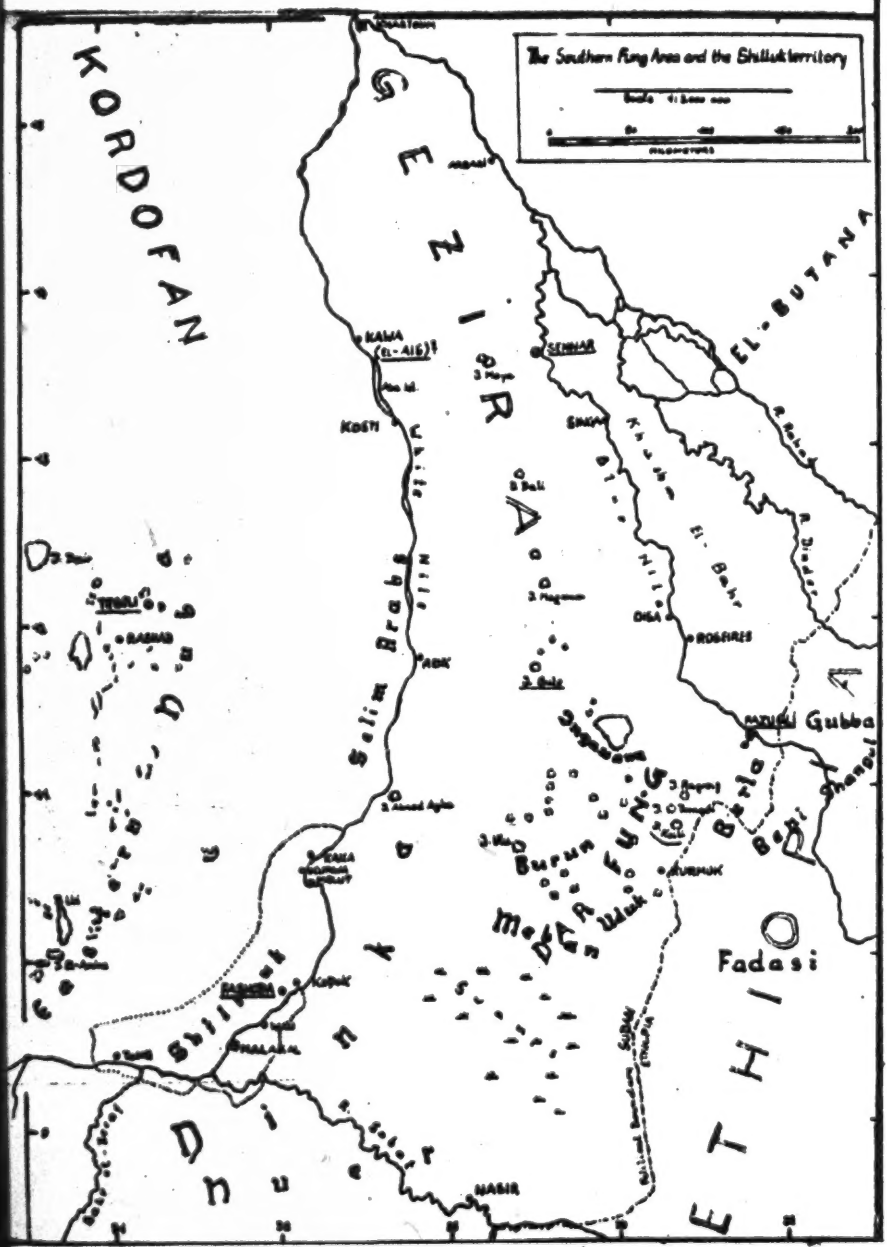
The Southern Ring Areas and the Shilluk territory
KORDOFAN
GEZIRA
EL-BUTANA
KAWA
(EL-AIG)
KOSTI
SENNAR
SINJA
Blue Nile
White Nile
Sobat
Baro
Pibor
Kilo
El Baker
OBA
ROSERES
ADIK
Sobat
Gubba
Fadasi
ETHIOPIA
Bahr el Ghazal
Bahr el Zeraf
Bahr el Jebel
Bahr el Arab
Bahr el Salam

643 the ceremonial killing of the kings. Some authors have discarded this practice 19), and alluded some killing of kings to family quarrels and competition over the throne. It is true that some brothers killed each other, but this is still one of the attributes of divine kingship.

According to the information I gathered in Malakal, King Dak, who died in 1951 at the Malakal hospital, was well guarded by the police during his treatment in the hospital, and no Shilluk was allowed to visit him lest he may be killed in the same traditional way as his ancestors. 20) My informants were sorry for the natural death of Dak, but they seemed to have accepted it as they were helpless against the troops of the central government. Just how far the Shilluk nation as a whole accepted it, I could not tell.

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631 The political administration of the Shilluk country and its components may be summarized as follows: 21)

a) The Hamlet:

This is the smallest political unit with a chief at its head. The hamlet is formed by a lineage group of homesteads.

b) The Settlement:

This is a group of hamlets, i.e. a group of lineages gathered into a large area. At the head is a chief, called the Jago.

c) The District:

The Shilluk country is divided into eleven districts; each district is a combination of many settlements. These districts, though said to be organized by Nyikang, are not a permanent political factor. Its importance may have been felt in exceptional periods such as warfare, or to meet a common danger. The Egyptian government, and after it the Anglo-Egyptian government, used such divisions as administrative units. The important districts from the Shilluk point of view were Muomo and Tung, that is, the northern and southern marches of the land.

[648]

d) The Provinces:

There are two provinces in the Shillukland. These are important political divisions, and their importance has been shown clearly above. The chief of Dobale Kwom, and the chief of Golbany are the two chiefs of the southern and the northern provinces.

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19) "Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings (among the Shilluk) is probably a fiction ..." Butt, p. 54.
20) See also Howell, (B) p. 157.
21) Butt, pp. 46-48.

631

e) The Capital:

This is Fasheda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but these messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

> "Le Bahar el Abiod (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, & divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (Le fleuve) ... " 22)

22] Bruce, 440.

133 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river farers are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many scouting expeditions downstream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and lost their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it came [131] to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 23) south of 13 degrees latitude.

We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for sure, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, 173 and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk 174 adventure. None of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. Moreover, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being 'from Mumo to Tung' 24), these being the present Shilluk borders. Had it been more once, why was it not preserved in the tradition?

c) The FUNG :

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Butana 25), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lemmi, 26) which some historians put on the present Ethiopian and Eritrean border, between the rivers Tekezze and Khor el Gash. 27)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Soba, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Maya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Soba. 28)

25) Westermann, p. XX.
24) Lienhardt, p. 181.
25) Beasily, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northeastern part of the present Ethiopia.
26) Crawford, pp. 136-142. A description of Reubini's journey and how he met Amara in Lemmi. Arkell in (A) tried to reduce the name Lemmi to Lei, a district in the present Shillukland.
27) Beasily's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo.
28) Awad, p. 282.

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Now the opinions of different writers on the way Soba fell, form a controversial point. Before summarizing these different ideas, it is better to define the elements which played a rôle in this act of history:

a) Alwa kingdom:

The Capital was Soba - a town situated on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile near the present Khartoum. The boundaries of this kingdom must have been reduced much by Arab infiltration in the north, east and west. The Gezira must have been the last property with ill-defined borders to the extreme south.

b) Arab settlers:

These are reported to be living peacefully in the Alwa towns, 29) being a "part of the economic structure" 30) of Alwa.

c) Arab nomads:

These were new-comers, who surged in powerful waves after the ascendancy of the Mamluks and Turks in Egypt. They were more fanatic, and their economic status was as yet unsettled, "their activities being competitive and not complementary" 31) to the Alwa kingdom.

d) The Funj:

A kingdom in the southern Butana and Gezira which was seeking safe and free trade routes to Cairo and the northern world.

The Funj chronicles say that "d" and "c" allied together against "a)" and "b)", and in the decisive battle of Arbagi the Alwan army was routed.

Mr. Chatway says that the Funj were "a leader with an army sent by Bunsan (Abyssinia) to re-establish the older order and relationships (with Alwa? or this part of the Sudan at all?)" 32) His explanation is that Arabs "c)" conquered Soba, and that "d)" united with "b)", and together conquered Arabs "c)", and afterwards, the chief of "b)" was "given a position of great importance" in the Funj kingdom. 33)

To James Bruce and Arkell the elements of the scene were: a) Alwa, b) Arabs, c) Shilluk.

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29) Trimingham, p. 73, and Arkell (A), p. 208. Both translate Ibn Selim description of Soba.
30) Chatway, p. 118.
31) Ibid, p. 118.
32) Ibid, p. 118
33) Ibid, p. 118.

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174 According to these two authors, the Shilluk made an attack on the Arabs and defeated them; the Arabs were reduced to a tributary state under the Shilluk. Arkell elaborates on the subject with his European mentality of statesman, and proceeds to say that the Shilluk, by a mastery of diplomacy, changed the injured pride of the Arabs to complete alliance with them, by diverting their attention to a common foe. To such high diplomacy, the Alwa kingdom fell as a sacrifice. 34) Thus, the downfall of the Alwa kingdom was undertaken by a combined Shilluk-Arab force !!

175 We may now proceed to give a short historical outline of the Fung kingdom, leaving this controversial point to be discussed below.

In 1534 Amara Dunkas died, leaving a vast realm which extended northward to the third cataract, including Dongola, and eastward to the Red Sea; but Suakin was a Turkish possession at that time. The White Nile probably marked the western border to latitude 12°, whence northwards the country to the west bank, which comprised Arabs from the Jaalin group, must have been under the rule of the Viceroy of Sennar residing at Gerri. To the south, the Fung border included some provinces of present Ethiopia, namely Gubba, Gunjar, and Fudasi. The border in southern Gezira was not clear, but sporadic hints indicate that the Fung expanded steadily southwards. This point will also be discussed later.

The next expansion of the Fung was during the reign of King Abdul Qader, the second or third king. He reduced Jebel Gule, and converted the inhabitants to Islam. The third expansion was also to the south-west. King Baadi Abu Diga crossed the White Nile in 1642, invaded the Tagali Moslem kingdom and reduced it to a tributary state. He also "attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves". 35)

In Fung history, there were two wars with Abyssinia in which there was no decisive result, except for the routing of most of the Abyssinian king's army in the second war. But these wars are not relevant to our subject.

In the year 1747, during the reign of King Baadi Abu Shilluhh, 36) the Fung Empire reached the zenith of its expansion. The whole of Kordofan was won to the Funga by a man called Mohamed Abu El Kailik. During a battle with the Darfur Army, the Fung were first defeated, "the troops fled, but were rallied by Mohamed Abu El Kailik and his sons, who defeated the Army of the Furs, led

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34) Arkell, (A), p.
35) Westermann, p. LV.
36) Westermann, p. LV, mis-spells his name, and writes it as Baadi Abu Shilluk, probably he was motivated by the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung, and found in the name another backing to the theory, forgetting that by adding "h" at the end, the word would mean -in Sudanese Arabic- the different modes of face scarns used until now in the Arabic Sudan. Abu Shilluhh is not a name, but a nickname, and we find it frequent that nicknames were given to many Fung kings, according to their characteristics.

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by Sultan of the Funjara and Sheikh of the Hawazma at Shawkata ... 175
On the news of Abu El Keilik's victories and the courage he displayed reaching Sennar, the king appointed him commander-in-chief; he was also made 'Sheikh' of Kordofan, and granted the viziership (of the kingdom) ...' 37)

With the success of Abu El Keilik, the downfall of the real Fung kings began, and from that time on the government was in the hands of the ministers. Abu El Keilik is said to be from the Hamag, a section of Fung subjects we will discuss later. But it is also said that he is of Arab descent, from the Gamm'ia tribe, and his mother was a Hamag. At any rate the kings were deposed at the wish of the ministers, and the last stand of the kings was smashed with great slaughter in the reign of King Adlan II (1770-1788, after which the power of the ministers was undisputed until 1820, when the Egyptian Army put an end to the already decayed Fung kingdom.

The Fung kingdom was, from the very start, founded on an alliance between the Fung leader and the Arab leader of the northern Arab tribes, i.e. a dual system. The kingdom remained so until the very end, and that was the major political division of the country. Within each part of the kingdom there were semi-independent states or chieftainships. In the north there was the Shaigia, Shendi, and El-Damer. In the south there were Fazogli, Gule, Khasha al Bahr and Keili. The Hawazma, a powerful Arab tribe in the central Butana plains, was to a certain extent independent. It is also said that there were provinces of which we do not know much regarding their political organization and their boundaries. 38) These are Jebel Maya, Abud, both in central Gezira, Beila, and Tawa in the southern Butana. Sennar itself, while being the capital of the whole kingdom, exercised direct government on the whole of northern Gezira up to the junction of the White and Blue Niles. Gerri was the seat of the viceroys of the northern part of the kingdom, and its direct rule was said to extend on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile as far south as the confluence of the river Dinder, and eastwards to the Eritrean border.

As may now be seen, the kingdom was a federation of petty states, corresponding to a large extent to the tribal as well as the geographical units within a large framework of a state under the Fung dynasty.

The racial elements in this kingdom ranged from Negros and Negroids to "Hamites" and "Semites". The broader character of the northern part is undisputedly Caucasian, while the south was an untapped Negro-land. Reciprocal migrations in both directions, North and South, brought about the present ethnic melange. 174

37) Jackson, pp. 80-81

38) ibid, p. 102

174 But an almost continuous influx of nomads, who are of Semitic or Hamito-Semitic origin, brought about the nearly complete annihilation of Negroid elements in the North, except in such refuge areas as Nubia. In the South, the geographical environment and the paucity of the Caucasian blood, in comparison with the Negro element, created a new type, culturally clinging to the northern element, though enterops of the old culture remain in function, modified to the new superstructure.

What is of interest to our present paper is the discussion of three names which are misunderstood, these being Fung, Hamag and Bar Fung.

The Fung: Bruce gives the singular of the name by 'funge', and the plural 'fungi'. This is a pure Shilluk form, 114 "e" being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and "i" 174 that of plural". 39) Now the Arabic singular form of the word is 'funji فنجي', and the plural is 'funj فنج', with a very slight "e" فنجي at the end of the word. Did Bruce mix the positions, and instead of writing the singular, write the plural, or vice versa? We have to bear in mind that it was certainly difficult for Bruce to write Arabic, using the Latin alphabet, and so this "e" came at the end of his supposed singular form of the word as a substitute for the Arabic "e" movement, which we call "damah". At any rate the etymology of the word needs further 174 study, should we not confine the comparison to Shilluk and Arabic only. All authorities on the subject agree that the Fung were a family, not a tribe, which developed numerous offshoots through marriage. The original physical characters, most naturally, will be modified according to the mothers. Thus, we have for example a fair offshoot like Bendi el Ahmer, meaning Bendi the red, due to his white complexion, and we have King Ismail, when Bruce met at Sennar, and who appeared to him as a typical Negro. So it seems unwise to judge the origin of a family by one instance, if we know that proper Islam does not discriminate races and colours, and accordingly Fung kings married without discrimination, and accordingly different physical types ruled as kings in Sennar.

The Hamag: This name was heard often after the Visiers of Sennar took the real power into their hands, beginning from Mohammed Abu El Kailik, i.e. the beginning of the decadent phase of the kingdom. Seligman says that "Hamag in Arabic means 'ignorant', and is used to indicate a slave or vassal ..." 40) The word in Arabic could mean also an uncultivated, brute, barbarian, disorganised group, wild etc. ... Professor Awad says "In Darfur, Arabs call the aboriginal inhabitants 'Baba' ... (and that) some Arabs give the name 'Hamag' to the tribe of Hanan, this being a nomenclature they were used to in the East (in the Sudan of the Nile Valley)". 41)

39) Westermann, p. LIII.

40) Seligman, p. 418

41) Awad, p. 231.

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So it appears that Arabs gave this name to a 'hodge podge' of peoples in southern Gezira. Who are these peoples? Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that the Hameg are, or were, predominantly Berta-speaking. So-called Hameg are found at Roseires, on Jebel Moya and Jebel Gule, and probably on other hills of which we have no knowledge; indeed Mr. L.F. Halder writes to us of this 'disappearing race' as formerly occupying a wide area in the Southern Gezira, through Jebel Mazzum and Dali to Jebel Moya and along the banks of the Blue Nile. This is only a fraction of their old territory; in the FUTUH EL HABASSAH, they are said to extend from Shirê to Kassala, a territory now occupied by the Abyssinian people called Bazen ... there is no doubt that the present day representatives of the latter (Hameg) are the mixed population of a number of the hills between the White and Blue Niles. These form groups of more or less arabized Negroids .." 42) Awad says that "the Hameg are the tribes or the peoples upon whom the Fung extended their suzerainty. They are a melange of tribes, and their languages are numerous". 43) He also states that "the peoples (who were comprised in the Fung kingdom) were naturally not from a Fung origin, and it was necessary to differentiate between the class to which the name applies (i.e. Fung) and the other peoples. That is why we see that all these peoples -or the majority of them- are called Hameg; and it is not easy to point out precisely to which of these peoples the name was applied". 44)

To understand the problems more clearly, we have to differentiate between two kinds of Hameg, though their origin may be the same. These two sections are:

a) The Hameg, who accepted Islam as their religion and mixed freely with the other segments of the Sennar kingdom. These, I suppose, are the famous Hameg of the decadent phase of Sennar. Naturally, their Islam is not deep enough to prevent such practices of their old religion and culture. These may be found now in small groups and to whom, it appears, Mr. Halder's remark can be applied. The cause of the apparent disappearance of this group is quite clear. The process of assimilation is the sole cause for such disappearance, because 1) it has now been long enough after their conversion to Islam that the segments of their old heritage that kept them united, should be broken, and 2) the ascendancy of a Hameg family to power in Sennar may have reinforced the Hameg unity by adding vanity and glory to their tradition. Now it is more than a century, since the Sennar kingdom and the Hameg supremacy gave way, and such political motive is now useless.

b) The Hameg, who remained intact and preserved their old heritage, are those who were to a greater extent out of reach of the direct Fung rule. These are the peoples who took refuge in the difficult

42) Seligman, p. 415/416.

43) Awad, p. 219.

44) Ibid, p. 256.

174 and relatively poor hills of Southern Gezira, the area now known as Dar Fung.

Dar Fung: The name in Arabic means the home of the Fung, but this area has really nothing to do with the Fung home, except that a part of it was included in the Fung kingdom. This nomenclature is merely administrative and could mislead if warning were not given from the start.

This area forms a geographical unit with the Gezira to the north. They are both confined by the White and the Blue Niles; both are plains studded with 'Inselberge', but these isolated mountains and rocky hills are higher, more numerous, and occupy bigger areas in the South than in the North, i.e. in Dar Fung. Seligman writes that "Many of these Jebels are of considerable size, and whenever there is water on or near them, they support settlements which, to judge by the stone implements found on the sites, date back to immemorial antiquity, indeed to the Old Stone Age". 45) This area is bordered by the Abyssinian highlands to the East, and limited to the South by a swampy area, geographically and hydrologically unknown, and mostly uninhabited. From this swampy area, many Khors (seasonal streams) take their source. Between hills, valleys with wells, and khors occur.

As this forms a refuge area, we find the people inhabiting the hills. These peoples do not form a united tribe; they are Negros and Negroids with various different cultures and languages. But on the whole, this area is characterized by the presence of a kind of "throwing stick resembling the Australian non-return boomerang", 46) and the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. The existence of these kinds of weapons are not recorded in any part of the central Sudan and may be taken as a proof of the antiquity of the tribes of Dar Fung. Moreover, the existence of sun worship among the Ingassana tribe is quite queer, and surely indicates foreign influence. The Soba stone in Jebel Gule is regarded as the "stool of kingdom ... upon which every paramount chief (mangil) assumes office". 47) Soba is also perceived by Gule inhabitants as: 1) a great Queen; 2) as their ancestress; and 3) as a deity whom they worship. Soba, it should be remembered, was the capital of the Christian Alwa Kingdom, to which reference has been made above. King killing is also prevalent among many of these tribes, but reference to it will be made below.

Such different cultural traits, still persistent among one or the other of the Dar Fung tribes, indicate, no doubt, different cultural layers, stripped from chronological sequence, and practised haphazardly in this back-water of humanity.

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45) Seligman, p. 413

46) ibid, p. 413

47) ibid, p. 428.

D) SUMMING UP :

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Now we come to our point: What was the actual relationship between the Funge and the Shilluk?

In the light which was thrown upon the whole situation from the foregoing survey, and in order not to loose ourselves in minute details, we may fix the points of discussion in the following items:

1) The time problem, i.e. dating the foundation of both kingdoms

2) The space problem, i.e. the Fung-Shilluk boundary

3) The cultural aspects of kingship

   a) the meaning of kingship
   b) the mode of accession to the throne
   c) the mode of death of kings.

4) Evidences of the theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung

5) Conclusion.

1) The Time Problem:

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Bruce and Tremaux date the foundation of the Fung kingdom at 1504, Shoucair dates it to 1505, while Cailliaud gives 1484 as the date of founding the kingdom. 48) Now if we apply the conventional way of dating back histories, and assume 13½ years as a reigning period for each king, we get the following dates:

a) At the time Bruce was in Sennar, namely 1773, the ruling king was Ismail, who appears on the list of the Fung kings as number 20, and who ascended the throne in 1769. Multiplying 13½ years by 19 kings would give 1511 as the beginning of the kingdom;

b) Cailliaud, Tremaux and Shoucair list 29 kings from the beginning of the dynasty until the Egyptian conquest in 1820. This would give us an approximate date of 1428.

Thus, we have a difference of 84 years between a) and b). This hypothetical difference is well accounted for in the real dates we possess. It was mentioned before that the decadent phase of the Funge began about 1765. The total period of the last 10 kings is only 44 years instead of 135 years, making a difference of 91 years, which corresponds to 84 years of difference between a) and b). This is an almost certain result and proves the validity of the 13½ years as a criterion serving our purpose here.

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Concerning the Shilluk, we have stated above the dates of 1533, 1566 and 1610 as representing different results of different criterions. From my point of view, I would prefer the date of 1566 as marking the beginning of the Shilluk kingdom, because it is based on the 13½ years criterion, and it is reckoned from a fixed date, i.e. 1863, when the Shilluk tribe and land were incorporated as a province in the Sudan. Furthermore, we know that in the Mahdiya Regime and its aftermath, Shilluk kings were either killed or deposed, thus

48) Jackson, p. 98.

174 making it difficult to get a more or less accurate date indicating the beginning of the Shilluk as a unified nation under the present dynasty.

Another point which may give an additional clue to the timing problem, and which supports the idea that the Shilluk are comparatively younger as a kingdom than the Fung, is what Westerman mentions in his book about the Shilluk. He states that "In 1770 they (the Fung) even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr El Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fung were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region". 49) About this time, the kings Nasser (1766-1769), and Ismail 1769-1776) were ruling in Sennar, and about that time also Bruce was in Sennar (1772), yet he never mentioned an event of such great consequence !!!

During this same period we read in Hofmayr that Tekot, the king number 9 in the Shilluk list, was a man of militant type, and he undertook so many military expeditions and adventures that the Shilluk nicknamed him 'the Conqueror'. Hofmayr continues: "Bald nach seinem Regierungsantritte hat Tekot Gelegenheit, seine kriegerischen Eigenschaften zu betätigen. Die Stämme der Dinka trafen um diese Zeit Vorbereitungen zu einem Ausrettungskrieg, da die Völker der Shilluk, welche zwischen ihre beiden Abteilungen eingekeilt lebten, ein für sie mächtiges Hindernis bildeten ... Den vom Bahr-el-Ghazal kommenden Dinka gelang es durchzubrechen und sich am östlichen Nilufer anzusiedeln, so dass die Schilluk sich zwischen beiden Dinkazweigen eingekeilt befanden". 50) It is natural that the Shillukland would form the shortest way for a Dinka migration from Bahr el Ghazal to the eastern banks of the White Nile. The wars with the Dinka continued during Tokets reign and those of his successor's. Tekot reigned about 1690 or 1700, according to our method of 13½ years, and from 1670 to 1690 according to Hofmayr. 51) A migration led by a chief like Chakab does not require a century or 70 years to achieve its target, and unless we refute Westerman's date of the coming of the White Nile Dinka, we are obliged to state that the Shilluk are more recent in history than the Fung. Such a migration took place during the time of the ninth Shilluk king, and completed its objective during the nineteenth Fung king's rule, and allowing only a generation (33 years) for the whole process, from the beginning of the migration et its end, we may see that, at most, the twelfth Shilluk king was contemporaneous with the nineteenth Fung king, i.e. the Fung preceded the Shilluk by 40 years at least.

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49) Westermann, p. LV.

50) Hofmayr, pp. 72-73.

51) ibid, p. 72.

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2) The Space Problem:

It has been stated above in the Fung Chronicles that Amara Dunkas rallied his forces at Jebel Maya, west of Sennar, before launching his final attack against the Alwa kingdom. And henceforth, until the fall of the Fung kingdom in 1820, this area in central Gezira remained the capital, and accordingly the center of power in the Fung history.

To the south and on the Blue Nile, there was another center of power: Fazugli, with a list of kings from 1615 52) onwards until 1820. These kings were vassals of the Sennar kings, and apparently their power extended over the whole Berta-speaking tribes, now mostly in Ethiopia. To the west of Fazugli there was another vassal chieftainship on Jebel Oule, and its power extended to the northwestern group of mountains that form the Dar Fung area. The real date of erecting this chieftainship is much disputed.

The whole of Beni Shangul tribe, and the Fadasi area, now within the borders of modern Ethiopia, were provinces incorporated in the Fung state. On the sheet North, No C 36, Sobat, of the 1 : 1,000,000 of African Maps, Fadasi lies about 9°45' Northern latitude, and 34°45' Eastern longitude. The Beni Shangul tribes are found to the north and northeast of Fadasi.

Arkell says: "After consolidating the kingdom from Sennar, with a relative established at Laich (El-Ais = Kawa) as a governor of their Shilluk relatives on the lower White Nile, the Fung kings seem gradually to have extended their dominion south up the Blue Nile as far as the Abyssinian highlands beyond Beni Shangul and Fadasi, and later east, to include the Beni Amer, and west as far as the Nuba Mountains and the frontiers of Darfur". 53)

Also Mr. Chataway recognizes this state of affairs in the south, stating that the Mekship of Keili was first governed from Diss, a town on the Blue Nile north of Roseires, to be moved later on southwards to Regrieg, and finally to Keili. This Keili lies at 10°50' northern latitude, and 34°20' eastern longitude, and must have exercised power on the whole of the northeastern Dar Fung.

These two evidences show that the Fung were expanding consistently southwards, and this expansion, as Arkell's statement implies, was before the Fung expansion across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and Kordofan. Moreover, this continuous expansion to the south continued through all the Fung history in spite of other expansions to west or east, and in spite of internal conflicts in Sennar. This is proved by Mr. Chataway's

52) Jackson, p. 104

53) Arkell, (A) p. 247.

174 statement "that the people of these hills (the Burun) were only conquered by the Fung after the viziers had seized power, i.e. just over a hundred years ago". 54)

We can conclude from the foregoing statements that expansion to the south was a constant feature of the Fung policy, be it an intended policy, or just the sequence of events, and the economic and geopolitical reasons which led to it.

Now if we turn to the White Nile Area, the district in which any possible contact between the Shilluk and the Fung may occur, we find only vague material in the Fung traditions about its political status. We know that later on, the White Nile was a crossroad to the Fung governed areas to the west. And from this time also we know that a garrison was stationed at El-Ais, the governor of which was not suffered to leave it. This is quite a logical assumption, because we know that the shortest way across the Gezira is from El-Ais to Sennar, and due to the power of the Darfur kingdom, which was felt strongly on the plains of Kordofan, no better defence line for Sennar could be found than the broad White Nile. So, a military station had to be erected here, and no wonder if the commander of this post was not allowed to leave his duties. This may be the most logical explanation of the state of affairs during the middle to the last parts of the Fung kingdom. But what was the situation in the early phase of the Fung?

It is quite clear that all the Arab tribes on the western bank of the White Nile to at least 13 degrees Northern Latitude were incorporated into the Fung kingdom from the start, or at least loyal to the Abdul-Laab Sheikhs, the viceroys of Sennar in the North. On the eastern banks, the Sennar authority must have dominated till at least 12 degrees Northern Latitude, which is facing the Mekship of Oulo, and separated from the White Nile by a stretch of 80 Kilometers of flat land.

If we remember that the Dinka occupied the eastern White Nile banks comparatively late, 55) and that at this time in the early Fung period, until the middle of the 19th century, slavery constituted an important part of economy, and adding that the eastern as well as the western banks of the White Nile are characterised by their flatness, we get a picture illustrating the situation in the area in at least the first half of the 16th century; numerous slave and ivory expeditions on the part of the Fung up the White Nile basin, with -maybe- a kind of military garrison to secure the safety of these expeditions. What better situation for such a garrison than either Jebel Ahmed Agha on the eastern White Nile bank on the 11th degree Norther Latitude, or the area of the present Malakal, where the various Nile tributaries unitein one main artery?

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54) Seligman, p. 442.

55) See above p.

I have proposed Jebel Ahmed Agha as a site of the Fung garrison, because it is well protected by the mountain, and its older name was mentioned by Werne as Defafenj in 1840, by Petherick in 1862 as Jebel Tefan, by the Omda (mayor) of Abu Geili, as Jebel Tiafam, and by Malder as Jebels Teifa and Fam. 56) Of interest to us is that Defafenj means in Arabic The Bank of the Fung. It could imply the borders of the Fung. 174

The other choice, the present Malakal area as a site for a Fung garrison, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we come to solid proof that the Fung and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their tradition, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shillukland by subduing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Cai or Ja puny 57), which are both identical with the people of Sennar, or the Fung. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Wah -a locality a little north of Malakal- between the Fung and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Fung seem to have retired to the north, perhaps to Jebel Ahmed Agha. 173 174

This was the first Shilluk-Fung encounter; a hostile relationship!! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and slave hunting, and even of a kind of alliance in warfare. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk slaves and warriors among the inhabitants of the Sennar area, in addition to other slaves from the Nuba Mountains, and other parts of the Negroid and Negro Sudan. 174

Thus, we may see that the Fung were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded in the Dar Fung area -which is a mountainous area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile basin, which afforded no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and wider influx of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Sennar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile basin is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Fung settlers, there were no well defined borders. It was merely a highway, and in a political sense a no-man's land.

3) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship:

Among the Shilluk, all writers agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a national hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land 643 776

56) Arkell, (A), p. 216.

57) Lienhardt, p. 144, see footnote No 1.

643 776 of his followers. The Shilluk do not say that Nyikang died or passed away, but say -as my informants told me- he was angry with his people, and, in a stormy night, was gone. This assumption is necessary for the conception of Shilluk kingship. The idea may be summarized thus:

1. Every king who rules the Shilluk is an incarnation of Nyikang,
2. as the soul of Nyikang is thus incarnated in the body of the king, it would suffer every kind of weakness the body suffers;
3. as this would mean the loss of the protective and guiding spirit of the whole nation, it was necessary that the kings should not be left to die of old age;
4. and thus came what we term the ritual killing of the king.

171 Among the Fung, we have no such idea about kings, and the post of kingship itself. This is due to the fact that the Fung were Moslems, and as it is implied in Islam, there is only One God, and there is no possibility of incarnation, or such would be a return to paganistic practices. No one who wrote about the Fung kings ever hinted at the existance of such an idea. Thus, one of the conditions of divine kingship, indeed the core of this kind of kingship, is lacking among the Fung.

b) The Mode of Accession to the Throne:

643 It is easy to understand the Shilluk notion of incarnation from the way they apply it. The important feature which dominates the installation ceremonies of Shilluk kings is the seating of the king-elect on a special stool brought for the occasion from the Shrine of Nyikang at Akurwa. At first, the wooden effigy of Nyikang is placed on the stool by a priest, symbolizing that Nyikang himself is sitting on the stool; then the effigy is removed and the king is seated. In this way, the [775] soul of Nyikang takes possession of the body of the new king. And after this ceremony, the king is considered a king.

Another important rite in a king's istallation is that a king must pass a month in complete seclusion before going to Fashoda for the seating ceremony, and another ten days in a special place called Aturwie in Fashoda after the seating ceremony. In this time, the king is considered to be in a solemn mood of contemplation, and in communication with his great grandfather, Nyikang, and other ancestors. During this time of seclusion, the king is provided with a girl, who is given to him by a special clan. It was the custom that the king would marry this girl afterwards, but now it is according to his wish. Human sacrifices at the installation ceremony are said to be given up now, but they were practiced in the past. 58)

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58) In former times, it was usual that the king would pass over a bounded old man as he marches towards Fashoda, and the multitude of the Shilluk followers of the king would also tread on this man, and naturally he dies. Now a sheep and bull are used instead of the man. See Seligmann, p. 94, and Howell, p. 196.

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Of the Fung, we have no record about the way their kings were crowned in Sennar. But ceremonies of installing the chief of Jebel Gule were recorded recently, and it is alleged that it is an imitation of what was once the case in Sennar. 59) No human sacrifices were recorded, but the seating of the chief on a stool, and his seclusion in a special hut with a girl for forty days after the seating are recorded, but he is allowed to meet friends after sunset every day. The stool in this recorded ceremony was brought from Jebel Keili, another principality of the Fung kingdom, because the stool of Gule was destroyed during the Mahdiya regime. The stool is guarded by "Nas el 'ada, whom one might apparently describe as the hereditary guardian of the mysteries". 60)

If we accept the alleged similarities between what was the case in Sennar and the ceremony at Gule, it would be interesting to point out that there is no effigy, nor any special symbol seated before the new chief sits on the stool. The lack of such a rite undoubtedly indicates the failure of such comparison between the Shilluk and the Fung. The sitting on the stool would then mean the lawful inheritance of power in the country, just as it is and was practiced among civilized nations. What is really underlying the sitting on a throne, we cannot at the moment venture to say.

e) The Mode of Death of Kings:

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We have stated above that the ceremonial killing of a king would still be in practice, if the Shilluk were given free choice. Shilluk kings were either strangled, clubbed to death, or walled up in a hut until they died.

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Among the Fung, we have no information about king killing, except the inference Bruce gave about a special post in Sennar for a royal executioner. It may have been the case that brothers fought for power in Sennar, but this was a wide phenomenon all over the world. It can be a ceremonial killing, if the whole kingship institution was based upon the idea of incarnating the guiding spirit of the nation in the person of the king. But since this conception was missing in Sennar, so another point of comparison widens the gap between the Fung and the Shilluk.

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59) Chataway challenges the validity of comparing the traditions of Jebel Gule with what was the case in Sennar. He says "Gule ... is mentioned several times by Arkell. While information regarding Fung history and customs may be obtained at Gule, it is essential to recognise that it is a tainted and unreliable source, a point which other observers have failed to recognise". Charaway, p. 114.

60) Arkell, (A), p. 232.

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4) Evidences of the Theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung:

James Bruce was the first to declare that the Fung were originally a Shilluk northern offshoot, who descended upon the Arabs, defeated them, and created Sennar as a seat of their new Kingdom.

First of all, it is quite clear from the Journal of Bruce that he was very much interested in the Shangally, and probably confused Shangalla, Shankala, and Shilluk. Once, while in Teawa near Gedaref, he said that "The Fung were originally Shankala or Hamidge", 61) and on arriving at Sennar, he added, "and are, as they are called, Fungo, that is Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came to drive out the Arabs under Wad Agib. Of these, the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly pagans even yet." 62)

Further quotations from Bruce give an idea about the mess into which he had fallen. He says that the king of Sennar pretends to be of noble Arab element, "but his wooly hair, and black flat features, show him to be a Shangalla; the particular name Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El-Aice (the White Nile) ... The name of Shankala, given to the true blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The rivel El-Aice is twice as broad as the Nile and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands, in these dwell the Shilook, who rob in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Noba, and Fazuelo, three southern provinces which depend on Sennar". 63)

The Shangalla or the Beni Shangul are Negros of negroid tribes, living in the river valleys in the mountainous western Abyssinian escarpment. They were included within the Fung kingdom throughout its history.

It would seem that the description of the White Nile, which Bruce names El-Aice, and the description of the people who inhabit the islands of this river, is quite a separate sentence, which has nothing to do with the preceding sentence, in which he returns the Fung to a Shangalla origin. This assumption is validated by the above quotation, in which he says that the Fung are the Shangalla converted to Islam, and defines the Shilluk as the troops of the king. But this again contradicts the famous quotation, in which Bruce asserts that in 1504 a Shilluk migration founded Sennar.

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It is interesting to know that Bruce's statement about the Nile was not correct. He imagined that the Blue Nile was the

133 61) Arkell, (A), p. 220

62) Ibid, p. 220

63) Ibid, p. 220

real Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course down the Sudan, but made a short-cut from Abyssinia to the Butana plains and to Sennar. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Sennar is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fazugli extend uninterrupted to the Nuba mountains. On this assumption he considered that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Main Nile, and had its source in the Fazugli-Nuba chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he would accordingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes? 114 174 133

Arkell dwelt on the statement of Bruce that the Sennar kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Sid el Qom, and after the sanction of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung. Moreover, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Kwom, the Shilluk word for their sacred steel, to be transformed to Qom, in Sid el Qom etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the alledged Fung killing is false, due to the lack of the essential notion of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king. 114 173 174

Crawford, though he does not suggest a Shilluk origin of the Fung, says that there were certain Shilluk associations. He further states: "I suggest that the Shilluk association was not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fazughli region and the gebels to the west whose inhabitants were partly at any rate of Shilluk origin. When Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded his kingdom he may have carried with him some of these Shilluk associations ..."64) Crawford then suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Melut, or Jebel Ahmed Agha, or Renk. He is compelled to such an explanation because 114 174

1) he finds that the inhabitants of the Fazugli region are "Negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and in the southeast is the land of the Hamitic Gallas". 65)
2) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) is here quite conclusive". 66)

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Fazugli area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which shrank to the present picture of pockets in the river valleys which cut deep in the western escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau,

64) Crawford, p. 156

65) ibid, p. 157

66) ibid, p. 157.

114 and in the hilly offshoots of the Abyssinian highlands represented
174 by the Dar Fung mountains. This shrinkage was due to the everlasting extension of the Hamitic and other Caucasic racial elements towards the south. Secondly, the evidences of similar place names do not mean a Shilluk migration alone, because though the Nilotic percentage in these tribes' languages did reach about 65%, "further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction ... the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%". 67

If the Burun -a tribal group in the Dar Fung area- are included within the Nilotic language group, 68) and if there is a probability that the Dar Fung tribes are similar in their physical attributes to the substratum of the northern Shilluk province, then there is no wonder to see strong resemblances between both areas, and no wonder that many authorities erred in trying to clarify this resemblance by a one-sided Shilluk influence extended to Dar Fung.

On the same ground we can refute Westermann's assumption that "it is possible that this Shilluk population (the Berta and other Dar Fung tribes) in Sennar (probably he means the Fung kingdom) came to political influence and took part in the government of the state". 69) In reality there is need to assume a Shilluk migration, or invasion in this mountainous Dar Fung region, because the Shilluk are a riverain tribe, and on account of a common substratum, physical, cultural and linguistic in both areas.

6) Conclusion:

174 From the foregoing survey it is now clear that there
648 existed a relationship between the Fung and the Shilluk, but it is not a relationship of common origin.

The statement of Bruce about the invasion of the Gezira
114 by the Shilluk is not supported by dates nor by tradition of either
174 the Shilluk or the Fung. The only support comes from the Hamag elders of Jebel Gule, 70) but Mr. Chataway answers this question quite rightly. He states that "The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'abid'. It was then too late to provide a satisfactory niche for the Hamag, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight". 71)

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67) Seligman, p. 422
68) Batt includes the Burun in the Nilotic language group, and treats them as such in his book.
69) Westermann, p. LVI.
70) See note No 59)
71) Chataway, p. 117.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Nogroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and lost their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon being a violation of custom. Tremaux writes that " ... une épée, 643 seul instrument légal en pareil cas (tue un roi)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung, [411] because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.

Now the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly from Ashmet Sid el Qom, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man 114 is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's statements, we do not know exactly whether Ashmet Sid el Qom spoke 643 about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Awad and Mr. Chataway are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the 643 Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamones cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alledged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the 114 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, 171 because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be 174 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilisations 643 that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the older substratum of 174 the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremaux, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 266
75) Seligman, p. 425
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 426.

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Strong new invasions from the north always swept the plains, and compelled the older cultures with their practitioners to seek refuge areas. But it is not expected that the whole of the older population will seek new homes; many will stay and, after a time, when the new-comers have forgotten their former superiority and pride, both components will mingle, to a certain extent, freely with each other. After that it is expected that there will be a free reciprocal exchange of cultural elements, modified to the new conditions.

On the basis of such theory, can we explain the fact that it was only in the reign of King Dakin, number 5 in the list of Sennar, and in the reign of King Tugo, number 10 in the Shilluk list, that coronation ceremonies were introduced in each kingdom separately? It would be highly probable to justify such an assumption if we remember that the Fung were incorporating part of the older population, namely the Hamog, into their kingdom, and that the northern part of the Shillukland at least belongs to this old stratum of peoples.

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Abbreviations

JHS: Journal of the Historical Society, Cairo.

SNR: Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum.

WVA: Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Wien.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG:

1700 vertrat Bruce die Ansicht, dass die Shilluk von den Fung herzuleiten wären. Dieser Standpunkt löste eine heftige Diskussion pro und kontra aus. Vorwiegend waren es Historiker, die an Hand mündlicher Traditionen sich um die Herkunftsfrage der Shilluk bemühten.

Unser Mitarbeiter, Mr. M. Riad, der heuer eine Studienreise zu den Shilluk unternommen hatte (siehe: Some Observations among the Shilluk, Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen III/1, pgs. 70 ff.), versucht das Thema von der ethnologischen und geographischen Seite her zu beleuchten. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Fung zeitlich tiefer belegbar sind, während die Shilluk als eine von ihren Urkönig gegründete Nation verhältnismässig jung anzusetzen sind. Aus der Geschichte der Shilluk scheint hervorzugehen, dass sie zeitweilig von den Fung unterworfen waren.

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

I. — THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

To the animistic mind of the Shilluk, the occult powers are always near, and the fact that they can not be seen makes them none the less real. Around, about him everywhere are the spirits, and daily he comes in contact with people, who are the possessors of occult powers. They recognize five classes of people, who are in possession of hidden powers. They are:

The servants of the king, that is the people in whom is the spirit of one of the kings;
The beneficent medicine men or witch-doctors;
The malignant medicine men or witch-doctors;
The people with the power of the evil eye, and
The people possessed of the evil spirit.

Some say that the class of people with the power to cast the evil eye receive their power from the evil medicine men, and would class them together, but very few make that classification. However, in talking about the evil eye, it always brings up the subject of the malignant medicine men. The powers claimed for the two classes are very similar.

Many say, with good reason, that the people possessed of the evil spirit should not be so called, but that their affliction is merely a disease. We would call it insanity.

These articles do not exhaust the subjects, but a little has been gleaned from the contradictory tales of the Shilluks. Often the ideas of the natives

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are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims. 754

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time. 754 827

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, and while the man afflicted in this manner is not desirable as a husband, yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the afflicted man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbours ignorant of their powers. 582 754 [583]

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power. 754

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon enquires about it, and is told. However one mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark. 754 826

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754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [755] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [756] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

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As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's 753
idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the [754]
evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every accident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly discussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visitation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hidden power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to 755
the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the 754
same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will 755
happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and beseeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a hoe, and after the case is cured he

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754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
633 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person
754 boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
578 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people,
754 nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

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The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 751 754 [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows. [556]

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine. 672 751 754

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear. 754 826

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person. 626 754 431 735

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye. 751 754 626

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626 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front,
751 for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.
754 When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

754 Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person
[761] with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

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II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed 754
by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring [192]
or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees.

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three 754
different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one 826
testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful.

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at 845
birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone [847]
has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her [844]
first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the woman's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say : «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask : «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer : «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, 672
a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely 845
say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband 847
can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

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672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish
683 that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: «an accident», and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

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As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 754 [683] [845 847]

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 683 754

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 754

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [7 82]

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 683 754

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683 754 pay a fine unless he has caught the man actually working a charm. The accused says : « Whom have I injured in your house? ». He does not try to plead that he is innocent of such work, but only that he has not injured his accuser.

754 The malignant medicine man has many means of bringing disaster to people. If he is able to get a bit of hair, the parings of the nails, spittle or any thing else that has been part of the body, or the clothing of the body, he can work a charm on it, so that the owner will die. If he is ignorant of the identity of the owner, he can do nothing with these things. For that reason, when a man cuts his hair or his nails, he either hides the [302] part removed or else puts it on a public road, so that the identity of the owner can not be learned.

A case that illustrated their belief in that power occurred here once. One afternoon a man came in great wrath with his daughter. He said someone on the place had killed his daughter that morning. As she seemed to be in good health, his statement seemed to be a little ridiculous. When asked to explain, he said that she had been carrying water, and that she had laid off her outer garment which was of calf skin. When she returned to get her garment, she found that someone had cut a piece out of it. We was sure a man with the occult power to kill had done the deed. When examined the edge of the marred place was seen to be rough. Others, who had been working were called to see if the identity of the person doing the wrong could be ascertained. At last a boy said that he had seen two pups playing with the skin and dragging it about. He had driven them away, and returned it to its place. The man was satisfied that harm had not been intended against his daughter, and she returned to work.

Over a bit of mud taken from the wall of a house, or a bit of grass from the roof, a charm can be worked that will kill the owner of the house.

When a man's club falls into the hands of one of these evil men, he buries it, which is symbolical of the burial of the owner which will soon occur, or he may kill the man by cutting the club in two, or a hoe may be given to him by the children while the older people are away. He throws the hoe into the river, and the arm of the owner is destroyed so that he can not hoe. He may also steal a cow rope or a spear and work a charm on it that will kill the owner.

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Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

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754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

[513] In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

[751 764] After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

751 754 When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their [515] backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back.

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All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
gourd or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomadul. Poor Akomadul was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: «Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him.» Akomadul then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow ambach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: «He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives». Akomadul then took a white sheep, and said: «I will save the man». The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: «The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover». The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

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755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to knead his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three biglig pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles [782] it he prays : « Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine). »

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

754 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their 502 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves 754 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try 756 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two oxen were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said : « You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him. » The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer- 754 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some 791 mishap would over take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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another had such power over the animals in a certain district that it was not safe to hunt without his blessing, which was given by spitting on the hunter and his dogs. If that blessing was not obtained, the hunter would be devoured by lions. 754 791

Sometimes an evil medicine man may have the power of the evil eye as well, and then he is exceedingly strong. While most of the natives say that the people with the evil eye, and the evil medicine men are entirely separate some connection must exist, for if a man begins to talk about one he invariably brings in some thing about the other, and it is not always easy to know which he is talking about. One of the chief differences in the method of working is that with one, merely to look on the victim is enough, but the other must get some means of contact. 754

As a class they accept the reputation given them, and try to live up to it. They are sinned against, and they seek to repay in kind. Shunned as evil they come to believe in the powers ascribed to them. Many of the miracles accomplished by their power follow so long after the invocation of the power, that a less superstitious race would not look upon it as a result of their power.

Through superstition the evil medicine man is a power among the Shilluks. Thoughts of his power may cast a gloom over the most festive occasion, and at night when the world is peopled by the spirits of their fancies, the evil medicine man prowls about. The hooting of an owl or unusual tapping sounds caused by the wind bring a thrill of dread to the heart of the Shilluk, which can not be dispelled by the bright light of day.

D. S. Oyler.

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EXAMPLES OF SHILLUK FOLK-LORE

BY Mrs. D. S. OYLER.

538 The natives call stories of this description «Lion Heads». Formerly they
539 thought that if a person told them in day light he would be taken by a lion, hence they are nearly always told after the sun goes down. It is impossible to translate them word for word, as much is told in the gestures, and in the face of the narrator. With the above exceptions the following examples are literal translations.

539 1. The cormorant was looking about in the river, while the crocodile was swimming with his hunger. The cormorant was looked upon as a possible source of food, but then the crocodile noticed his pointed bill, and long neck. It looked too much like a spear and its handle to please the wily crocodile, and so he said, «Friend, why is your beak so sharp? Will it hurt people like a spear?» The cormorant replied, «You have said it». Then he offered to let the crocodile feel his sharp beak, which he did, and went away scared. As a result, the cormorants have always been able to swim peacefully on the river.

The crocodile then went to the Nile perch. He was afraid of the large mouth, and he said, «Friend, why are you so strong? Why is your mouth so large? Why are your shoulders so great?» It replied, «My mouth has no teeth. Put in your hand and see.» The crocodile did so, and said, «I was afraid of food». He ate that perch, and since then the crocodiles have eaten the Nile perch.

2. A lion was under a tree eating his kill, and he was discovered by the hyena, and the hyena ran in after the food and he snatched the food, and the male lion ran after it, and the hyena was tired from running, and he covered himself with mud, and he gave battle to the lion. The hyena would bite, and his teeth would sink into the lion, but when the lion bit the hyena his teeth slipped from the mud. And the lion died, and his mate came to

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give battle, and she suffered a like fate, and all the lions feared. But the rabbit came and said, «Let us take your case to the judge». «And who will judge?» «The king». But the lion said, «My case is not ready». And they did not finish the case so the rabbit returned to his country. 537

3. The orial, one of the animals, was fishing for snails, and he was seen by the hyena. The hyena gave chase, and the orial ran away. The hyena returned to find the snails, but they gave him trouble by hiding from him. On the morrow the same thing occurred, and the rabbit saw the hyena, and he said, «What do you seek?». «I seek the orial». «How does he trouble you?». «He is hunting snails». «I will help you». And on the morrow they laid in wait for the orial, and when he had the snails the hyena gave chase. The rabbit hid in the edge of the grass, and got the snails. The hyena returned from chasing the orial, and he said, «Rabbit, give me my snails». «Why should I give them to you? Were they taken by you formerly?» The rabbit replied, «Each one takes his own».

4. The rabbit was feeding a Nile perch. Six times it had fed the fish (hoping to eat it when fat). The lion chanced by that way one day, and saw the fish that it was there, and he pierced it with a fish spear, and he took it, and he cooked it, and he ate it. And he was satisfied with it, and he lay down. The rabbit came, and he found the fish that it was absent. And he said to the heron, «Inform me, who took the fish?». The heron laughed, and the rabbit promised to give him something for the information. And he promised that if the heron recovered a portion of the fish a share of it would go to him. And the heron said, «The lion took your fish». The rabbit went, and he found the lion lying down on the ground, and he feigned to be ill. And the rabbit said, «What do you have?» (Or, you were taken by what?) «I have a cold». «No witch-doctor has been near you?». «None». The rabbit told the women of the house to prepare a great jar of very hot, soup-like gruel. The food was finished and brought by the women, and it was set down in the room, and the rabbit ordered the women to leave. He said, «Lion, open your throat». And the lion opened his throat and the rabbit poured down all the hot soup, and the lion turned on his back, and he beat the air convulsively with his feet, and he died. And

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the rabbit went out, and he closed the entrance to the enclosure (or zariba) with dura stalks, and he said, «Women, let no one enter the enclosure». And he took the fish spear of the lion, the one with which he had speared the fish, and he went away saying, «I am going to dig medicine. Let no one enter.»

The evening advanced, and the wife of the lion said to her child, «Should you not go in to see your father?». And the child found her father that he was dead, and the women wept, and the men. The sons of the lion came running saying, «Why?». And they said, «Our father has been killed by the rabbit». And they said, «Remain silent. We will kill some one in our father's place. We will kill the rabbit.» And they went to seek the rabbit, and they found the rabbit eating honey, and he said, «What do you seek?». «We seek you, rabbit». And the rabbit kept one ear fastened down to his head, and one eye closed, as though he only had one eye. And the rabbit said, «Beware, do not kill of another house. Now sit down in the shade of the tree. And see I have only one eye, and my ear is misplaced. Eat of my honey and return.» And he said, «The rabbits are of three different lines (of ancestors), *Kwa Dak*, *Kwa Dung*, and *Kwa Wa Ni Kwair*. Was the one who killed your father one eyed?» «No». «Beware. Return not again.» And they went, and their father's place was lost. No one died for him.

5. The hyena found the land lizard, and the hyena asked the land lizard saying, «Are you fat?». And he replied, «I am all oil». «Where do you sleep?», said the hyena. «I sleep here on the earth». «Do you know the jagged lightning?», asked the hyena. «I do not know it». The hyena said, «I am going». After he left the rabbit came and said, «Land lizard, you were talking about what to the hyena?». «The hyena asked me if I was fat». «Were you not asked by the hyena because he wants to eat you?» Now at night you climb up in the tree, but leave your clothes on the ground. The hyena came back at night in the rain, hurrying, yet moving cautiously so as not to disturb the lizard. The hyena leaped upon the clothes of the lizard, and devoured them. The hyena cursed the lizard and said, «What ruined it?» (He could not understand why the lizard was not fat). The lizard said, «I am up here in the tree». «Who put you up there?» «Was it not the rabbit who told me to get up here?» The hyena began to curse the

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rabbit, and said, «Where is he that I may kill him?». The rabbit who had been hiding, in the grass, and listening said, «Here I am». The hyena gave chase, and the rabbit ran away. They had a very exciting chase until they came to the house of the porcupine, and the rabbit ran into it. The hyena called to the blue heron, «Go get the cham». (The cham is an iron bar used for digging. The name for it is the same as the verb for eating.) The heron flew away to the house of the hyena, and said to the women folk, «The hyena sent me to eat». They cooked food and set it before the heron, and after it had eaten it returned to the hyena saying, «I have eaten». Impatiently the hyena said, «It was not the food I meant a little while ago. It was the cham. Go get the cham.» The heron returned to the house of the hyena, and said, «I have returned. Bring food». He ate and returned to the hyena, saying, «I have eaten». The hyena in wrath said, «Sit down here. Remain here at the door lest the rabbit come out. I am going, but remain at the door itself.»

The hyena left, and the rabbit eyed the door (put his head out), and he said, «The hyena will dig». And the heron cursed the rabbit, and said, «Your ears have been drawn out long by the sun». And the rabbit laughed heartily, and said, «You cursed me, and cursed the hyena with a very bad curse». In turn the rabbit cursed the heron and said, «Your neck is so long it shakes like grass in the current». And the heron laughed, and the rabbit ran out. The hyena came and said, «This is what I meant, this is the cham, the thing to dig in the earth. Is the rabbit here?» «He is here». «He came to the door just now, and I talked to him». The hyena said, «Sit down over there». And the hyena dug to the end of the hole, and the rabbit was not there. He said, «The rabbit is absent. Shall I not eat you?». He said, «Do not eat me thus, but toss me up in the air, and I will turn into fat, and fall into your mouth». The hyena tossed it up, and held it upward with his eyes closed. The heron spit into the mouth of the hyena, and then flew away.

6. A boy named Ajok was not able to speak, although he could hear. A lion came to the village, and said, «I am looking for Ajok». He was told that Ajok could not speak, but he insisted, and said he would make Ajok speak. Ajok was brought, but he answered nothing to the greeting of the

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539 lion. The lion went and killed the ox of Ajok. The people said, "Why did you kill the ox of Ajok?" "I said that I would open the mouth of Ajok". And the lion left. It was told Ajok that his ox was killed, and the people said they would go to kill the lion, but Ajok refused. He said, "No, I will go alone". And he said to his mouth, "My two dogs, and my cows three I will take". He went, and he arrived at the house of the lion, and the king of the lions said, "The cow in the rear give to me". And the messengers came saying, "We were sent by the king to bring the ox". And he said, "Let the king come himself". And the king came saying, "Give me the ox". He refused, but finally he said, "Take it". And the king took the ox, and he speared the king of the lions so that he died. The people, the followers of the lion king ran, such as were lions ran away, but the servants who were people remained, and served Ajok. The cattle of the lions which were lions in disguise, ran away, but the cattle that were cows remained, and were taken by Ajok. And the gourds with milk in them that were lions ran away, but the gourds of the people remained, and were taken by Ajok (*i. e.* Part of the servants, cattle and gourds belonging to the king of the lions, were actually what they seemed to be, but part of them were lions in disguise).

Ajok went to the domain of another lion king, and the king said, "Bring me an ox". But Ajok said, "Bring it yourself". And the lion took an ox, and Ajok speared him as he had the other lion king, and took over his subjects in the same way. He took also all the property that was of men, and he had many slaves. He took all his property, and went, and built a village near his old home. And a time of hunger came, and his sisters came to his place to gather plants to eat. He recognized them, but he seemed strange to them. He gave them milk, and told them to throw away the grass which they had gathered, and he gave them kaffir corn to fill their gourds. They went home and said to their mother, "Mother, we found a man who looks like Ajok". But the mother said, "Ajok was eaten by the lions". And she was in mourning. She would not anoint herself with oil and she would not wear clothes, and her hair was permitted to grow. They said, "You go on the morrow". And he gave them milk, and he gave them kaffir corn. She said, "You are my son". And in grief she said, "I will certainly kill myself". And she ran toward the river, and he ran after her, saying, "I am Ajok". And she returned, and he had her head shaved, and

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had her anointed with oil, and gave her fine clothes, and gave her a house, and gave her four servants to prepare her food. 539

7. A great grass fire was raging, and a snake was caught in such a way it could not escape. A man passed by, and he said, «Snake, come to me, and I will save you». The snake coiled about his neck, and he carried it to a safe place, and he said, «Sit upon the earth. We have arrived.» (We have arrived at our destination.) And the snake said, «I refuse. I will not sit upon the ground. Why do you throw me off?» The man attempted to unroll the snake, and put it on the ground, but it opened its mouth, and it threatened to bite him, and the man feared. And they went, and they met the rabbit, and the rabbit said to the man, «Wherefore?». And the man said, «I am walking with the snake». And he said to the snake, «Wherefore?». And the snake said, «The man saved me from the fire. I was about to be burned. What do you say?» And the rabbit refused, saying, «This judgment is too difficult for me». And he went, saying, «Take the case to another». And they found the king frog, and the frog said to the man, «Wherefore?». And he replied, «I am walking with the snake». And he said, «Snake, wherefore?». And the snake replied, «I was saved by him». «Eh, you were saved by him, but what do you say now?» And the snake said, «Why am I forced to walk my own walk?». And he called upon the frog to hear the case, and the frog said, «In a case the participants are separate. Come off, snake. Move over further.» And the snake moved off by himself. The king frog said to the chief after him, «Son of the chief, hear the case». (He commissioned his head chief to try the case.) And the chief said, «Man, state your case». And the man said, «Master, I found the snake. He was about to be burned by the fire, and I told him to run to me, and he coiled himself about my neck. I ran with him to a safe place, and I told him to go to the ground, and he refused to leave my neck. And when I laid hold on him he opened his mouth, and wanted to bite me, and his mouth is large, and his teeth are great.» And the frog

[illegible] snake said, «Why was I taken? Why was I not left to die?» The frog said, «Snake, I condemn you. Has not man saved people from long ago? If there was no man, and you walked on your feet, you would have been

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burned». The snake said, «Is that your talk? We will not see each other again. When I meet you, I will eat you, because you spoke against me. When I see you in the grass I will leap on you.» And the frog said, «Very well. When you take me in the grass I will cry, '*Ae, ae*', and the man will come, and spear you». And the frog cleared the man.

8. The rabbit moulded a person of mud, and put it on a calf skin, and put it in their house, and he went to his mother and said, «Give the traveller food». And his mother cooked the food, and put it in the house. And the rabbit drove every one out, saying, «Do not look at the traveller eating». And when the people were out, the food was eaten by the rabbit. And this took place daily, but one day meat was cooked with the food, and the rabbit was absent, and his mother put the food before the person and his mother said, «Why does the person remain in one place?». And she touched the figure, and it broke, and she was surprised, and said, «The rabbit deceives people». And she threw out the figure. The rabbit came and said, «Where is the traveller?». She said, «There was no traveller, but mud. You deceive people. You will be taken by hunger, and eat nothing.» The rabbit said, «A stranger will be killed by you». (Because she accused her son of wrong doing, he accused her of her lack of hospitality in refusing to feed a stranger.)

9. Formerly the wind-fish was a land animal, and it was going to the pool for water, for all the animals drank from a great lake. And all the animals that were in the wilderness were racing to the water, and all the animals passed the wind-fish. As they passed they laughed at him because he was so slow. And the ostrich came last, and he said, «Wind-fish, why are you left behind by the people?». And the wind-fish said, «The people are too much for me». The ostrich put the wind-fish under its arm, and [illegible] lake first, and the ostrich said, «Wind-fish, drink». And the wind-fish said, «You drink first». And the ostrich drank, and after it had finished the wind-fish began to drink, and it drank, and it continued to drink, and it took up all the water in the great pool, so that it was badly swollen, and all the people came, and they lacked water. And the rabbit said

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to the elephant, «Let us crown the wind-fish that he may become king». And when he was crowned he said to the elephant, «Elephant, who told you to crown me?» «The rabbit». The wind-fish then said, «You, elephant, come here. You are king. Why do you not give the people water?» The elephant said, «You are great». Then the wind-fish went to the bank of the pool, and it vomited upon the earth, and the pool was filled, and all the people drank. And the wind-fish said, «Ostrich, I am going into the water, for I am accustomed to be passed by the people». And it became a river animal.

L. Oyler.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

VOLUME III.

1920.

THE
SUDAN PRINTING PRESS,
KHARTOUM.

[TITLE PAGE]

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

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756 The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient, who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to typify the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine man.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from [776] God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or youngest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

756 When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony consists of a dedicatory prayer, something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. [529] The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

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may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 756
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, [539]
who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their child- 756
ren are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [732]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [556
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 595]
usually only has a few children.

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756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [484] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on 751] a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in [224] the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [726] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The [752 755] power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 789 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

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726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
787 approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and this a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently pliced in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be kiled in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[751] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the wich doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
789 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest. The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

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follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [482]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

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756 when he is asked to kill a man he may take a sheep, and cleave its head with an axe, and he declares that in the same manner his power has broken the head of the man against whom the charm was worked. They try to impress the people with a sense of the mysterious, and very frequently they have strings stretched in their houses to impress the people who seek their services.

The witch doctors exert a powerful influence over the Shilluks. [179 185] Their influence is always against innovation, and they seek to hold the old order of things. While a medicine man who is just beginning his practice must be successful to gain the confidence of the people, yet when he once has their confidence he can readily explain away all his failures.

Very few Shilluks will admit that they believe in the power of the medicine man, but in spite of their denials they seek him constantly, and their whole manner of life is influenced by the witch doctor. A few are beginning to question the whole system. Once a gourd of God broke when some warriors were being tested before a fight. The grain that had been in it was spilled on the ground. One man pointed to the grain, and said: "Is that God"? Apparently he was the only one of the party, who connected the noise made by the gourd with the grain that was in the gourd.

So long as the Shilluks are dominated by the medicine men, they will make very slight advancement in their mode of thought and their manner of living.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

VOLUME III.

1920.

THE
SUDAN PRINTING PRESS,
KHARTOUM.

[TITLE PAGE]

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UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [677] After an outbreak the manur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authorty over one faction only. The Mainam, faction, which included Mainm, Fakol and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [678] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble. 628 634

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again." [643]

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony. [781]

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the gravelness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and 537 628 643 776 [641]

537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously. "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 646 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Fallo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame [781] if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it retired because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Every then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [782] Fallo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Fallo was responsible for its death, that is Fallo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Fallo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Fallo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

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After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the inviduals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok. 628 783

To conclude the ceromony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which faction the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy. 628

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men. After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction. [illegible]

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small." He added that was often true of boastful men. 628 643

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

REV. H. S. OYLER.

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SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

VOLUME IX

1926

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SHILLUK NOTES

By the Rev. D. S. Oyler

SOME CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH ELECTRIC STORMS

821 THE wonderful natural display in an electric storm is terrifying to the Shilluk. He fears not only the vivid flash, which may send his dwelling up in flames, and may even strike him dead, but he also dreads the terrific crash which accompanies the flash. Such natural forces must be appeased by forms and ceremonies. If it is possible he will not be abroad during such a disturbance of nature. He prefers to crouch in his little hut, where the gleam of the lightning does not penetrate, but where he can hear the terrifying crash.

Once when caught in a rain storm with two native boys, a blinding flash of lightning (lóʒ kpt, club of the rain) was followed by a terrific crash of thunder (mal eʃóʒo, heaven strikes). The boys came to their knees for an instant, and then were up and hurrying toward shelter. They had kneeled to the lightning, which, according to their custom, was the proper thing to do. Natives when caught in a storm make haste to reach a house. When that is impossible they must take measures to protect themselves from the storm. Any decorations he happens to be wearing, such as bracelets, beads or necklaces, should be smeared with mud. They think the lightning desires an honourable sacrifice when it strikes a person, hence the effort to appear poor and unworthy of the notice of the lightning. At such a time they carry their spears with the handle resting on the shoulder, and the tip pointing upward.

Natives in a house must observe certain formalities during a storm. It is dangerous to sit in front of the door, and so the inmates shrink to the sides of the house. They prefer to sit on the right side of the door, but if more people have taken refuge in the house than can sit on the right side, some of them will sit on the left side, but in any case a wide aisle must be left from the door clear back to the wall opposite the door. All ordinary work must be laid aside during the storm. If a man is smoking he must put his pipe away. Should a woman be pounding grain in a mortar she must tie a bit of dome palm leaf to her pestle and put it away. When

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the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A bow must be placed in front of the door. If no bow is in the house then a fish spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a bow or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary town after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of durra and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal ngyr, heaven bite). In former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner usually calls a servant of Deit (Bith Deit). After the servant of Deit arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deit says bring an ox." If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, "I do not ask for this offering, but Deit asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning may become a servant of Deit (Bith Deit), if he so desires. When they travel they say, "Deit asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deit.

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When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 §21

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 754 §21

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deit rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deit, and that it is an honour to be called by Deit, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deit. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [754] 756 §21

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deit will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 757 §21

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 759 761 §21

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the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deit. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deit present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deit. While the servants of Deit put the higig branch (Ik Deit) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer. One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deit. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deit is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deit's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

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Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have known of small lads being killed, the men who did the killing insisted that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not permitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called wiu are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the ob, the beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to use "ajiko" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished. It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village. Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

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561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

881 When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (win). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

593 881 Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too small and weak, and in a bottle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726]
into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kjk lenl)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwl). 882

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cigi) "my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, "Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women?"

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, "Do you have a name?" If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, "Is that his name now?"

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, "His property is on the ground (yaaŋ ya piŋ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (ciuhŋ).

People who are of the same age are called (kiŋ ayai). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (tiaŋ atwi) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 984 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rok) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rok?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be relaxed by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have she. She is called a lqlo. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rok, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 561 659 881

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.
629

A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
925 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
984 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[536 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
913] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

931 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
935 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[791] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

925 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
[illegible] have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[323] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is, "Brother, load out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
926 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
[illegible] Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and give them the ox. [623]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The woman might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [893]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man finishes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

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735 24 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been 788 given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman 735 takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles 24 it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as 426 it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is 556 often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [624] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

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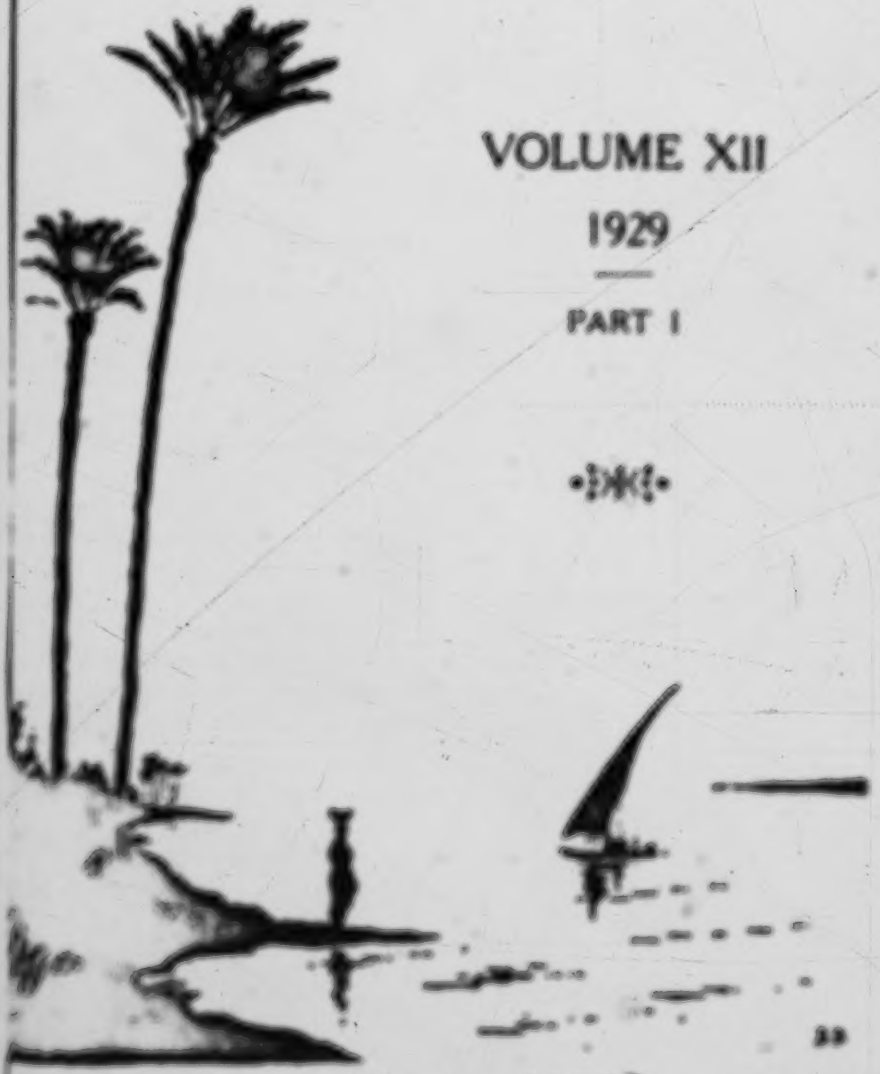

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PART I

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A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. F. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river parts of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river parts—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk sees on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is hardly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the flags and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the being or foreigner with his haloed camera and amazing dress and incredible customs.

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gape on such interesting sights?

The writer is "on leave" at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by villages like that he has fallen to the lot of the poor in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that cooking fires amongst the cattle have been kept up continuously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a heart where necessary to get more herbs from the smoke.

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where they are known to be free from tsetse, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the huts in which they have passed the night, safe from

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233 the depredations of hyenas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
502 to clear up the droppings of the cattle, collect the head repas, and clean
257 out the *hauks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [224] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
233 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
502 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.
257

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, [225] and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing or a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the elder men to see to what extent the signs of business applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
291 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
502 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
502 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [226] dew is first seen, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dark, when these fowl have gone to roost.

Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
502 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.
502

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are [227] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
291 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
[228] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
[229] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen
[230] *ensel* or *pot* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the house, as water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

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Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day: the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luels* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

1. Further apologies are tendered, especially to subscribers in England, for the late appearance of this volume and for our failure to produce it in two parts. The war is perhaps a hackneyed excuse but none the less it has a delaying effect on all non-essential civil activities, amongst which it is to be feared the production of a periodical must be numbered. Contributors, reviewers, printers and proof readers all have pressing claims upon their time and imperceptibly publication day recedes further and further.

2. Volume XXV will probably be issued in instalments as material becomes available. Contributors whose articles require illustration should submit them as early as possible in the year. It is improbable that plates will be included in the first number.

3. Readers of the review of M. Douin's *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl* in Part I of Volume XXIII will be interested to know that the third part of M. Douin's Third Volume is nearly ready for the printer. It will contain 1,200 pages and is entirely devoted to a study of the exploration and administration of General Gordon in Equatoria. It is understood that access to the archives of the Abdin Palace and of Colonel Moffitt has thrown an entirely new light on this period.

Volume IV will cover events in Abyssinia, followed by the history of Gordon's first term of office as Governor-General.

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THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

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M. E. C. Pumphrey.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This article and the succeeding article by P. P. Howell were submitted independently and the authors very kindly agreed to re-write them to avoid overlapping. The articles should be read in conjunction and Mr. Howell in particular has assumed a knowledge in his readers of Mr. Pumphrey's notes and explanations. EDITOR.

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Vol. XXIV. Part 1 & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. R. G. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *Signe*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Gallañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Gallany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.R.G.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Colle*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Colle* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with *Acholi*, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Dowadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Puke Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang

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173 and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[2] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Aristagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyikani where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyikwai and built his own village at Dedigo.[3] Since his son Duk made his village nearby at Fako it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Faö*[4].

Exactly who these *Faö* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Demotho[4] and driven over the river into the Malual country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Funj Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastward, while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Faö*

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1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1390. Hakmayr (*Die Schilluk*) however thinks that Ocalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600 - 1630.

2. In the settlement of *Fanyidwai Pur*.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Spear of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this spear *Kwon* is still in the *Faö* country.

4. A village some 15 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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remnant, *dariwa alang*[4]. These blacks in time also became *Colle* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Colle par excellence*, become known as *Kwar Reth*[5] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Duk succeeded him as *Reth*. Duk was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fak* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Duem. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of *Tegale* to the west and that of the Funj to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Duk at the site of the village of Tweskit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[6]

The period from Duk's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhkir (approximately 1830) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[7] took up his position at Kodok in 1869 *Reth* Kwadhker was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhker who had by them been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years 175 648 649

4. This may be translated "black latrines."

5. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Gwen* means the descendants of Gwen and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

6. "*pele manyo.*"

7. Ali Bey Kordi.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1936-1938) 1941
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abated capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Rak Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Rak* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1893 Romulo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kordi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Rak* Kwickun a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kordi in about 1894.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Rak* Kwickun and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwickun.

Kodok then became one of the unmanned garrisons. A certain Jok Akur[a] succeeded Kwickun, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akur (father of the present *Rak* Fadiri and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Rak*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Rak* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

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a. Jok was never officially *Rak* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

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ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang. [115] [68]

Kur Hyldhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tumami and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, came as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbak to Beth at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akur, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bul Ayuel, Chief of Golbat, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debain. The Chiefs of Golbat and Debain are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1931, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyawelo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyawelo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [69]

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CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Introduction.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dueiel Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual calendar course in clan organisation. The Dueiel Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent return for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly return.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

The Clan (Kwaa).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

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possesses no *thil* as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (Pwoc).

The word *kôl* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It may describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodjo which contains more than foo adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wuk*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

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555 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
63 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

261 Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan dong*[11] subservient) to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
63 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dong*
621 (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

63 With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
621 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
622 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

The Hamlet and the Homestead.

Q8 Within the settlement each hamlet (*pan*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

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10. The *lee* (meaning *shoulder*) is the insignia of chieftainship. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pan* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.
Its plural is *ngar*.

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The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*bual*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gon*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

546 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reik*, *Gwen*, *Collo* and *Bong Reik*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reik*, and less so the *Gwen*, are usually treated with a certain outward deference by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reik* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[10]. The *Bong Reik* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reik*, and the *Gwen*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reik*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reik.

The *Kwar Reik*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country. It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristocracy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reik* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reik's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reik's* wives are *Collo*.

546 *619 619 [625]

Within the *Kwar Reik* there are four higher titles. These are *Reik* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reik*), *Nyireik* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reik* (reigning or dead), *Nyireik* (or *Nyinyireik*) for a son of a *Nyireik* and *Kwar Nyireik* (slided into *Kwanyireik*) for a grandson of a *Nyireik*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reik* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireik*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireik* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

559 546 619 619

10. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the ensuing process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[14] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyiwith*[15] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[16] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* child[17] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyiwith* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyiwith* and will be the village of the *Nyiwith's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyiwith* increase this original *Pa Nyiwith* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

14. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *kwath*.

15. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyiwith* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

16. *pidi* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

17. The child entrusted will often be the *kwath's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyiwith's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyiwith*.

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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudak[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Rak* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atandwot the *Kwar Rak* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Rak*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Rak* and others where the *Kwar Rak*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudak is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Rak* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Raks* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired them largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Rak* would raise as a "royal levy"[18] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Rak*.

THE OGWO.

"*Ogwo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Rak* which has been degraded, by act of the *Rak*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Rak* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiwak* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1850.
18. *e.g.*, *Awarajwak*.
19. *Tiak ad Rak*.

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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Rak* Odak against the *Anuak* in which the Shilluk were wounded. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Rak's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Dowadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Rak* may be appointed, could never become *Rak*. Dowadh, the sole surviving *Nyiwak*, in due course became *Rak* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyiwaks* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Rak* was restricted to the descendants of Dowadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Orwo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Rak* has always preserved and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of cutting branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Rak* Dowadh on this occasion.[90] *Rak* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Rak* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Orwo*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Rak* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Rak*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[91] which is often used to describe the *Orwo*.

The *Orwo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Rak* and have held for at least seven generations the important chieftship of Tonga. For the purposes of

90. It seems possible that in truth the old *Raks* used this device frequently and that the present *Orwo* are not really all sons of Dowadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Orwo* will ever say which is the particular son of Dowadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry.

91. *Ieny kadk yi gro.*

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565 the rules of exogamy the *Gwow* are considered as a *Colle* clan and can
614 intermarry with the *Kwor Rak* as well as with any *Colle* clan other
644 than their own. The *Rak* always has some *Gwow* women among
[643] his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLE.

566 The *Colle* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the *Raths* used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as *Bang Rak*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
[702] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[703] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang*
[644] *Rak*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Rak's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Rak*, which is
[682] of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwor Abugo*, *Kwor Mual*, *Kwor Nyiong* and *Kwor Ojul*.
23. *e.g.*, *Kwor Jur*, *Kwor Othoo* and *Kwor Chol*.
24. *e.g.*, *Kwor Jung* (who were originally *Dinka*).
25. *e.g.*, *Kwor Oman* (of *Ogod*).

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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

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565 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under
644 which *Bang. Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the
Bang Nyireth also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently
[614] beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by
[554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element
in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions,
[622] are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

173 26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Bnoc and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abduhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbaß, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

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ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbafi, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

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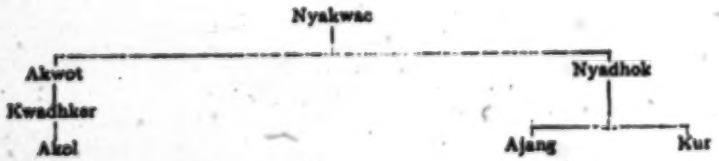
27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles: [173]



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177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

177 639 [648] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[24] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

24. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

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177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] [613] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] [561] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. [648] Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177 631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

681

Shilluk tribe	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang*.
Division (*luak*)	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*) ..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	*Jal Gol.*

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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[30]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [681] [626]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613] [614] [672]

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

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177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is
stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with
a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work
[684] eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
[182 The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
583] system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

428 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised [583]
by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public.
The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

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182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

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586

cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when 584 cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his [582] daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will 585 follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thich*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go- [584 between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance 583] of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies [584] him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

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31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836 684] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

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only in the one case already described does he receive anything ; *i.e.*, when he claims from the bride wealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments.[33] 583

ORA.

A man will describe as *Ora* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ora* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various sex taboos such as *dwalo* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ora* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife. 607

Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special reverence[34] to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognised necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid ten head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, so to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of five head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or five sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the 581 607 607

33. An example may clarify this. X has been married by A who has paid 6 head of cattle only. Y is the brother of X. X has, by A, a daughter, Z, who is married by P. The bride wealth paid by P all goes to A, but A must pay 4 head of cattle to Y, because these are due in arrears to Y from the marriage of X. Y is of course the maternal uncle of Z.

34. W'sar.

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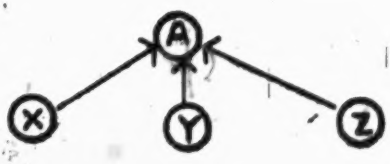
607 husband will not speak to his *ora* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 613 835 The *ora* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach of which is visited by *dwalo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ora* thus means a *pac* which is *ora* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram :—



582 835 613 607 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X, Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ora* to A, A being reciprocally *ora* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X, Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ora* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*[35]. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

35. For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathworo to marry girls of Adhidiang.

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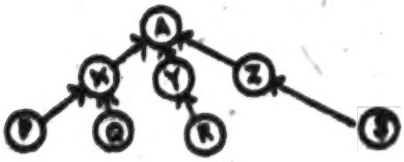
compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182 having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582 that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607 It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613 Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835 and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." 753 755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

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182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[586] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
768 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,[38] or
[587] they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

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684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yat cie dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yat nian a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo cie dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo nian a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

836 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
827 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.
[548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who
848 eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a
[547] son.

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son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[29]. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

848 [835] [583]

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)

173 643

29. This fact will confirm the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwale* taboo.

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APPENDIX II.

Installation of a New Reth.

643 When a *Reth* [1] dies the Chiefs of Golbafi and Debalo consult as to who among the available *Nyireth* is to become *Reth*. This decided, the king elect is seized and taken to Fashoda where he stays quietly till the late *Reth's* mourning dance has been held. Then follows the installation ceremony. Details of this have been described by Munroe who witnessed it. The essential element is the ceremonial entry from Debalo to Fashoda. For this there are two rival "armies," *liñ Reth* and *liñ Nyikang*[2]. The latter army brings the images[3] of Dak and Nyikang in state from Akurwa to Fashoda and awaits the arrival of the *liñ Reth* at the north side of Khor Arepajur (which lies between Debalo and Fashoda). *Liñ Reth* then accompanies the new *Reth* from Debalo to the Khor, each man carrying a bit of dura stalk as a spear. *Liñ Nyikang*, of which the members carry thongs of twisted grass,[4] "capture" the *Reth* from his own army. Thereupon the *Reth* walks across the prostrate form of an elderly man (described as *odung*) who lies down in his path in the Khor bed. Thereafter the *Reth* is escorted to Fashoda by two "holy maidens" (*nyawole woa man kwer*) of which one is from the *Ororo* and the other from *Kwar Okel*. These afterwards becoming his wives. The *Reth* then stabs a bull as *geidhi*[5] for the *odung*, who thereafter has traditionally the right to seize any of the *Reth's* cattle upon which he can immediately lay hands. The *Reth* is then taken to the four huts on the mound[6] at Fashoda. The image of Nyikang is placed upon the sacred stool (*kwom*). The *Reth* seizes the foot of the stool and the image of Nyikang is removed from it. The *Reth* then sits upon the stool and becomes thereby invested with his holy office. Three days seclusion on the mound follow, after which he is ceremonially washed in one of the four huts which is used exclusively for

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1. *Reths* are said in Shilluk not to die but to "pass" (*podh*).
2. *Liñ Reth* is composed of warriors from *Ger* and *liñ Nyikang* from warriors of *Lual*.
3. These are poles of bamboo crowned with ostrich feathers.
4. *Ocallo*.
5. *Geidhi* is the payment made by a person who has injured another as indication of his readiness to pay the customary compensation in due course.
6. The mound is called *aturwir*.

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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwalo* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwac[7] who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwanyireth* Bol Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Divison) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(1) Relationships with kinsmen.
(2) Other relationships.
(3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Deng" means Deng's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relations of the same generation*:

Uwi	*Uwia*	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (*i.e.*, classificatory brother).
Nyiwi	*Nyiwia*	Same as *Uwi*, but femine, (*i.e.*, classificatory sister).
Umi	*Umia*	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

7. This is kept highly secret.

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601 (b) *Relations in father's generation*:

Wi	*Wia*	Father, and father's *uwi*.
Waje	*Waja*	Father's *nyiwi*.
Mai	*Maia*	Mother.

(c) *Relations in grandfather's generation.*

Kwai	*Kwaia*	Grandfather and any male relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandfather's generation.
Wang	*Wanga*	Grandmother and any female relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandmother's generation.

(d) *Relations in son's generation.*

Wad	*Wada*	Son.
Nyar	*Nyara*	Daughter.
Umadhe	*Umadha*	Son's *uwi*.
Nyimadhe	*Nyimadha*	Son's *nyiwi*.

(e) *Relations in grandson's generation*:

Kwar	*Kwara*	This word is used for any descendant (of either sex) of grandson's (or any more remote) generation. It is also used for plural of such.

(2) OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

(a) *Relations in the same generation*:

Unai	*Una*	Mother's brother's son or *uwi* of such.
Nyinai	*Nyina*	Same as *unai*, but feminine.
Uma	*Uma*	Son of mother's sister or *uwi* of such.
Nyima	*Nyima*	Same as *uma* but feminine.

(b) *Relations in the mother's generation*:

Nai	*Na*	Mother's brother or *uwi* of such.
Ma	*Ma*	Mother's sister, or *nyiwi* of such.

(c) *In higher generations*:

It has been noted above that all blood relatives of grandfather's generation are called *kwai* or *wanga* in accordance with whether they are male or female.

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(d) *In son's generation*:

Ohai	*Oha*	Sister's son (son of *nyinai* would also be classed *ohai*).
Nyihai	*Nyiha*	Same as *ohai*, but feminine.

(e) *In lower generations*:

Kwar	*Kwara*	The meaning of this term has been given in (1) (e) above.

(3) CONNEXIONS CONSEQUENT UPON THE MARRIAGE TIE.

(a) *Terms used by men*:

Ora. A generic term used:—

(i) By a husband to describe his wife's immediate family.

(ii) By a husband to describe the *ora* (in sense (i)) of any of his kinsmen.

(iii) By a man to describe all blood relations of his wife.

(iv) By a man to describe the husband of his sister or of any related to such husband by blood.

(N.B.—It will be seen the *ora* is a very wide term. Strictly men class every member of a clan to which any of their clan is married or has ever within memory been married as being *ora*. Nevertheless a man will only call another *ora* or *jal ora* when the person addressed is a member of his wife's immediate family.)

(b) *Terms used by women*:

Yure	*Yura*	*Uwi* of husband.
Waje	*Waja*	*Nyiwi* of husband.
Kwai	*Kwaia*	Husband's father or husband's father's *uwi*.
Wang	*Wanga*	Husband's mother, or any female relative of husband belonging to husband's mother's generation.
Ora	*Ora*	Husband's uterine brother.

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APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

103
161
681
175
177

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
	Akurwa	94	
Delal	Nun	139	Delal
	Arumboth....	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
	Arueth	57	
Atoduoi	Thuro	197	Athoduoi
	Dimoth	66	
	Athoduoi	310	
	Nyilec	144	Abiangyai
	Fanyikang	50	
	Ogod	101	
Detwok	Abiangyai	174	
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	52	Oticogo
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Alel	97	
	Kwocung	73	
	Acago	77	
	Ataro	62	
Golbaß	Golo	377	Golbaß
	Kodok	550	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Golbaß	226	
	Nyigir	466	
OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Fashoda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul....	239	
	Yoß	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu....	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol....	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	65	

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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Ogod	Fathau	75	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogod Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
	Ogod Famadh	128	
Malakal	Malakal Fathuoro	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobuenyo	71	
	Obwa	357	Awarajuok
	Awarajuok	269	
	Athokong	129	
Dettim	Adodo	141	Dettim
	Dur	232	
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	
	Obai Abujop	161	Fanyidwai
	Obai Dego	101	
	Fakang	214	Fakang
Fanyidwai	Falo	216	Fanyidwai
	Fathuoro	95	
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
	Faju	267	
	Abujop	210	
	Odwar	63	
Nyijok	Nyijok	226	non existent
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Oduojo	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
	Nyilwak	279	
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
Tonga	Dill	96	Nyibang
	Nyijwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	Tonga (Tung)
	Atigo	145	
	Nyibodo	122	
	Ayadhajo	108	
	Fafuojo	105	

103
161
175
177
631

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APPENDIX V.

The Character of the Shilluk and some of their Conventions.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which
186 most other features of their character spring. Their intense conserva-
tism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk
in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results
from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and
just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being
a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic
considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from
either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and
that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant
if not always of the happiest. The *Rath's* chief policeman, an intelligent
[626] man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance
at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When
a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant
153 in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise
he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children
will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But
as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement,
he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have
had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the
Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more
intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the
Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language
speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face
of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyirath* of medical connexion
who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency
and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact
that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-
existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to
many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi hal Jwok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci mon*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In matters of money they are often surprisingly honest. Money loans are usually repaid punctiliously and without prompting. On one occasion there was great difficulty in paying out correctly a sum of about £E. 80 to workers for the Egyptian Irrigation Department owing to the names having been written down in Arabic by a writer unfamiliar with Shilluk names. After the main part had been eventually distributed through the District Commissioner's office there remained some £E. 10 unpaid. Many Shilluk refused to accept from the Irrigation Department sums written against their names declaring that it was more than they had earned. This sounds unlikely but it happened nevertheless. 577

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

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VOLUME XXIV
1941

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SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

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THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwar* may be roughly translated as "clan" 614
and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwar* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains [182]
and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain those traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmenta- 613
tion and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Never- [614]
theless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

[p. 47]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. 613 Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer 614 to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. 621 In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally 484 nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social [182] cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has [578] been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

361 484 [574] 182 361 484 [643] [614 621]

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

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554 613 621

[1] [Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Ausfpt]

554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Rath*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhoh-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhoh Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

621 622 613 182 554

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group. 182 613 621 622 554

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members 613 621 [571] 614

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyots Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder. 613 621 361 621 166 361 621 [591] 361 621

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

361 621 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have 361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as [63] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and 621 development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacoda* = *Facoda* (*Fashoda*).

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For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok- Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok- Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 361 621 613 621 361

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 613 621

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,[2] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [622] [124]

2. The special status of the *Ororo* is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).
[see 191 Pumphrey, this File. -Analyst]

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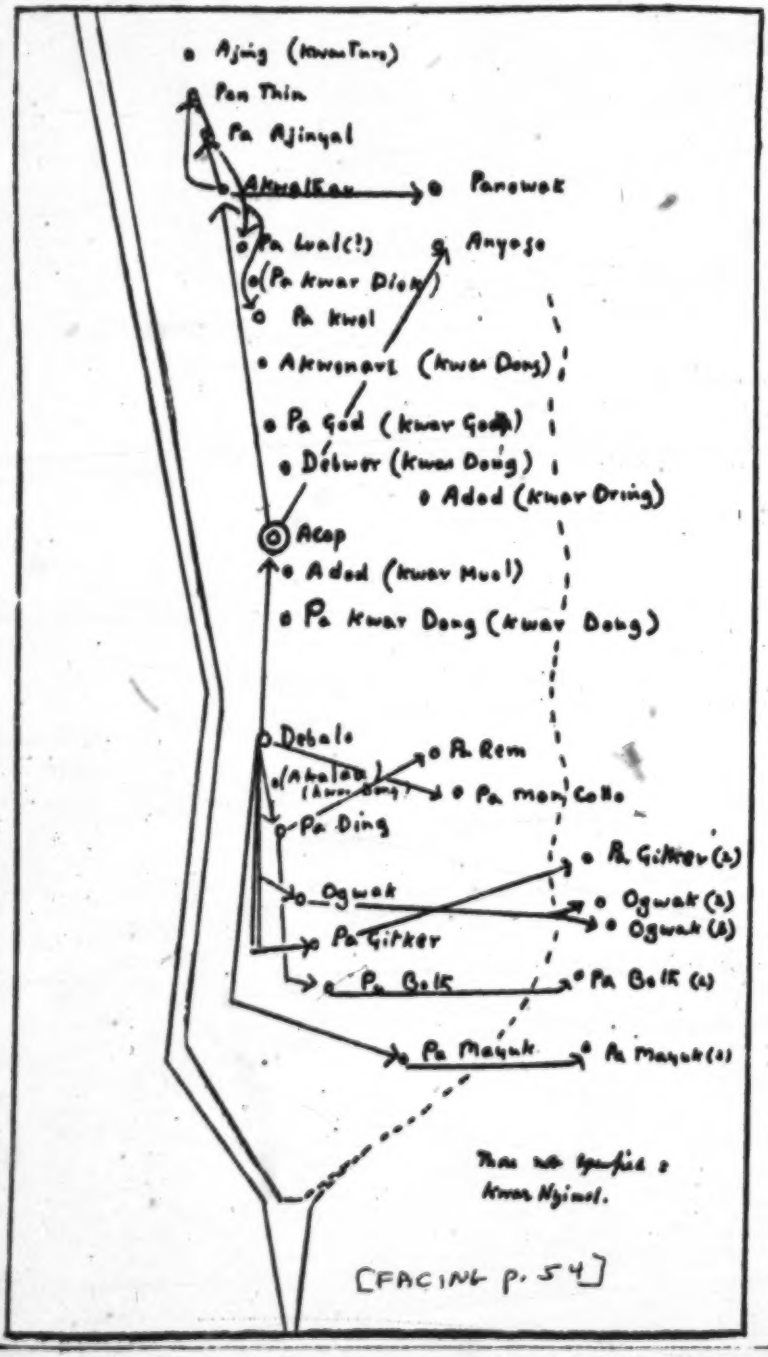

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odheh*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameileh*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [128] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gitker* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gitker* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameileh* is now dead.

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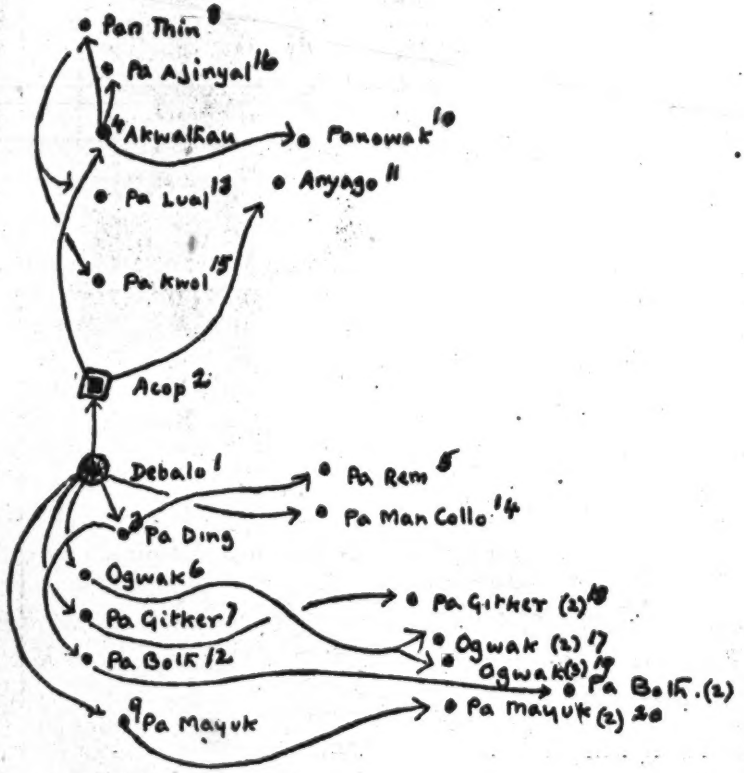


[FACING p. 55]

Amaykw's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Man Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 643 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [171] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1923) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority 182
is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual 561
obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which 614
unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The 622
Jago[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representa- 613
tives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the 643
settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*. 614

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and 561
prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial 613
proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male 621
members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but 182
does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in [701]
warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of 561
puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

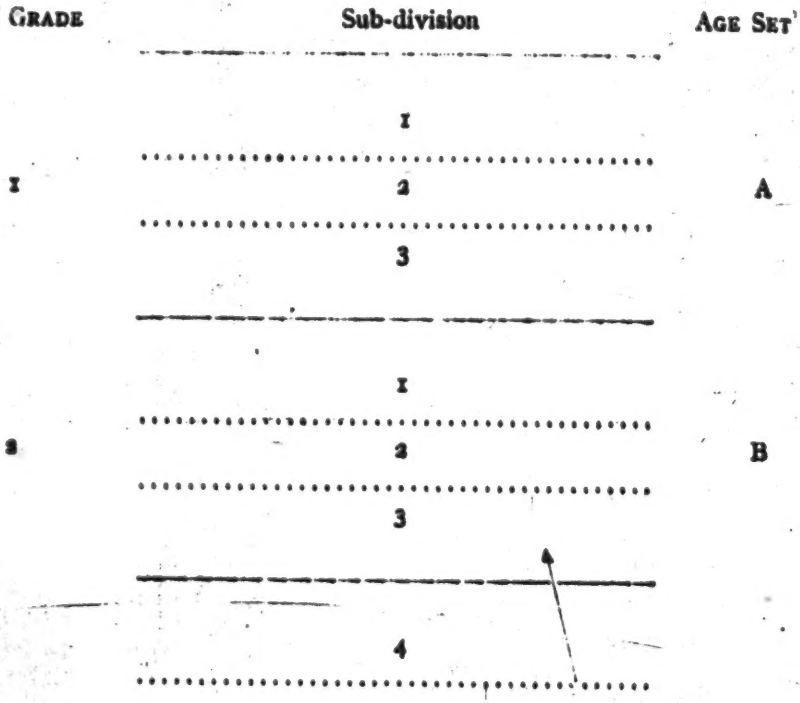
The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

---

7. Chief.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 The figure below shows the two age-sets occupying the two active military grades through which each must pass in turn.

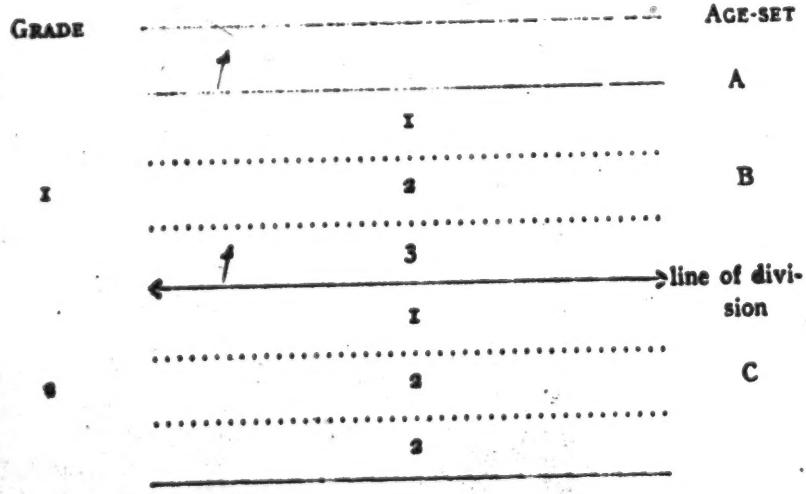


Each age-set has three or more subdivisions — 1, 2, 3 etc., which are made up of those who are approximately of the same age and who have herded cattle together as boys. The members of age-set A are married men and probably the fathers of families. The age-set is static and new sub-divisions do not reach that grade until a new and formal division between the two age-sets is made. Age-set B, however, is continually increasing in number as new sub-divisions are formed. The number of individuals in each sub-division will vary and the rapidity with which new sub-divisions are formed is not constant. After an indefinite period age-set B will be too large for practical purposes and very much larger than A. Moreover, the older sub-divisions of A will

be getting too old for active military service. Many may already be dead. The organisation has thus reached an unbalanced and unwieldy stage and a new division must be made. 561

It is not clear on whom the decision rests but it is usually the warriors of the younger age-set who initiate the suggestion that a reshuffling takes place. They are anxious to take over the duties and prerogatives of their elders. Some informants state that any man of outstanding personality of the lower age-set could suggest himself as a new war-leader or '*Bañ*' and on his initiative, as representative of the younger age-set which is anxious for promotion, a division would be made.

The *Ngol* or "Cutting" ceremony then takes place and the sub-divisions are reorganized into two age-sets, while the members of age-set A pass out into retirement. Age-set B is in fact divided into two, so that they are approximately equal in numbers.



In this figure the division has been made between sub-divisions 3 and 4 of age-set B. Sub-divisions remain undivided internally and the individual Shilluk remains a member of the sub-division he originally

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, 561
though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there 881
are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, 535
and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social 881
dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* [622]
of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. 858
He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter [626]
ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate 881
and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul*
[534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting
[411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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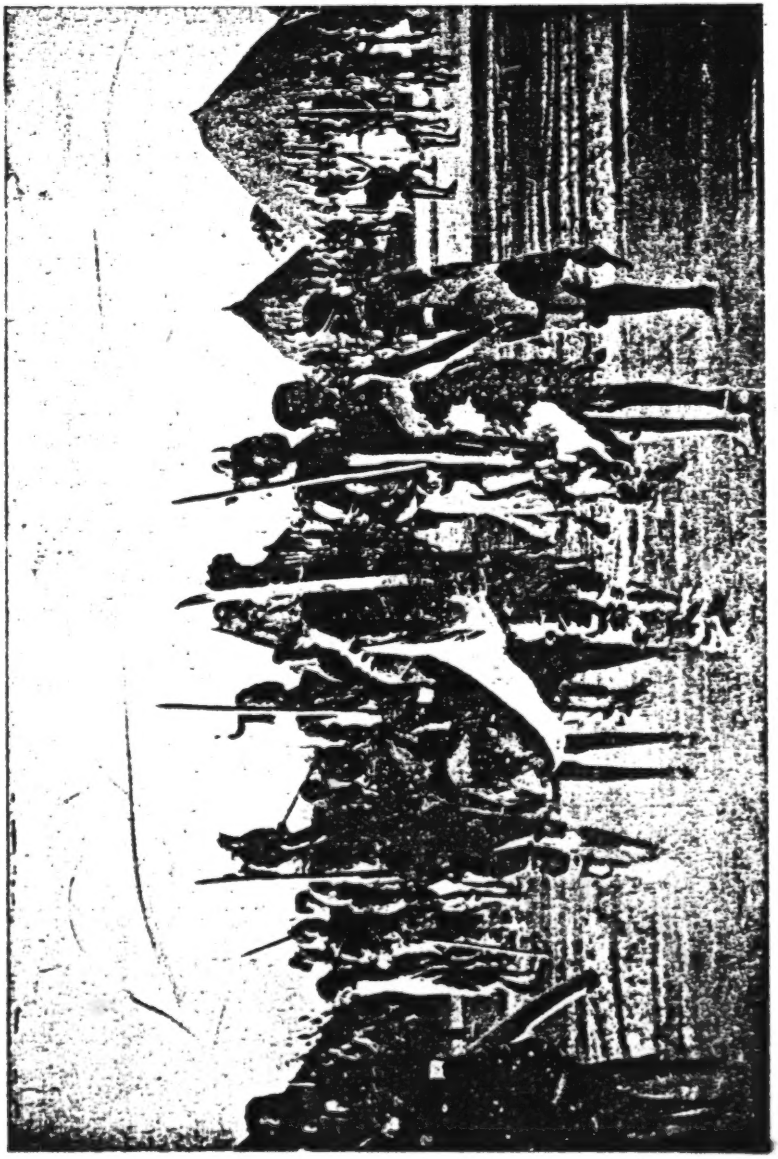

THE DANCE IN PROGRESS.

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WARRIORS SALUTE THE DRUM.

[p.62 B]

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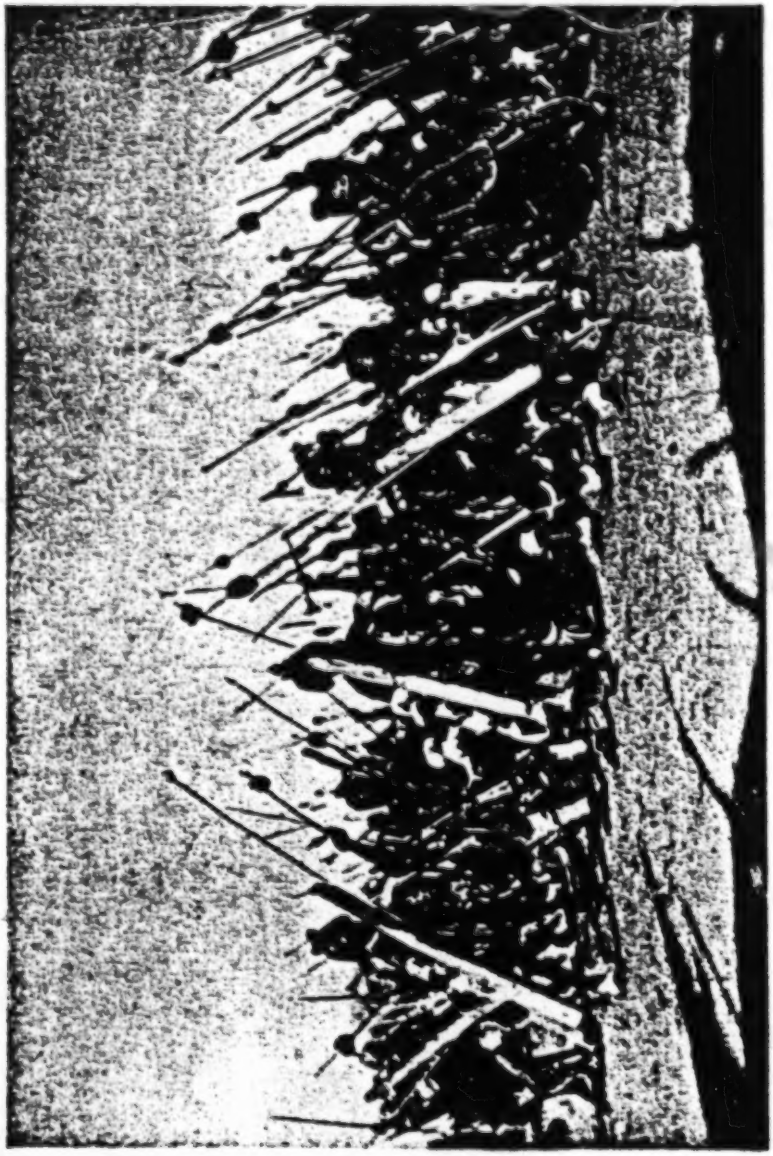

WARRIORS SALUTE THE CHIEF.

[p. 62 c]

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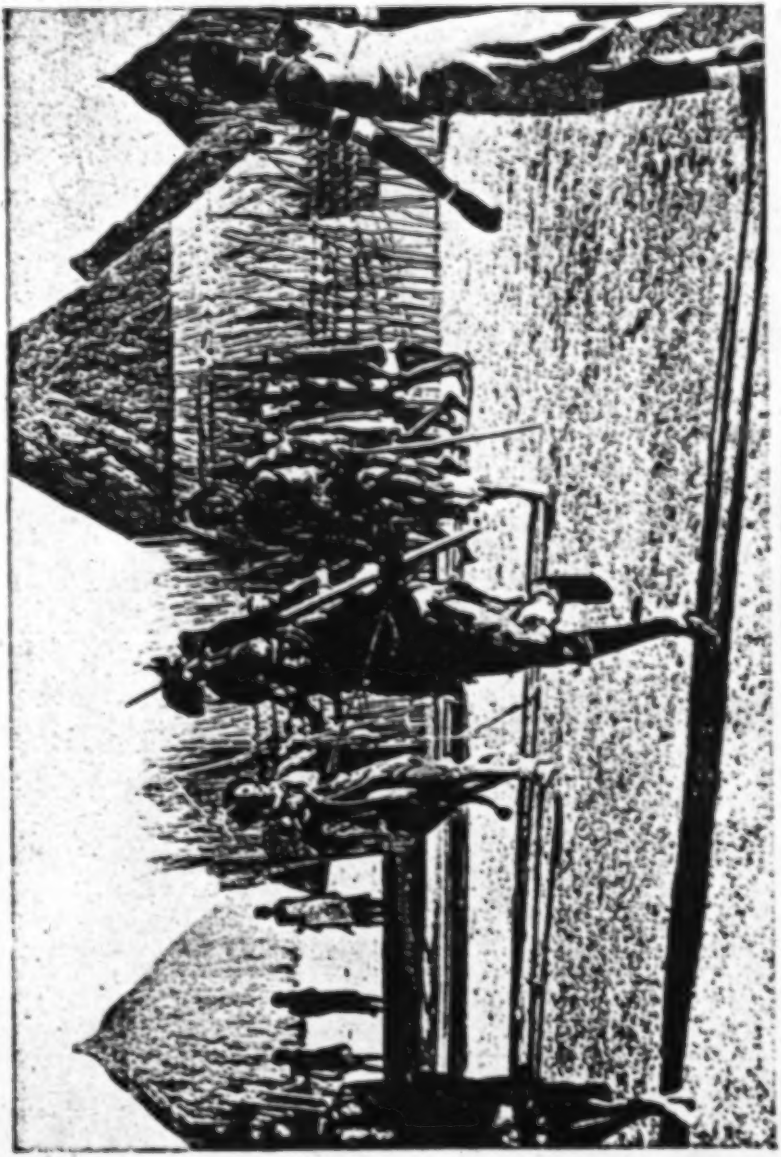

[p. 62 D]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

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535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walk Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walk Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

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476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

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[561] Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote
182 of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former
701 purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the
726 threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch
621 of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against
[613] attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest
561 lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is
701 chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set
182 system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.*
561 Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original
721 purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and
621 economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

[174 * The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Leak*, which are described in
732 Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants
of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore
124 likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-
day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are
reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a
full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

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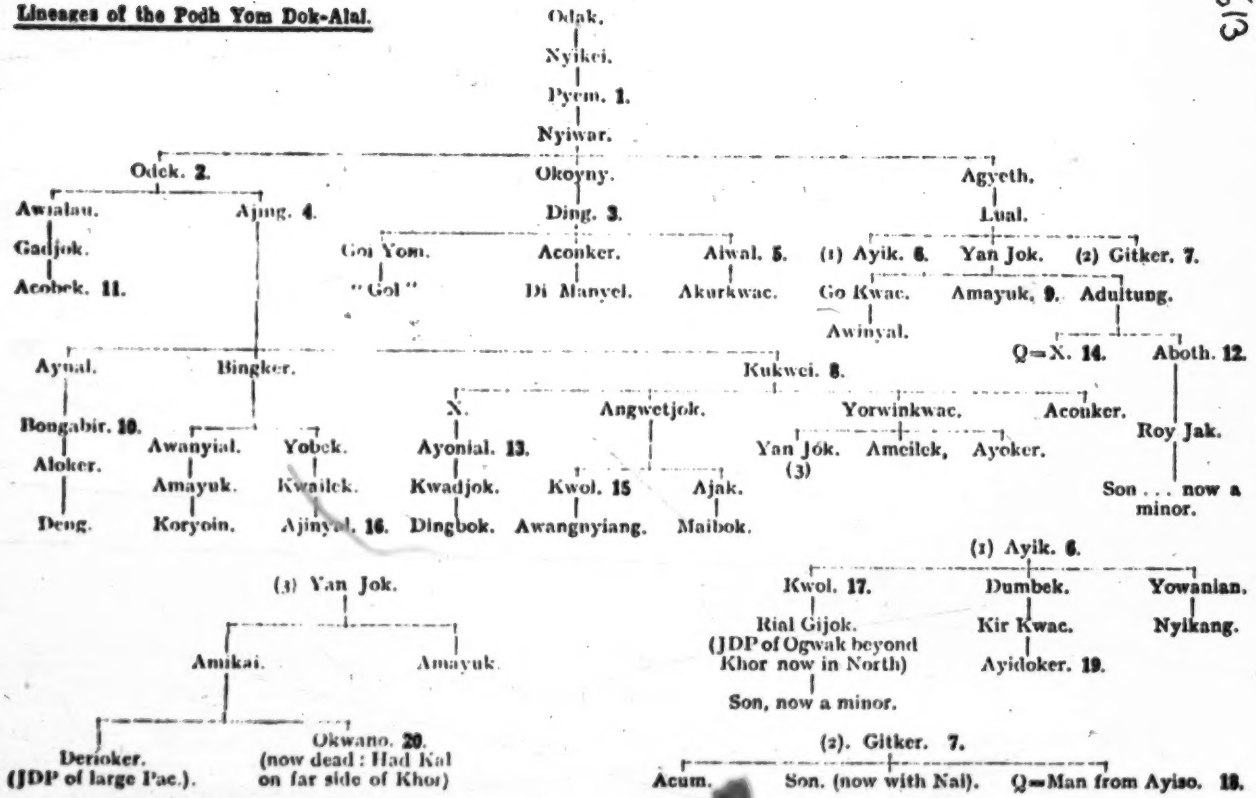
Lineages of the Podh Yom Dok-Alal.



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Printed by McCorquodale & Co. (Sudan), Ltd.

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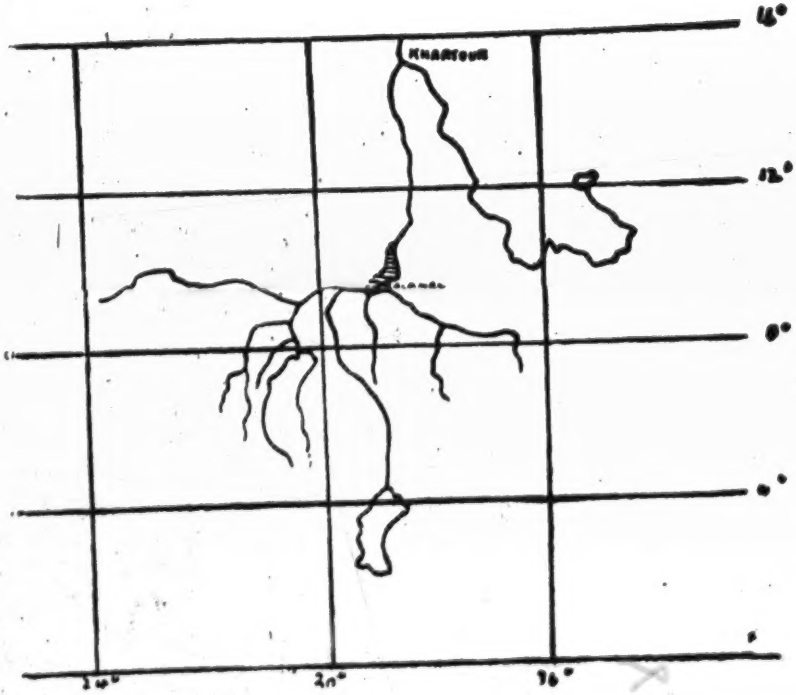

THE SHADED POSITION SHOWS THE TERRITORY OF THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

101 [B1] [19]

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

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1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 631 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is the village or *bac*.[2]

[614] [621]

565 614 644 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement": *S.N.R.* XXIV. 1941.

3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.

For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

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ANEI KUR, RETH OF THE SHILLUK.

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they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan 565 614 [644]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwa*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 644

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth's* daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect. 565 614 644 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

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105 similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka. They have, however, an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy, of which there is no counterpart among their more democratic Nilotic neighbours, and which shows more definite and developed principles than those found in the institution of kings among the Anuak and chiefs among the Acholi. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere or a natural and spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking peoples is a controversial subject, which we do not propose to discuss here.[4]

SHILLUK RELIGION AND THE TRADITION OF NYIKANG.

776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral diety is called Juok. Juok is the Shilluk conception of God and is present to a greater or lesser degree in all things. Juok is the explanation of the unknown, the reassuring justification of all the supernatural phenomena, good or bad, of which life is made up. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang. The distinction between them is not clear. Nyikang is Juok, but Juok is not Nyikang, for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place as the hero-leader of Shilluk tradition. He is also the first *reth* of the Shilluk and the founder of the royal 643 house. Further the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk 776 *reth*, and thus exists both in the past and the present Nyikang is [775] the *reth*, but the *reth* is not Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define. The Shilluk themselves would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the *reth* represent the line through whom divinity runs, a conception which may be expressed as an analogy to the ancestor cult, only the cult is symbolic of the tribe as a whole rather than of the Kwareth alone or other individual kinship groups. The *reth* is clearly himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached, and is the human intercessor of mankind with God. Voluntarily by

4. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (1934), p. 60.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers. 643 776

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fafiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th *reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hoffmeyer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey. (*Vide* Appendix IV). 173 643

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these: 643

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*. [669]

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and [644]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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which he said were for his personal use at night, since they would not glint and reveal his movements.

[644 591]

4. All sons of *reths* are brought up in a village away from Fashoda (either their mother's or that of some Shilluk chief who has agreed to adopt them), and there lead a somewhat secluded life.

The king or *reth* of the Shilluk is a classic example of Frazer's conception of a divine king. The argument resolves itself into the following essentials :-

1. The king has power over nature, which may be exerted voluntarily or involuntarily.
2. He is considered the dynamical centre of the universe.
3. Hence the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and the course of his life ; both must therefore be carefully regulated.

The fourth essential, which Frazer stresses later in the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, is that of 'king killing.' By this he means that the physical condition of the king reacts upon the fortunes of his people and must not be impaired. Therefore, if the king shows signs of senility or physical imperfection, he must be removed, and a successor substituted.[5] The only way to remove him is to kill him. Among the Shilluk there is abundant and current evidence of the first three essentials both in the regulations which control the *reth's* life and the rites and ceremonies performed at his installation. There is evidence also of 'king killing.' There are in fact two forms of 'king killing' among the Shilluk :-

(i) According to tradition the *reth* may be strangled or suffocated by his wives if he fails to satisfy them, or shows signs of illness or senility, which may effect the welfare of the tribe. This is supported by tradition only.

5. See C. G. Seligman. *Egypt and Negro Africa*. p. 4.

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(ii) The *reth* may, at any time, be killed by a rival claimant to the throne. This is clear from tradition and is supported by the current evidence of the extraordinary precautions taken to avert possible attack during his lifetime, especially during the installation, and from the more recent events of Shilluk history. 643

These two forms of 'king killing' are not quite the same thing. The first is motivated by a desire to avoid the national consequences of the *reth's* waning physical powers upon the people as a whole. The second is motivated by the desire of a rival claimant to seize the *reth*ship. There is, however, a connection between the two, since the rival—always the son of a *reth*—will have more chance of success if the *reth* is unpopular because of tribal disasters which are attributed to his physical deterioration.

In September 1943, *reth* Fafiti Yor of the Shilluk, who had held office for twenty six years, died. That same year Anei son of *reth* Kur was elected his successor, and was finally installed at the capital of Shilluk *reths*, Fashoda, in March 1944. The late Professor Seligman speaking on the subject of divine kingship[6] said, "If it be permissible to speculate on the deeper significance of the beliefs and ceremonies I have described, more weight should, I suspect, be given to the complicated installation ritual of the Divine King than has hitherto been the case. In the past there has been an over emphasis on his ceremonial death. It is for future research to unravel the many emotional trends woven into the installation and rejuvenation ceremonies. For it is in these especially that the emotional projection upon the Divine King of his people's deepest desires for life, fertility, and prosperity find their clearest expression."

Our purpose here has been to record as accurately as possible all the ceremonial, all the diverse ritual and the public events which took place to ensure that Fafiti was safely laid to rest and his soul conducted peacefully to a new status in the ancestral hierarchy of the royal house, and to establish his successor firmly upon the throne. 121 643

6. *loc. cit.*, p. 61

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123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk—to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [514] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event—at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement—soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

128 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear :-

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1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly [715] appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential [669] danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either [648] in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated How much greater than must

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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[178] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth: The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth: A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa: Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak: Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro. "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 145 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. [194]

Recent Shilluk History.

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[8] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure; he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *wyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwathker, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (Note 2) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

8. Fashoda the capital of the *reth* is actually 13 miles upstream of Kodok.

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between the north and the government on the one side and the south on the other. Kwathker was captured and died in chains in Fashoda gaol. Ajang Nyidhok, who had never been tribally installed, was soon deposed also on ground of disloyalty, and the *reth*ship was abolished by the *mudir*.

The experiment of administering the Shilluk without a *reth* did not work, and the troubles of the government were if anything increased. After a massacre of government troops at Kaka in 1875, the experiment was given up, and Kweikwon, a son of *reth* Kwathker was appointed *reth*. Some five years later in 1881, Kweikwon went on an expedition with the *mudir* of Fashoda to attack the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir in the eastern Nuba Mountains. The force was annihilated, and Kweikwon and the *mudir* were both killed.

An interregnum then occurred, until Yor Akoc, having gone to El Obeid and received the blessing of the Mahdi, installed himself in Fashoda. Relations with the Mahdi, however, and his sucessor, the Khalifa Abdullahi, did not long remain cordial. The Shilluk people were expected to provide corn and slaves in abundance, and when *reth* Yor failed to do so willingly, the wrath of the Khalifa descended upon him. The Emir Zeki Tummal set up a fort near Kodok, and ravaged the Shilluk country from top to bottom, eventually capturing *reth* Yor near Tonga and beheading him in the Dervish camp.

Kur Nyidhok, a first cousin of Kwathker, threw in his lot with the Emir, and went to Omdurman to pay homage to the Khalifa, who confirmed him as *reth*, and called him Abd el Fadil. While Kur was away in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, raised a faction, and after a struggle, was prevented by the northern Shilluk from installing himself in Fashoda. *Reth* Kur lasted till 1903, when he was deposed by the present government on the grounds that his rule was unjust and oppressive; he may have been a victim of slanderous reports sent in to Kodok by eligible *nyireth*.

He was replaced by Fadiet, a son of Kwathker, a government nominee.

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Fadiet died in 1917, and once more the Shilluk were divided between Fafiti Yor and Coti the son of the Turkish puppet Ajang, with the south supporting the latter; the government, had to intervene and instal and protect Fafiti by force. 175 643

From this short account it can readily be seen that the customary procedure of the *reth's* election had not taken place undisturbed for nearly one hundred years and perhaps much longer.

The effect of this stormy history in 1943 made it very difficult for the elders to remember what the procedure was in all the details. There was a constant urge to get back to the old tradition, but often quite important items were omitted or forgotten, and had to be done at the last minute in a hurry. Not even Shilluk custom stands still; it varies with the capacities of people's memories and also it is affected by outside influences. It is not a hard and fast pattern into which everything must fit. The Shilluk would like it to be, but are not always equal to the task. Certain aspects of the traditional ceremonies cannot now take place; it is no longer practicable to keep up the traditions of Dak, the son of Nyikang and great Shilluk conqueror. For example in days gone by, two subsections of the Shilluk, Akwabai near Fashoda and Abuor near Kaka, used to raid north to get the various things required in the ceremonies for the installation of the *reth*. There is now a tendency to buy these things in Kosti market. 178 643

The events which we describe fall in to four main periods:— 643

1. The death and burial of *reth* Fafiti Yor and the funeral dances held for him.
2. The election of Anei Kur.
3. The formal installation of *reth* Anei in Fashoda.*
4. Subsequent events which have occurred after his installation, which were motivated by a desire to confirm the *reth*, and which throw light on the nature and function of the Shilluk monarchy.

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9. During the ceremonies of installation we were ably assisted by other observers, notably Mr. John Longe and the Rev. D. McClure.

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PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bugon*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women [237] were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. [293] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* [644] Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

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a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Dervishes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. [177] It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected [177] with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this.

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. 643 In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the [732] Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die.

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about 643 the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would 766 not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation

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643 of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time
of the early maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth*
766 elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over
quicaly; maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something
to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a
desire to get all the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the
reth had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased
that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a
government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty
cut down as far as possible

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion
on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an
interesting gauge, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had
been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through
643 various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being
a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk
[668] to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his
obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many
years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period
of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of
[669] *reth* Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have
been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk
was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last
years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he
was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their
766 men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered
for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but
[626] public opinion required that those who could, should help according
to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was
more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived
farther away.

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(P.P.H.)

The funeral dance of the late *reth* was held in his private village on 7th, 8th, 9th of November, 46 days after his death. The dance is known as *wowo* in Shilluk, and is different from that held for other members of the tribe, which is called *ywok*. 766

All arrangements are in the hands of the *kwareth*, and Colo chiefs have no say in the matter at all. At the outset there was considerable argument among the *kwareth* over the form of the dance and the length of time it should last. The new *reth* and the family of Fafiti took one side and some of the *kwareth* chiefs the other. This argument affords an interesting example of how the form of Shilluk tradition becomes blurred from lack of use and the attention which is paid to past precedents. It is worth noting in this context that the dance held in 1913 for *reth* Fadiet lasted for two days only in his private village (*i.e.* the village where he had lived before he succeeded to the throne), and that he had held no dance at all for his predecessor *reth* Kur, no doubt owing to the circumstances attending the end of Kur's reign. This neglect on the part of Fadiet so angered his successor Fafiti, that he hurled the royal drums into the Nile, refusing to beat them for Fadiet, who had not fulfilled his traditional obligations to Kur, and held the dance with Fadiet's own drums. Therefore the dance of Fafiti had to be held with his own drums, for the traditional royal drums no longer exist (Note 5). The *reth* and Fafiti's family maintained that the proper period for a royal funeral dance was four days in the private village of the late *reth*. Other *kwareth* said that it should be two days only in the village of the late *reth* followed by an optional dance in Fashoda lasting four days at the discretion of the *reth*-elect. It should be noted, however, that this claim goes back to events several generations ago, for no dance was held at Fashoda either for Kur or Fadiet and probably not for their predecessors, who died unnatural deaths during the Turkish administration and the Mahdia. The new *reth* declared his intention of holding a dance of four days at Fashoda after the ceremonies at Pareth Fafiti, but at the last minute the counsel of the *kwareth* must have prevailed, for the [644] 182 766

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182 766 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

[614] 766 The duties of organizing the dance and of beating the drums fall to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorized persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 776 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return [644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 766 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :--

631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth's* mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fangor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. 644 648 602

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth's* burial. This 361 766 778

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THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.

301
534
766

1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

291
534
766
312

2.—The drums of Fafiti.

There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

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766 homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk [778] *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, [411 727] were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought 439 from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the [177 648] anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

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drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled. 766 [535]

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes. [533]

The Public Dance.

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride – one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands. 766 535

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior 766 [643]

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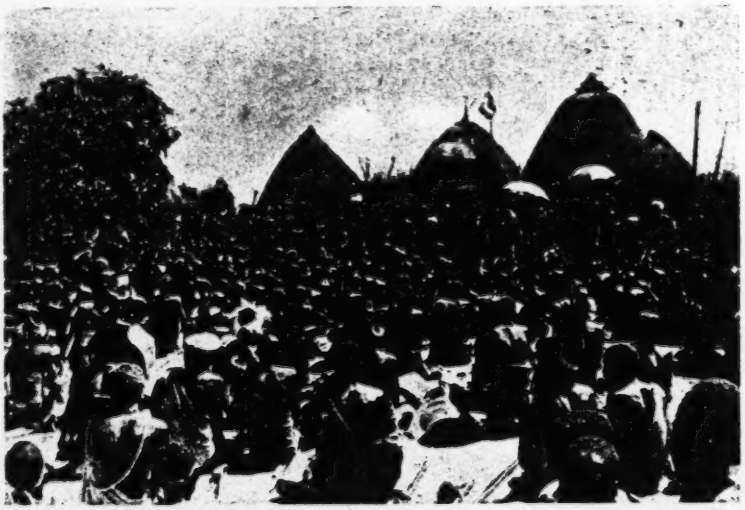
THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.
(*Second day*)

291
411
766
701

3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late *reth*.

766
516



4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late *reth*.

[FACING p. 26]

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766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[411] The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. 703 They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and [535] danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *wuo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the 781 crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Dak, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere.

766 [781] [782 783]

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang

643

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *nyireths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *nyireths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *nyireths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

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643 viously, but was not known to have died). The sons of Fafiti were not serious competitors as it was generally agreed that it was not their turn; there was no doubt about that. The claim of the sons of Fadiet was not so easily settled. The head of the line was invited, with an elder from the same house, to an unofficial meeting, and he agreed to forego any claim for his line at the election, though the Shilluk say that he was given a more or less firm assurance that next time an election was to take place the house of Fadiet would provide the *reth*. Responsible Shilluk opinion accepted this, although we believe that unofficially certain elements among the southern Shilluk (Fadiet's country) would like to have seen a *reth* chosen from one of Fadiet's sons. Had one of them been chosen, we think it would generally have been held to be irregular. There remained the sons of *reth* Kur, who were considered to be more eligible than the others, as their father had been *reth* before Fafiti or Fadiet, and no *reth* had yet been chosen from his children.

It is often said that a *reth* nominates his successor. Fafiti, in his [177] life time, agreed that that was the old practice before outside influences and governments started to interfere with the Shilluk, and this may well be so, or at least be the tradition, for Fafiti was a mine of Shilluk history. However in the last 100 years or so it has not been done, and Fafiti never intended to nominate his successor. It is clear, however, that a candidate nominated by a dying *reth* is still subject to confirmation or otherwise, by what we may call the "electoral college."

What Fafiti did do was to take under his wing Anei, one of the sons of Kur, and bring him up, as he himself had been brought up by *reth* Kur. Anei was known to be favoured by Fafiti, and he was even given outward signs of recognition by him, such as silver bracelets to designate him as a favourite At Fafiti's death Anei was not nominated, but it was well known that in fact he was Fafiti's choice. Anei later told us that Fafiti used [illegible]ay that if he were lucky he would be chosen *reth*. This designation by a popular *reth* would seem to be an important factor in the choice of the new *reth*.

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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [174]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [614 644]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first *reth*.

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173 631 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two nearest to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbainy a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Arepejur just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbainy of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the *reth* they may have acted as messengers of the *reth*, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the *reth* the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 631 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix I. Of the eleven Cclo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbainy, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his [614] lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government or the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Colo chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each *reth* appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected *reth*—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are venerable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the *reth*ship are descended directly from the sons of *reth* Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1903 and 1917 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of *reth* Fafiti was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "canvassing" of one of the sons of *reth* Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

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government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, "if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" —presumably to prepare for war. 631 643 666 669

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying." 631 643 666

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyiruths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists. 643 669

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as follows. A *nyiruth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyiruth* and his chief an insurrection is impos- 643 669 622

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643 sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of
669 warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for
[622] only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolize his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

631 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts
643 to receive the homage, unoffically and without ceremony, of the chiefs of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross
643 discourtesy. The *reth*'s brothers too all come, or should come, to
644 pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear

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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

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had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *ryireths* throughout the country. Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building: it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pathe maayo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

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693 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This [173] embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reik*, and contributed [137] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Duk, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[12] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Duk and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Duk", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

693 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 334 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reik*. They are worn by the *reik* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reik's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

693 The houses of Pashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[12] *cf.* In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

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There were various dignitaries created *fagos* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *nyireths*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January. A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372] 326

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle.

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

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THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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1.—Dak leads, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

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2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of Rek Fadil.

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643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
782 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
773 is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
775 at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Dak are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Dak. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Dak makes periodical ex-
643 cursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stools[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyiger.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 61 ff.

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THE EFFIGIES.

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to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

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As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sou beside him, the escort chants
643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *bangreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, 533
while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual 535
songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed 643
the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a [207] byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. [516] Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying [482] baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The 535
two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced 643
before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they 778
proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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535 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
778 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
778 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[533] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing
[535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[415 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his
[755] forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced 643
an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed."

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew 643
up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep 778
was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang [533
and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house pre- 535]
pared for him and went in. Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house.

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang *from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He* 643
and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days.

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the [644]
morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied

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643 by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food, [644] and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reth* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are [372] ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reth*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice. [114] Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munro in his account of the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reth* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reth* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up residence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

613 776 The *reth's* stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reth* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reth* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reth* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

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resentment at the new *reth's* presumption in occupying Fashoda at all 643
becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang 776
is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies.

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were 643
being made. The small grass huts called *adul*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands.

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived 643
from Lul and passed through Debalo. This was the party responsible 778
for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocoro in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They [644]
were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not alowed to see them. According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Aturwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole [787]
through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle. If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy

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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth's* stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
686] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern
643 divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepujur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepujur symbolises the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

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reth is ceremonially impressed upon the minds of all his people. It is 616
the occasion when the *reth* is formally recognized by the Shilluk as a 631
whole. The public nature of the ceremony must be emphasized be- 643
cause prior to it, only limited sections of society—Kwareth, Ororo and the Colo chiefs—have been concerned.

The ceremonies which are enacted on this day are divided into 643
four distinct phases with a variety of ritual observance in each :-

1. The simultaneous march of the opposing armies to the high ground immediately south-west of Fashoda, and the mock battle which follows.

2. The capture of the *reth* by Nyikang, and the procession to the shrine of Nyikang in Fashoda.

3. The enthronement of the effigy of Nyikang on the sacred stool, the substitution of the *reth* for Nyikang on the stool, and the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang.

4. The retirement of the *reth* into the temporary camp, which is specially built for the occasion on the open ground immediately facing the shrine.

5. The ritual lighting of new fire by the Ororo and Kwareth just before sundown.

The first two phases are public and concern the tribe as a whole. The third phase, which retains a degree of mystery, is witnessed by limited sections of the population from outside and is screened even from them by a canopy. The *reth*'s retirement into the temporary camp concerns him and certain traditional functionaries alone, and the rites which follow are carried out in strict secrecy. The fire-making ceremony concerns chiefly the inhabitants of Fashoda and the *reth*'s immediate followers.

The main events of each phase are described from the records of all the observers who attended. We have deliberately avoided an over-detailed description of the events and behaviour of the participants,

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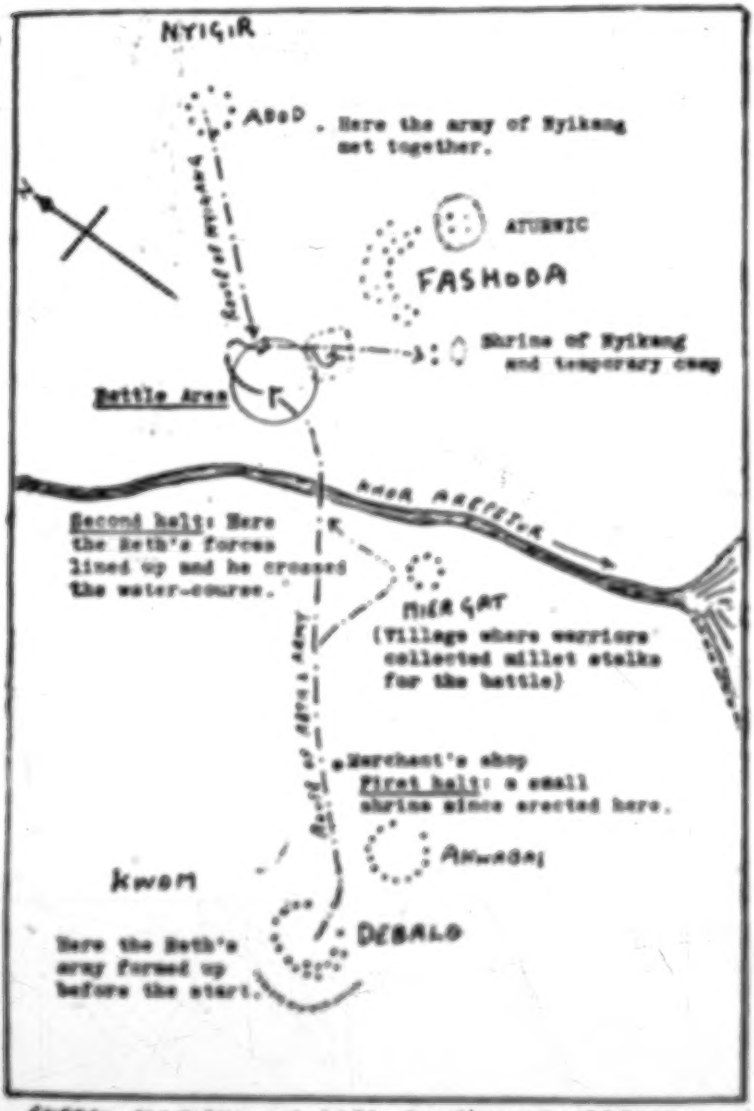

SKETCH-MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

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643 for the really significant rites would thus be lost. More detailed descriptions and explanations are recorded in the Notes with numbered references in the text.

The Reth's March From Debalo to Arepejur.

On the morning of March 11th, the *reth* was still at Debalo, and his warriors, together with some of the chiefs of the south who had come in to pay homage to him the day before, began to assemble in the village. By 8 a.m. there were large clusters of them seated in the shade around the houses ready to move off when the *reth* was ready. At this point of the proceedings we were told that the Kwa Okelo, who should have been at Debalo by then, were not ready, and that they were known to be mustering at their village which is only a mile from Debalo. There were obvious signs of preparation within the *reth's* hut, but we saw nothing of significance except the sheep and goats which had been taken that morning from the self-confessed adulterers and seducers of girls. The sheep and goats were brought to the *reth's* house in charge of four men but they were driven back to the cattle byre from which they had been brought after a few minutes. Meanwhile a message had been sent out to the Kwa Okelo to tell them to hurry and to bring with them the small girl (*eya kwer*), (Note 7) who plays so important a part in the ceremonies.

About an hour and half later the Kwa Okelo could be seen in the distance to the south of Debalo. Behind them and mustering in another village were the Kwa Ojul. Both parties began to move off in the direction of Debalo. On their arrival they drew up in close formation outside the village and near to the *reth's* hut. They were 533 carrying spears but no shields and were singing songs. The gist of these songs was that Nyikang had returned with the wind. In the midst of the Kwa Okelo a small cluster of women could be seen and among them *eya kwer*, and in front of them was a single man who carried aloft a small basket covered with a grass mat, doubtless *eya kwer's* "luggage." The Kwa Okelo marched into Debalo, but the Kwa Ojul remained outside and did not join the procession until the

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The First Day of the Installation.

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1.—Dwaala. Just before the march to Fashoda.
The *reth* dressed in white with a dark cash is standing outside his quarters awaiting the gathering of his warriors.

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2.—Aanwyna. Casting the black bull over which the *reth* must step before the crowning.

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reth had left his house, when they drew up on the north side of the village to take over the heifer which traditionally they must lead backwards from Debalo to Fashoda. This heifer, a brown one, had been brought into the village previously, and was already tethered in the centre. The Kwa Ojul, however, had brought with them the sheep over which the *reth* must step at Khor Arepejur. 643

Meanwhile the *reth's* body-guard and the Ororo were clustering round the entrance to the *reth's* hut. It was difficult to see any definite formation of clans at this point, and there was some confusion about positions, but the Kwa Okelo, and with them *Nya Awer*, who was completely surrounded by women, were in the centre of the village. Jago Yolniker Ajang, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was much in evidence and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin (Note 8), and it was presumably his traditional duty to get the assembly into some order. [644]

From out of the *reth's* compound there first came his women attendants who had accompanied him from Fashoda and carried with them cooking materials and food in baskets (Note 9). Immediately after this the assembly drew up in roughly semi-circular formation facing the *reth's* hut and began to clap and sing in honour of the *reth*. The *reth* then appeared at the door of the homestead, and, stepping over a white sheep which had been pegged down in front of him, he stood with his back to the fence facing the multitude. The spear, wrapped in white cloth, and which together with the beads of Ororo is collectively known as Nyikang was brought out and held beside him. After much singing and acclamation the *reth* moved forward and, heavily guarded by the Ororo, took up his position in the centre of the village. The procession was then ready to start. Kwa Ojul, who never came into the centre of the village, began to drag the heifer backwards at the front of the procession, but abandoned the attempt lower down the slope. Thenceforth it was led in the normal way, but scarcely visible for the crowds who surrounded it. The party then moved off in the direction of Fashoda, and a white bull, which had been tethered in the centre of the village alongside the heifer already mentioned. [645] [778]

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643 was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move far. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal.
578 The argument arose over the privilege of sowing cowry shells in the
619 *reik's* path on his journey to Fashoda. Kwa Mal maintained that
643 it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yoleiker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *ryiwok* Nyawein, the eldest son of the late *reik*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sowing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the
578 plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went.
643 Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of Nyikang, which should be carried before the *reik* (Note 10), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *reik*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojul on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *reik's* messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *reik* himself :—

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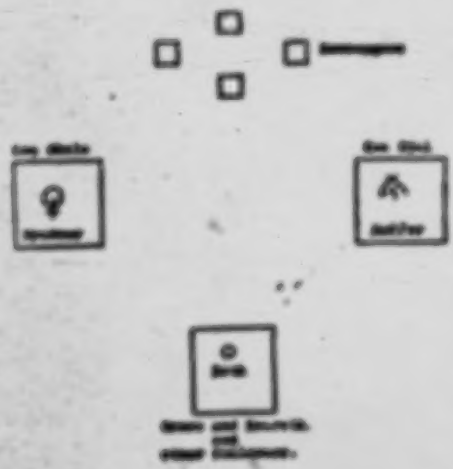

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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojal went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debale, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan in fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ouro and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debale, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

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643 773 787 821 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth*'s army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (No. 10 (3)). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows:-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda.

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, perparations were made for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without bowing low and saying *Kwo dilong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat bas-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not

[15]. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the ranger of Dak and Gel as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

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643 happy to be given to *Kwas*"? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwas*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwas*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty 277 and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no 778 one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwas* speaks. *Kwas*, you are great *Kwas*, speak to us."

Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying 553 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and 643 each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle 534 of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *ikem*). The beat was 778 not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

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66. *Kwas*—our translation.

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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
"*Kwas*, you are great, *Kwas*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongere*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong:.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together "*Kwas dibong, Kwas dibong*", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say "*Kwas dibong*", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the "things of Nyikang" such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, [793]
and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyikang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows:—"Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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643 782 so many cows, sheep, spears, etc., and now the people were thrusting themselves upon Nyikang to make sure these things would be delivered to them. They were begging Nyikang to speak to them and assure them that the things would be forthcoming. In all the ceremonies I witnessed the element of begging was paramount, the people begging Nyikang to speak to them and promise them "things of the [781] earth" to enrich them. The element of worship and adoration was singularly lacking. (Note 14)

643 778 After this song everyone turned their backs to the opening of the *kal* (enclosure), and the drums started to beat again. This time the people were silent, and soon Dak appeared and came out of the enclosure. Dak was about twelve feet high, carried on a long bamboo pole. The body of the figure was about eighteen inches long and approximately five inches thick, of a cylindrical shape wrapped about with blue and white checked cloth. It was crowned with a splendid plume of ten to dozen ostrich feathers, all black. Dak was carried by a middle aged man, and I was told that he would receive 'great riches' for his work, probably three or four cows. Dak circled the house three times and then came to rest again at the entrance. At [782] this time two sheep were sacrificed, one at the door of the *kal* and the other beside the road in the direction of Fashoda. These sheep were allowed to lie where their throats had been cut, but I noticed later that, as soon as the procession had passed, the women of the village went out and dragged them in to be eaten.

As Dak stood at the entrance, the drums changed their beat and everyone began to chant "*Kwaa*, you are great". Then Nyikang appeared out of the house and took his place beside Dak. He was carried by a man of middle-age. Nyikang was much larger in body than Dak, though not nearly so tall. I estimated the body of the figure as being about five feet long and a foot thick. It was wrapped in the same cloth as Dak and crowned with a much more profuse plume of ostrich feathers. Two long streamers fell away from the head and

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him.

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind.

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kel ui jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our boggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them.

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debaio. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

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The First Day of the Installation.

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541

5.—The battle between the two armies outside Fushoda.

[FA]

6.—After the battle the suit is seized by Dyibang and led off to Fushoda. The suit is concealed by Dyibang.

[FACING P. 60]

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643 [778]

Just as the king's party was sighted, four men came out of Fashoda carrying the sacred shield and spear of Nyikang. As Nyikang and Dak approached this group there was something of a scuffle, as if the shield and spear were loath to join the procession. But after a short sham battle and much waving of spear and shield, they were persuaded to march with Nyikang, and the procession again moved on to meet the king and his followers at Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda. This is the traditional battle ground, on which the forces of the king and those of Nyikang join in a great sham battle, both sides using corn stalks instead of spears, and fighting until the followers of Nyikang overcome the guardians of the king and capture the king to carry him away into Fashoda.

643 941

The two armies were now drawn up facing one another, the host of Nyikang awaiting to join battle with the *reth* and holding the high ground to the west of the capital.

The Battle

(P.P.H.)

As soon as the *reth* had crossed the watercourse, he and his army advanced at a fast pace in the direction of the host of Nyikang, who had remained on the high ground opposite Fashoda. When the distance between the two parties was no more than two hundred yards the shield-bearer of the king moved forward, and began to dance in a threatening manner, dodging and retreating and advancing in the direction of Nyikang. Small parties of warriors broke away brandishing their millet stalks in the air. The warlike attitude of the opposing armies became apparent. The Kwa Nyikwom who were leading the army of Nyikang began to move, and a few of them broke away in front, brandishing their whips and ropes. Women in the background cried out in exultation and encouragement, and with wild shouts and hollows the armies fell upon each other. The air was filled with flying millet stalks, and such was the confusion that it is difficult to record accurately what happened, but the *reth's* army was considered to be repelled,

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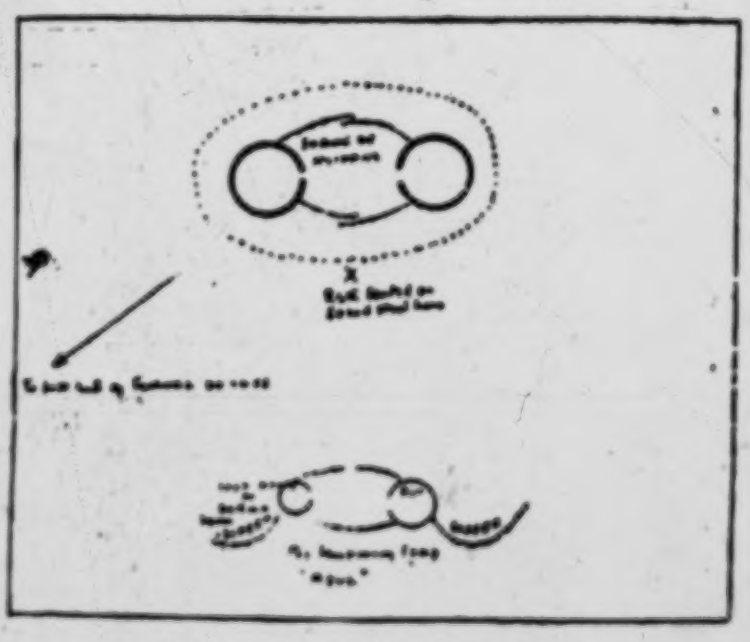

The Sign of the Rainmaker

[FACING P. 61]

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and the *reth* himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwom, cut off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black ostrich feathers screening his face. 643 541

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief *"rony arum,"* "the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

The Reth carried off to the Shrine by Nyikang.

The party with Nyikang and the *reth* in their midst then turned towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared space which marks the pool of Cerfuc (Note 15). The drums of Nyikang, of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared space called Cerfuc and halted. In the middle were a group of people clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while Nyikang, with the *reth* immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hang down from the head of the effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa Okelo speared the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred relics. 643 [614] [778]

The Enthronement and Substitution.

After the spearing of the heifer, the *reth*, still closely led by Nyikang, advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from 643 778

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643 the public gaze, and the ox-hides upon which it is placed, had already
[178] been brought out and set up at the entrance of the shrine, and the stool itself, heavily swathed in white cloth, was hurriedly carried out. Behind stood a Shilluk holding the fish-spear of Dak, which was also wrapped in white cloth. The party escorted by the Kwa Nyikwom with Dak well to the fore then moved up to the canopy, and the effigy of Nyikang was set upon the stool, while the *reth* knelt down and clasped the legs on the north side. The chief of Kwa Nyikwom knelt down and clasped the legs on the other side, and *nyakwer* seated herself to one side of the *reth*. After a long period of much chanting but no visible movement, the effigy of Nyikang was lifted from the stool and hurried into the shrine immediately followed by Dak, and the new *reth* took his place upon the sacred stool of the Shilluk, facing the crowd, but still well screened by the canopy. The place of the *reth* holding the stool for Nyikang was now taken by the *jal tyel kwom reth* (chamberlain). It was not possible to follow all the ceremonial which followed. The party was screened on three sides by the canopy, and the *reth* himself was surrounded by functionaries. The *reth* himself, seated on the stool but screened by the canopy, was facing the crowd, and the chamberlain and another Shilluk knelt on either side to hold the legs of the stool, while *nyakwer* was sitting on the ground to his left. In front was held the sacred spear of Nyikang, which had accompanied the *reth* from Debalo. The majority of the crowd had already dispersed and either took no further interest in the procedure or were not allowed to do so, and those who were watching close at hand were for the most part Kwareth, Ocero, or the attendants of Nyikang. Nevertheless this was the crisis of the ceremonies. The
[178] act of substitution upon the stool symbolizes to the Shilluk the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang, and we saw that the *reth* was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards, when he walked across to the temporary camp opposite the shrine.

After sitting on the stool for about twenty minutes, facing the people, still screened by the canopy, the *reth* arose and escorted by the chief of the Kwa Nyikwom, who held his right hand, and by *nyakwer*,

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who held his left, walked across the open space in front of the shrine. 643
Here another ox, this time a black and white one, also swathed in white cloth and covered over the back with a leopard-skin decorated at the edges with cowrie shells, was tethered. Beside it stood two men of Kwa Ojul, one holding a crude straight-bladed sword, the other holding a spear. These were said to be yet further weapons of Nyikang, [778 782]
and each in turn was handed to the *reth*, who stood at the tail end of the ox, and with each he made three passes in the air over the back of the ox, which was then led off to be sacrificed.

The Temporary Camp

After this ceremony, the *reth*, still accompanied by the chief of Kwa Nyikwom and by the small girl *nyakwer*, entered the screen, which surrounded the temporary huts, and he himself entered the larger of them. These huts were built under the personal supervision [631]
of Jago Yor Letker and Jago Tabo, the chiefs of the south and north. The huts were built of grass, and similar to those built in Shilluk cattle camps. The larger was considered the *reth*'s temporary residence, the smaller the kitchen, where his food should be prepared and where the water was heated for the ritual bathing. The bull mentioned above was stripped of its coverings, which were again torn to pieces [782]
by the crowd, and the leopard skin was taken into the shrine of Nyikang. The bull was speared and fell to the ground immediately in front of the *reth*'s temporary camp. After this the public part of the first day's ceremonies was over. The *reth* had retired into seclusion, and those Shilluk who had remained to watch the ceremony of the stool soon dispersed and went off to rest in the shade around Fashoda. Only the Otuno, Kwareth and Kwa Nyikwom, the immediate attendants of the *reth*, remained to guard him and minister to his wants.

The effigies of Nyikang and Dak had already been carried into the shrine. The drums were also put away, and the sacred stool, which had been carelessly left with the canopy draped over it, was carried off, the canopy held around it so that no one could see it go.

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643 to the mound of Fashoda, which is called Aturwic, and with it the shield and spears of Nyikang.

The *reth* was now in seclusion. No one but his most personal attendants might visit him. We were told that he would be stripped, bathed, and clothed in new robes during that afternoon. It was neither seemly nor possible to enquire too deeply into this part of the investiture, for it is conducted in strict secrecy. There is evidence that this ritual bathing takes place within the temporary camp Adul, because the smaller of the two huts is known as the "bathing room." Shilluk say that the *reth* is bathed alternately with hot and cold water, so that he shall not be subjected to extremes of temperature. It is a symbolic rite emphasizing his people's desire that he shall rule them with even temper throughout his reign. The fact is mentioned by [119] Munro in his account of Fafiti's installation (Note 18), and informants confirmed the tradition at the installation of *reth* Anci.

During the heat of the day the main crowds dispersed to their homes, but there were still large numbers of Shilluk sitting in and around Fashoda that evening. Most of these were relatives and friends of the inhabitants of the capital, who provided them with [272] refreshment, since the ban on drinking beer was lifted after the *reth's* retirement. The Ororo and attendants of the *reth* were putting up wind-screens round the *reth's* camp, under which they would sleep [669] that night to guard him from possible attack. The danger to the *reth's* life was not yet over, a fact which repeatedly appeared from the care and attention of his guardians. The Shilluk describe this period of the ceremonies as "the *reth's* camp *outside* Fashoda", and it was evident that he had not, in the eyes of the Shilluk, entered his capital. His final acceptance by Nyikang and by the Shilluk people still remained in doubt, though one of the most dangerous periods of his initiation from election to final installation had been successfully passed.

The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the

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The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim then blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang.

The Making of New Fire at Fashoda.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire-making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth - Analyst]

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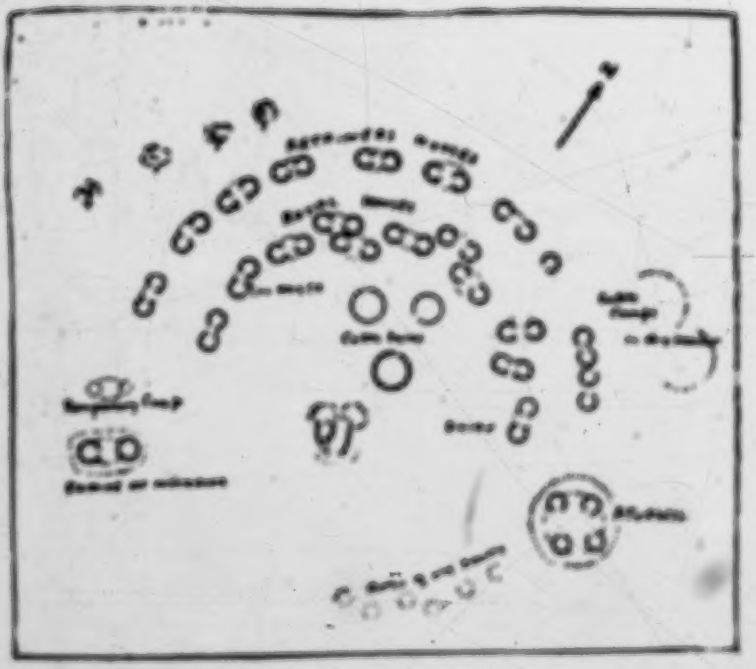

SKETCH PLAN OF FASHODA

[FACING P. 66]

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643 of fire ceremonially at Debalo has already been mentioned. This ceremony completed the first day. Nothing further occurred, though members of the Kwar Nyikwom danced and sang during the night, and sporadic drumming could be heard until the early hours of the morning.

INTERVAL.

During the two days after the *reth's* formal installation on the sacred stool no public ceremonies occurred. The *reth*, still in strict seclusion, moved only at night, and the rites enacted were conducted in secrecy. To the bulk of the people his whereabouts remained unknown. It appears that he spent one night in Adul (11th—12th March) and that the ceremony of tying on the sacred bead of Acoro took place on the morning of the 12th March. It was not possible [124] to witness any of these rites, and inquiries were met with evasion. An air of reticence and mystery veiled the scene. On the evening of the 12th and after dark, the *reth* went up into the mound Aturwic, and it is said he was enticed away by a woman of the Ororo (*nyororo*), leaving behind him *nyakwer*, the girl of Kwa Okel who had accompanied him from Debalo. During the night of 13th-14th the *reth* visited Dhidu, a house which is below the mound of Aturwic and nearest of all houses to it. This visit must also remain a mystery. Answers [124] were evasive and probably deliberately misleading, though some informants said it was the house occupied by the Ororo girl.

THE FOURTH DAY.

643 644 The ceremonies of the fourth day centre round the person of *nyakwer* and emphasise the continued opposition between Nyikang and the *reth*-elect. *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies", who is provided for the occasion by the Kwa Okel, and who accompanied the *reth* from Debalo, had entered the temporary camp Adul with the *reth*. Thus far her status and the part she plays in the ceremonies had remained obscure. It was not clear whether she could be regarded

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The Fourth Day of the Installation.

The army of Nyikang led by the Kwa Nyikwom and brandishing whips and ropes charges through Fashoda towards the *rakh*.

[Facing p. 67]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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as the wife of the *reth* or not. The answer depended on the cattle which had been handed over to the Kwa Okel by the *reth*, and whether they are considered bride-wealth or merely a reward for her services, in the same way as the sheep and cattle given to other expert functionaries who assist. The Shilluk say that the girl does not remain the wife of the *reth* and is handed to some favoured subject after the ceremonies are over. Up to this period in the ceremonies it was therefore problematical to us whether she is regarded as wife at all. The world *kwer* means literally "ceremony or ritual", and the girl is sometimes called *nyaroiny*, *roiny* being the term used for the induction ceremonies. This gives no clue to her status, but points to the ritual nature of her functions. The ceremonial acting of the fourth day, however, makes it quite clear that the cattle are indeed bride-wealth, and that she is regarded as the *reth's* wife, at any rate for the duration of the ceremonies.

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According to tradition, *nyakwer*, remains with the *reth* in seclusion in the temporary camp outside Fashoda until the second night, when he is enticed away by a girl of the Ororo, who induces him to follow her up into the mound called Aturwic. *Nyakwer*, neglected and forgotten, is left in the temporary camp, until Nyikang steals out from his shrine and carries her off with him. Only on the morning of the fourth day does the *reth* notice her absence and call for an explanation. The chief of the Kwa Okel, "the father of the girl", is summoned by the chief of Gol Dhiang, and is questioned by the *reth*. He denies all knowledge of her whereabouts. "Why do you not know?" demands the *reth*, "Have I not married her with cattle which are now in your possession? Go, bring her back to me." The chief of Kwa Okel goes off in search of her, but returns shortly afterwards to say that he has heard that Nyikang has seized her. He is ordered by the *reth* to fetch her, and goes off to request her return from Nyikang, using the *jago* of the Kwa Nyikwom as an intermediary. "Whose cattle are these?" says Nyikang, "Are they the *reth's* or are they mine?" (Note 19). The *jago* of Kwa Okel returns to the *reth*

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THE FOURTH DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.
Nyikang and Dak go up into the mound Aturwic to make peace with the *reth*.

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THE FIFTH DAY : SPEECH DAY.
The *reth* comes down from Aturwic.
He is second from the left and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

[FACING p. 68]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 644 with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth's* demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

643 541 This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon. [533 535] Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at their head. [778] At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

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Meanwhile the army of the *reth* was gathering below Aturwic, and the *reth*, dressed in white with a Mrs. Gray skin draped round him and five ivory bracelets on each arm, descended among them. Armed with millet stalks, they began to move slowly forwards in a threatening manner towards the army of Nyikang. When only a hundred yards separated them, a violent argument broke out about the bull, which should have been provided for the occasion to be tied down and walked over by the combatants (Note 21). Both parties retired and the *reth* went up on to the mound again, where he could be seen standing at the central entrance, a long millet stalk in his hand. Nyikang, Dak, and Cal retreated to a point just outside the shrine. After a long delay the bull was brought and placed between the two armies, who advanced, and the *reth* in front of his army walked forward to throw the first spear (millet stalk), which fell at the feet of Dak. Millet stalks began to fly, and in the general mêlée, the *reth* rushed forward with a small escort and wrested *nyakwer* from Nyikang, and hustled her away through the ranks of his warriors up to the mound behind them. Three furious counter-attacks followed by the Kwa Nyikwom, who dashed forward waving and whirling their ropes and whips. Finally, with Nyikang and Dak and Cal, at their head, they reached the bottom of the mound and went up to the huts on top. Shortly afterwards Nyikang and Dak descended from the mound. It was said that all hostility between Nyikang and the *reth* was now at an end, and that Nyikang had accepted him as his successor. Then they started on a tour of all the huts in Fashoda. This was considered an inspection of the houses, and those sections of Shilluk who are traditionally called upon to repair them were fined by Nyikang if they had not done so. The fines were one head of cattle each, and one chief was fined for initiating a song, the privilege of the Kwa Nyikwom. This part of the ceremonies was taken lightheartedly, and the victims subjected to much witticism.

Nyikang, Dak and Cal then retired to the shrine. They took no further part in the ceremonies and did not appear in public until

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SPEECH DAY.

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1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the *reth* as a sign of homage.

2.—The *reth's* party below Aturwic, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING p. 70]

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643 their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reth* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reth* was confirmed [693] as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all [202] the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At [778] the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reth* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reth* was led down [644] the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached [293] the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [293]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nylliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognize you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

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537 631 643 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reth* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reth* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reth*. Then the *reth* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reth*. "I have become your *reth*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 782 The assembly then arose, and the *reth* moved over to where the white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this came the final ceremony. The *reth*, accompanied by a few chosen followers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reth* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reth* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourite house of his father *reth* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reth* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

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PART IV.—SEQUEL.

FERTILITY RITES AND RAIN-MAKING.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, 643
and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour 789
of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This 782
was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters.

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, 643
which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early 789
rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An 787
old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This 766
showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd. and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Fafiti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty.

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th, April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days 643
previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 10 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils

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643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

778 643 535 Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24 p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*. [114]

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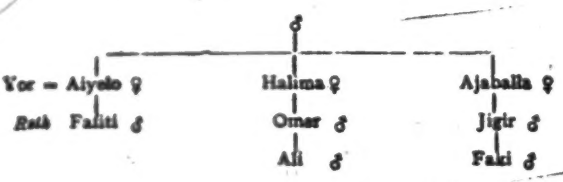
Note to Introduction.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

Notes to Part I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no funeral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizontally upon forked sticks.

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6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwa reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and cob by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lau*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301 302] [292] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 643 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 643 292

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue 643 644

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang; like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

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614 are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twot* is the word used for the *reth's* messengers.

643 12. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter [114] explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

192 643 13. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

778 14. Our impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

643 15. Cerfuc, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfuc is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 200 yards N.E. of Cerfuc.

778 16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

173 778 17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funy" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

000 18. P. Munro. "The installation of the *reth* of the Chol". *S. N. R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

643 778 19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 648

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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

631 The following chiefs composed the electoral college in 1943:-

643 1. Chief of Debalo Kwom (chief of Gol Nyikang).
666 2. " " Golbainy " " " Dhiang).
3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tonga.
5. " " Delal Ajak.
6. " " Bur Nyiliec (Athodwoi division).
7. " " Othecogo (Detwok division).
8. " " Fadit (Wau division).
9. " " Owaliny Obwa (Malakal division).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fanyikang.
12. " " Acago (Detwok division).
13. " " Fadiang (Golbainy division).
14. " " Yoiny (Fashoda division).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

[173] Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lan dwong* or "high robe of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lan dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lan dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lan dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lan dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

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The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 12, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. 631
(only seven names are given). 643
666

The Electoral College of 1917 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwoi, in place of the chief Bur Nyiliec (6), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abienyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyiliec, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abienyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1917 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy [662]
and the Kwareth chiefs of Fadiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed.

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of 643
bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body 778
at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long.

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

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Personal Equipment.

643 778 The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[534] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[415] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwic wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller.

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive

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APPENDIX III.

(W.P.G.T.)

List of Clans Participating in the Initiation Ceremonies.

References are made to the list of Shilluk clans in Westermann. *The Shilluk People* pp. 128-134. 614 643

Kwa Mal. The clan which claims the privilege of sowing cowrie shells in the path of the *reth* on his journey from Debalo to Arepejur. Westermann lists them as 2 and 2a, but assigns to them the functions which we believe are performed by Kwa Nyikwom.

Kwa Nyikang. The clan which provides the ceremonial blacksmiths for the royal spears. Westermann lists them as No. 8, but assigns to them a different function. The duties of Westermann's No. 60, Kwa Anut, seem similar (the making of fire by friction).

Kwa Okelo. The clan charged with producing the small girl, *nyakwer*, for the ceremonial marriage. Westermann lists them as No. 24, not No. 15.

Kwa Nyikir. The clan responsible for the management of the funeral dance; called by Westermann Kwa Nyikai and listed as No. 65.

Kwa Nyikwom. The high priests of Nyikang at Akurwa, who carry Nyikang to Fashoda, and tend his shrine. They drive off intruders with whips on the way to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann, though his No. 2, "Kwa Lek" has similar functions

Kwa Ojul. The clan which produces the heifer for the journey rom Debalo to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann.

Kwa Wung. The clan responsible for beating the drum which applauds approved speeches on the last day of the installation ceremonies. Westermann lists Kwa Wan as No. 44.

Note. We find that this list of clans given by Westermann betrays marks of haste. He assigns one home for most clans. While the clans are generally to be found in the places he mentions, several other lineages of the same clan are frequently found elsewhere [114]

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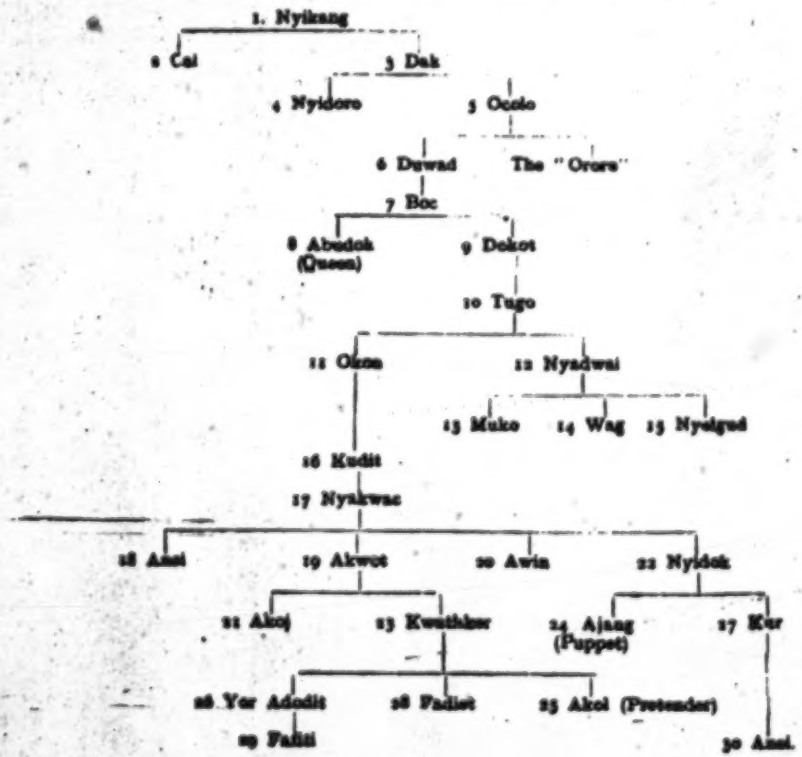
APPENDIX IV.

List of Shilluk Reths.

173 As given by Pumphrey (*op. cit.*) and Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* p. 44.

This supersedes the earlier list given by Seligman in "The Cult of Nyikang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk" p. 218.



NOTE.

[104] The spelling has been altered in a few important cases to bring it more in line with the decisions of the Rejaf Conference.

The tradition is only sound as far back as *reth* Tugo (10).

There is a doubt about Cal (2) as to whether he was *reth*, or whether he stayed behind at the time of Nyikang's migration to become the leader of the Acholi.

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PART II.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK (1945)

By W. P. G. Thomson.

These notes are intended to amplify the article "The Death of a *Reth* of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor" by Mr. P. P. Howell and myself published in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXVII, 1946. 121

No attempt is made to describe the ceremonies in full. The general pattern followed that of 1944 and these notes are chiefly concerned with the differences observed on this occasion, and the reasons given by the Shilluk for these differences. It was interesting to observe that in several cases where points of ceremonial differed, the procedure reverted to that of January 1918 described by Munro in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I, 1918.

The disposal of the Body and Soul of Reth Anei.

The course of events was as follows:—

Reth Anei Kur died on November 10th 1945. He had been ill for some days, apparently from an attack of relapsing fever, which was prevalent among the Shilluk at the time; he was known to have a bad heart, and had in fact had a heart attack some months previously in Malakal hospital. A Shilluk medical assistant, present at Fashoda at the time of the *reth's* death, reported that he died in his arms of heart failure. This is as good evidence as we are likely to obtain that *reth* Anei died a natural death. 643

I was invited, as in 1943, to pay my last respects to the corpse. This I did on November 11th, and the scene was similar to that of 1943, but simpler. The corpse was fanned by sisters of the *reth*, and his wives were not in the house with the corpse. Several were observed outside. The reed mats were not so elaborate as in 1943 and there were no cloth curtains. 766

The corpse was not immediately buried, as happened in 1943, but was taken on the night of 11.11.45 to a small hamlet belonging to the village of Fadwol, (the village of the Bang Reth Kur — slaves of *reth* Kur, the father of Anei) some three quarters of a mile from Fashoda, and sealed up in a hut. These proceedings were naturally secret, and I was not invited to enquire into details. This method of disposing of the corpse was a reversion to tradition: there is no evidence that a [567]

766 maiden was sealed up alive in the hut along with the corpse, which is also said to be traditional.

Fafiti Yor died in September 1943, and his funeral dance was held in November. Anei Kur died in November 1945, and his funeral dance was not held until October 1946. This longer interval was also more in accord with Shilluk custom, which holds that there should be an [643] interval of about a year between the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor. The installation ceremonies should follow quickly upon the funeral dance for the deceased, and should take place after the harvest is ripe.

Two days before the dance, the remains of *reth* Anei were brought secretly, and by night, from Fadwol to Golbainy where his private village had been, and were buried in his house. The remains were brought by Ororo under the supervision of Gol Nyidhok, the descendants of Nyidhok, the grand father of Anei. The dance took place there and only occupied two days. It was less well attended, and the contingents not so well marshalled as in 1943, but the essential characteristics were the same, and there were the same arguments about how long it should last. The ceremonies were in the hands of the eldest son of the deceased, and of Kwanyireth Bol Acien, the chief of Lul, who had taken a large part in 1943. The chief of the Kwareth, who was senile in 1943, had died in the meantime, but his successor in office, a young man, took no part. The *reth* remained purposely in Fashoda, and did not come to Golbainy at all. It was noticed that, as bulls were slaughtered, the horns and tails were hung on to the palisade surrounding the house where *reth* Anei lay buried, and his cattle bells and other ornaments were displayed by *bangreth* in front of the tomb, spread out upon a bull skin.

The election of Reth Dak Fadiet.

643 On the death of *reth* Anei the electoral college were summoned, 66 as in 1943, by Jago Tabo of Golbainy for Gol Dhiang and Jago 631 Yorleiker of Kwom for Gol Nyikang, the two great ceremonial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom. The composition of the college was the same as in 1943, except that the chiefs of Bur Nyiliec and Owaliny Obwa could not attend owing to illness. It was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. I doubt whether even the chief of the Kwareth has any influence: he and the other members of the college have only to listen to the decision.

643 *Reth* Anei had not lived long enough to adopt a *nyireth*, as *reth*

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Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

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643 was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reth* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk " understatement " when talking [195] of the *reth* (c.f. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — " You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you " which means " You are our chosen *reth*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *reth* 643 became more and more worried as the installation approached. There 669 were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *nyireth* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reth's* party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reth's* nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

643 The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take [821] place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

[614] On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

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beating the bounds of Shilluk land at Moro, north of Kaka. The details of their progress were similar to that of 1944. 643

The only observed difference between the preliminaries for Nyikang's journey was the embassy to Fanyikang to get *dom* fibre for the ceremonial ropes. This year it was performed by 'Anongo,' one of the uncrowned sons of Nyikang, and not by Dak as in 1944. The embassy this year only went to the *dom* palm forest at Obai Dego, which is 15 miles downstream of Fanyikang.

On 28.12.46 the *reth* was still at Fashoda, and not yet fled to Debalo Kwom. It was expected that he would go before dawn on 29.12.46. Fashoda was full of his personal supporters from the southern Shilluk. I noticed that the *reth* had apparently made friends with the *nyireth* whom he had recently suspected of trying to ambush him.

The *reth* started for Debalo secretly at about 3.00 a.m. on 29.12.46. After resting half way, he entered Debalo, after the village had ceremonially resisted him three times. He stepped over a black sheep, held by Ororo. When he entered, his supporters all broke into one of the songs of Nyikang. This was a mistake, as the whole proceeding should have been secret. The *reth* stayed at the same broken down house as in 1944, and the same royal house was prepared, and left empty.

Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was in charge of the ceremonies. All the fires had been put out before the *reth's* arrival, and preparations had been made to light new fire by the ceremonial method of *pic mac*. This method is later used at Fashoda and is described in our previous article (op. cit. p. 65). A bull was brought by Jago Yorleiker, which was to be speared when the *reth* came out of seclusion to be greeted by the assembled chiefs of Gol Nyikang in the evening. The chiefs of Gol Dhiang had no business in Debalo, and if they came, they would come as observers. Some sheep were brought by self-confessed adulterers. The *reth* insisted that only adulterers whose cases had not previously been opened could avail themselves of this privilege of amnesty, but in the event a few men tried to avoid a judgment debt by paying a sheep. There is some confusion about the ownership of these sheep. It seems clear that they belong to the *reth*, but are presented by him to the chief of Debalo Kwom (himself the chief of Gol Nyikang) as a recognition for his services in sheltering the *reth* in Debalo. In 1944 the chief of Gol Nyikang appropriated the sheep without permission.

[631] [632] [684]

That evening the drums of Nyikang were heard from Nyigir, and the *reth's* drums from Debalo. The procession carrying the sacred beads *Ocoro* from Lul arrived at about 8.00 p.m.

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643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorleiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debalo. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golbainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan*
114 *Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when
643 there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was
669 told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing
541 to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak,
[795] while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which
[783] may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

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sheep over which he had to step on entering *Adul*, defaecated on the way. The man holding the sheep picked up the droppings and rubbed them on the sheep's back. After he had done so he made gestures showing that he had restored the situation, indicating that the sheep was no longer defiled. 643 783

For the following account of the final ceremonies I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Nicholson, then Deputy Governor Upper Nile, with whom I witnessed them. 643

The final ceremonies of the installation of the new *reth* of the Shilluk took place at Fashoda on 3rd and 4th January. This time there were no large crowds, but only the chiefs and leading notables and the attendants of Nyikang and the *reth*.

On the evening of the 2nd, the *reth* had come out of the special grass hut into which he had been led with the small girl, his symbolic bride, Nyakwer, ' the girl of the ceremonies,' after the spirit of Nyikang had entered into him and he had been ritually seated on the sacred stool or throne. He had come out to go up into Athudowic, the hill of the throne, the great mound which dominates Fashoda, on which are set the four sacred houses which constitute the shrine of the Shilluk kings. With him was a girl, but it was not his bride. In accordance with tradition her place had been taken by a girl of the Ororo clan who had enticed him away. Next morning, when he discovered this, the *reth* sent out to search for his wife, and eventually learnt that she had been taken by Nyikang to his shrine. He sent envoys to ask for her return, and when Nyikang refused, he came out, stepped over a sheep, marched down the hill with his army, stepped over a grey-white bull and challenged Nyikang to battle. Nyikang's drum was then heard, sounding a distinctive beat, the lion call, and Nyikang accompanied by his sons Dak and Cal (a smaller figure made of the grey feathers of a female ostrich) came out from his shrine at the head of his army. After marching round his shrine, from right to left, he advanced to meet the *reth* and his party, who were waiting on the open ground in the middle of the village. Twice Nyikang advanced towards the *reth* and retired again to march round the shrine, while his drum sounded a new insistent beat. The third time the armies joined battle armed with millet stalks, and also, in the case of Nyikang's men, with special rope whips. This time the *reth* prevailed, and seizing Nyakwer who was with Nyikang's army, drew her with him at a run up into the hill, while Nyikang and his men withdrew to his shrine at the other side of the village. [778]

Next morning the stage was set for the last act, the *kel long*

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643 *tiny*, the planting of the spear in the ground, when the new *reth* appeared before the chiefs and notables, received their homage and addresses of exhortation, and in reply gave his undertaking to be a good and just ruler and to work for the welfare of the Shilluk people. The ceremony was simple but impressive. First of all the chiefs and leading notables lined up near the base of the hill, squatting on the [516] ground with their legs tucked beneath them in the decorous and respectful manner which is distinctive of the Shilluk. Behind them was a similar group of men of lesser importance. Then Nyikang's shield with bells on it, (which is said to be of silver), his long spear, and his throne (the *kwom*), all wrapped in new white cloth to conceal them from the gaze of ordinary men, and his drum, were brought out and taken to the bottom of the hill in front of the waiting chiefs. Here the throne was set up on a giraffe skin. Shortly afterwards the *reth* appeared, clad in a white *lau*, and wearing the royal skin of the female Mrs. Gray antelope, and a new ivory armlet, which had been specially made for the occasion. After stepping over a sheep, he walked down the hill accompanied by Nyikwor and a small party of attendants, and protected by the royal fan made of the wings of the saddle bill stork in the form of a shield. When he reached the throne, he was lifted on to it by two men of the Ororo. The bearer of the fan held it over the *reth's* head to protect him from the sun, while the bearers of the shield, spear and drum stood in front. When all was 537 ready, the shield-bearer advanced towards the rows of chiefs shaking 643 the shield so that the bells jingled, and marked out the first speaker. This was Yor Leiker, the chief of the south, on whom together with Jago Tabo, the chief of the north, who spoke second, had lain the main responsibility for the choice of the new *reth*. These two were followed by some two dozen others, ending up with the chiefs of Tonga and Mwomo (Kaka), the wardens of southern and northern marches. The speeches took the form of exhortations to the new *reth* to deal justly with his people without fear or favour, that the spirit of Nyikang was in him and the people looked to him for good crops and good fortune. And as each speaker finished he stabbed his spear into the ground and left it there. When a speech met with approval, it was acknowledged by the shield bearer and the drummer coming forward and walking round the speaker shaking the bells and beating the drum respectively. When these speeches were over, the *reth* rose up and addressed the company, went over to the bull and stabbed it, and returned once more with his party into Athudowic.

643 The ritual was over. The new *reth* was secure in the occupation

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of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life. 643

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there. 114 778 775 324

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocoro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.* 301

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up. 643

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1946. 114 643 644

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of 643 644 778

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Athudowic stands had been plastered with smooth mud from top to bottom.

5. *Fanyikang.*

As in 1944 the sacred shrine of Nyikang at Fanyikang was thrown down and rebuilt after the ceremonies.

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Printed in England by McCorquodale & Co. Ltd., London, E.C.1.

[TITLE PAGE]

TYPES OF DURA USED BY SHILLUK AND DINKA

by Hasan Mutwakil

Introduction

123 In making this note I am quite aware of the fact that I have been in the Upper Nile Province for so short a time that I cannot guarantee its accuracy in every particular. It is the outcome of personal experience and observation and enquiries made among Shilluks and settled northerners (*Gellâba*), and should be accepted as such. If, however, in the course of future investigation any doubt arises with regard to my information, I will do my best to correct or confirm what I now venture to put on record.

Groups and Varieties

243 1. *Lwalli* is the Shilluk name for the 'early red dura.'

This dura is early in the sense that it is sown earlier than other crops. But it includes quick-maturing varieties as well as comparatively late-maturing varieties.

The word 'red' is not a precise description, as the colour of the grain is by no means uniform. The dura exhibits a large mixture of colours from dark red to white, most probably the result of crossing. All these colours can be produced in one field, often from plants in the same hole.

Lwalli includes a large number of sub-varieties, of which the following are more common :—

Toro, a tall plant, late-maturing, seeds pink
Othech ,, ,, ,, ,,
Nyalwalding, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyakino, dwarf, quick-maturing, seeds dark red.
Wer Jal Nyigara, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyanwar, ,, ,, ,,
Nyafirwat, ,, ,, ,,
Nyanbar, ,, ,, ,,
Nyachogo, ,, ,, ,, White
Yonongo, ,, ,, ,, Brownish red
Chiat alij, ,, ,, ,,

[p. 154]

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Dinka FJ12

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It is very difficult to distinguish between the plants or the seeds of these different sub-varieties. Certainly I cannot recognize the differences myself, but I also doubt whether the Shilluk can do so without being misled quite often. All these sub-varieties are generally treated, and behave, in the same way. They are sown early in June, reach maturity in 90-100 days, (exceptions are the heavy sub-varieties), and are harvested in mid-September in a normal year.

2. *Rwat* is the Dinka name for the Shilluk *hwalli*.[1]

D 243

The same sub-varieties exist among the Dinka, and the names given above for the sub-varieties are used by them.

It is also grown as an early crop in Dinka land, but in much smaller quantities, as a subsistence crop only.

3. *Jak* is the Dinka name for the heavy, late-maturing dura. It is the Dinka main crop, and has several sub-varieties, of which those commonly known are :—

Awei	Seed colour white.	
Kuchuka	"	" yellowish.
Kwayan	"	" orange red.

Again seed colour is not as pure as the above description may convey. A mixture of colours is always a usual sight in a field of this dura.

All sub-varieties of the *Jak* are considered as heavy or late-maturing. They are usually sown early in July, reach maturity in about six months, and are harvested towards the end of December.

4. *Agono* meaning 'white dura' is the Shilluk name for the Dinka *Jak*.

S 243

The same sub-varieties and their names as above are also used by the Shilluk. As a crop plant, however, the *Agono* is grown but little in the Shilluk district, except among the southern Shilluk between Malakal and Tonga, where it is grown as a main crop.

5. *Angul*, meaning in Shilluk, 'dura of the wind,' is a winter dura. The name refers to no one variety, but actually any crop which is sown so late in the rains that it benefits from the cool north (winter) wind, is known to the Shilluk as *angul*.

S [132]

As the wet period from which the *angul* may be expected to benefit is very short, it is natural that only quick-maturing varieties are selected for the purpose.

[1] [i.e., early red dura. —Analyst]

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243 for the purpose. These are generally the lighter *lwalli* sub-varieties (*e.g.*, *nyalwalding* and *nyanbar*).

Angul is generally sown in the middle of September. Being a *lwalli* sub-variety it matures in 90-100 days, and is therefore harvested in the second half of December.

General

1. I have not heard of the name *lwalli* being applied to maize, but maize may be, and in fact is, very rarely sown as *angul*. The yields obtained from such a crop are usually poor.

2. It may be of interest to note that *jak* or *agono*, is the most flood-resistant dura variety in this area. It tolerated continuous water-logging for more than 40 days in the 1946 rain season.

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السودان في رسائل ومذكرات

Sudan Notes and Records

INCORPORATING المندمجة فيها

وقائع الجمعية الفلسفية بالسودان

Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan.

VOLUME XXXIII

1952

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THE MIDDLE EAST PRESS, KHARTOUM.

[TITLE PAGE]

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The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak *wad* FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 114 [643]

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643 (5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Aburwa to Fashoda;

[113] [1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol, Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

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the flight of the *reth*-elect to Debalo where he remains in seclusion while the warriors of the south (*gol* Nyikang) gather to his aid; the gathering of the host of Nyikang supported by the warriors of the north (*gol* Dhiang); the *reth's* march against Nyikang, the mock battle and his defeat and capture by Nyikang; his substitution for Nyikang on the royal stool and his possession by the spirit of Nyikang; his purification and seclusion in a temporary camp outside the capital; his vigil in the sacred mound of Aturwic; a further battle with Nyikang and the establishment of peace between them, and finally, after these important ritual events are over, a public ceremony in which the chiefs of the country publicly declare their allegiance while exhorting him to perform his duties justly. 643

Each event in this procedure is a further step towards the transference of the soul of Nyikang from the dead *reth* to his successor, which has always been an essential feature of the Shilluk monarchy. Each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies is another crisis passed, for until the substitution has been made, the Shilluk people are in a condition of extreme spiritual danger as well as of actual political danger since at any time civil war may break out over the choice of the new *reth*. This is manifest throughout. [775]

The *reth*-elect, who was chosen by the electoral college shortly after the death of his predecessor, is Kur, son of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was *reth* of the Shilluk from 1917 until 1943. At the time of writing the installation ceremonies are not yet completed and we are here concerned only with the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet. We must remember, however, that these ceremonies are part of a whole chain of events designed to achieve the safe and successful transference of the spirit of Nyikang from the old *reth* to the new and to bring back to the tribe its former stability.

reth Dak *wad* Fadiet died in Malakal on the evening of May 8th, 1951. His death was not unexpected since he had been ailing for some time and under treatment in hospital for advanced tuberculosis. He was attended personally in hospital by a medical dresser who was also his nephew, and his wives and followers were to some extent excluded from direct contact with him. There was an intense atmosphere of potential danger to his life and a feeling that he would be despatched by his wives before he died a natural death, for it was widely known that he was seriously ill, but I believe that this derived mainly from the medical dresser himself, who, acting in an entirely untraditional capacity, sought to stress the conventional attitudes demanded of him. At any rate there is no evidence that he was put to death or even "assisted to die." [1] 643

[1] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11 and p. 19, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the untraditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwor. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*);[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional [643] manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kur *wad* Fafiti.

643 It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and 644 mourning ceremonies (*wowo*) are to take place in close consultation with the 428 kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with 766 the *ororo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adieng, had taken stealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. 643 The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be 766 completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[767] [2] The *ororo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

A [i.e., with Fadiet's. - Analyst]

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *hengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

591 643 [103] 766 [778] [778] [578]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

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766 The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the [782] occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a [782] sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *keglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783 to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared 787] to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

---

[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party [782] travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *kadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special [177] significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu [173] ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766 [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] [783]

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth,*
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *ohak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*keny*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Luak had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijak*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Biu, Thwolong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadheiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fafiti and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Luak at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *ororo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *ororo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangreth* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

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766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fafiti *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom.

[183]

(ii) In the case of his successor Anci *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Dak *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption.

[643 591]

[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

[2] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Id.*, p. 6 and p. 75.

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

[P. 164/A]

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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

[p. 164 B]

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السودان في رسائل ومذكرات

Sudan Notes and Records

INCORPORATING المندمجة فيها

وقائع الجمعية الفلسفية بالسودان

Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan.

VOLUME XXXIII

1952

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THE MIDDLE EAST PRESS, KHARTOUM.

[TITLE PAGE]

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NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

It is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*. 173 778

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since. [777]

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice. 174

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Etbai.*

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174 of all, pure in colour, of great brilliancy, without flaw or blemish, were but rarely found, and for that reason most highly treasured. They were called *Mar*.

The paths of comparative philology, as pointed out in Vol. XXI, Part I, of this journal, abound in pitfalls for the credulous and unwary, nevertheless, it is tempting to suppose that the luck of the Shilluk, of which *Reth* Dokot so inconsiderately deprived them, was in fact a comparatively rare type of emerald from the Red Sea hills.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

INCORPORATING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF THE SUDAN.

VOL. XXXIV PART 2 DECEMBER 1953

PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORS

G. W. BELL, Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary, Ministry of the Interior.

J. R. CATFORD, Senior Inspector of Agriculture, White Nile Scheme Board, Dueim; formerly Inspector of Agriculture, Equatoria Projects. Board.

P. P. HOWELL, Chairman, Southern Investigation Team. Author of many anthropological studies, especially upon the Shilluk.

J. W. KENRICK, Assistant Adviser on Constitutional and External Affairs, Governor-General's office; formerly District Commissioner, Omdurman.

H. SANDON, Professor of Zoology, University College of Khartoum.

AMIN AL TAYIB, formerly Assistant Hydrobiologist, Department of Economics and Trade.

S. SANTANDREA, Verona Fathers' Mission. Author of many studies of the lesser-known tribes and tribal remnants of the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

G. O. WHITEHEAD, (1894 - 1941) Was attached to the C.M.S. in the Southern Sudan 1926-1931. He became a leading authority on the life and language of the Bari.

[title page]

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THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bugon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to assure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth's* remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *wowo*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

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[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Col.*, S.N.R. Vol. 1. 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. P. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27. 1946, and Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29. 1948.

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643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe 776 to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [178] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. [169] Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [175] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [175] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyaweilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

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4. *jago* Aturwei (Fadit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Otwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[5]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 13th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jang kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[8]

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

[5] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*ahodh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

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123 country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement 683 our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rôle of Nyikang

683 We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person 776 of the late *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak, son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and ambatch surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers[a], sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are 778 dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable. [781] Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by [684] men of the *kwa* Nyikwom and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth to Debalo

683 As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and retreats to the village of Debalo a few miles south of Arepejur, the watercourse which [684] is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang; *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Lusk, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[b]. At Debalo, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

[a] See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 159.

[b] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

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The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the touth, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Athurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Athurwic*¶, the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Athurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

¶ Variously spelt: *Atwrwic*, *Athudowic*, *Athurwic*.

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643 seen that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Dak, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[11] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*gwel*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bung* Nyikango (graves of Nyikang) and orders them to take this silver to the shrine of Ak[illegible] where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of [illegible] raiding party.

[178] "Then the effigy of Dak (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[12] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Dak watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jum* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang) and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany
776 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Dak and the *kwa* Nyikwom.
778 At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Dak, represented in the effigies, came

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[12] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

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forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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Nyikang and Dak advance to meet the Reth's forces.

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At Debalo. The Reth Steps over a bull before his departure.

[FACING p. 196]

643 purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debalo, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers 644 were to be seen clustered round Debalo. There followed the usual delay while 643 *kwa* Ojul, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda,[11] were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *kwa* Okelo who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, 643 towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after stepping over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. [123] Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anei and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to motor northwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Gray antelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, her luggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *laus*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two [644] Government police, stationed at Debalo for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. [184] There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anei on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the *khor* Arepejur was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by eluding its captors and running away down *Khor* Arepejur, from which it was only retrieved with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

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Opposite Fashoda. The *ktwa* Nyikwom lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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The substitution on the stool. Nyikang has withdawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the stool underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. N. DONALD

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In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[*] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.[*]

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

[*] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[*] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwalo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

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643 by the *ororo* and *kwareth* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already [164 given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming 744] owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafiti, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal [123 which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the 184] mound of *Athurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurwic: jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

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Thus Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Onger where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,[21] was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *laus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[22] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Athurwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Athurwic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Athurwic* surrounded by the *ororo* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[21] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

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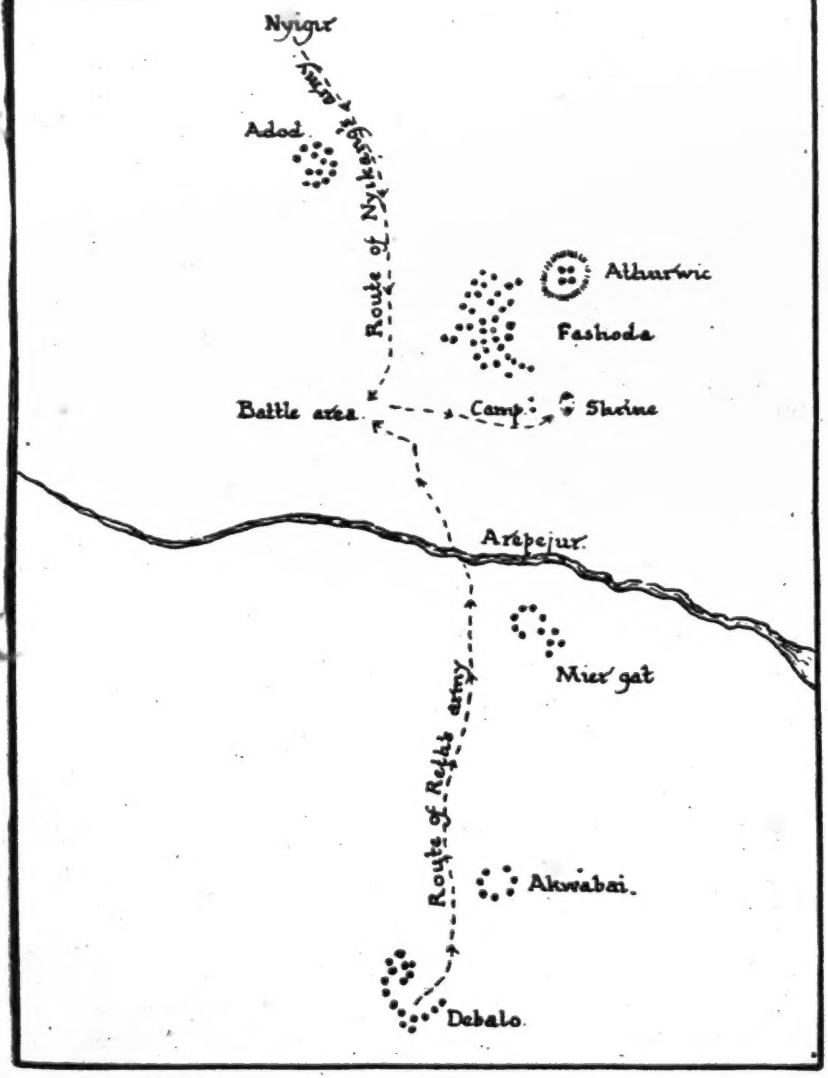
SKETCH MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES

Not to scale.



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537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

[411 184] [576] [631]

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.*

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As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

643 782 [578]

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

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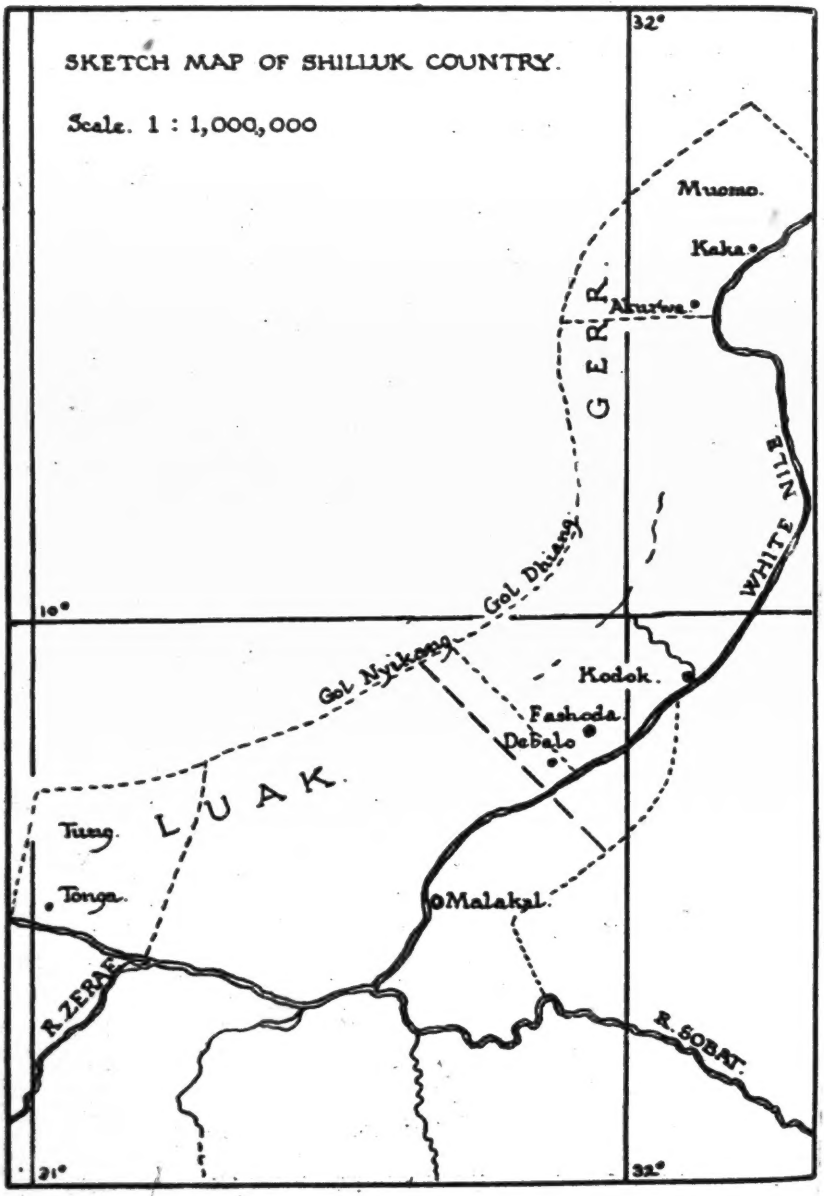

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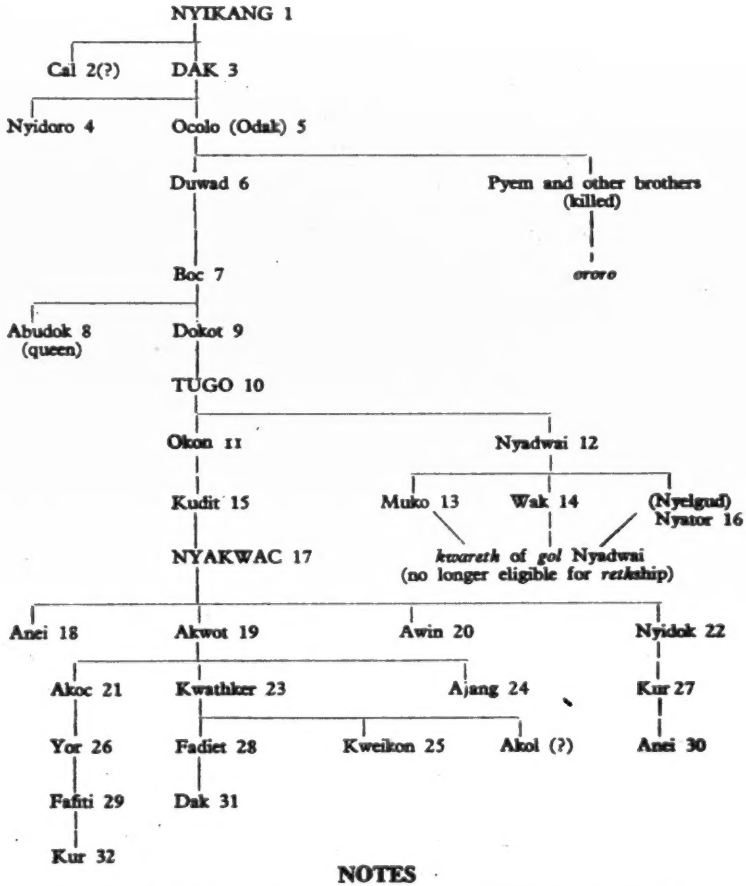
APPENDIX I.
REVISED LIST OF SHILLUK RETHS.



NOTES

173 643 1. Shilluk *reths* prior to Tugo are listed according to tradition, but there are some inconsistencies. Cal, for example, who is said to be a half-brother of Dak, lived at Dinyo near Tonga, but most Shilluk say that he was

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never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Incorporating Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan

FOUNDED 1918

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VOLUME XXXVII (DOUBLE NUMBER), 1956

KHARTOUM

[TITLE PAGE]

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.] 114

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pan duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth. 643

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhok who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship. [644] [562]

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango and Both in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debulo Kwom there are some people carving ivories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abomi Nyikango). [765]

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debulo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debulo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathuw which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debulo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyuth and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again. [233]

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debulo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debalo run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debalo until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debalo. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in [753] their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the 828 spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not [644] allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debalo to Fashoda the coronation [669] is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebujur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango [644] on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyek holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums [775] and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with 233 the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debalo. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debalo, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

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at about four o'clock in the morning, when nobody will see him at his work but the chief only, who tells him what to do. 643 [233]

During these days Nyikango's army remain with the other people dancing and beating their drums, playing with the images of Nyikango and Dak outside or in front of the shrine. At the end of two days the Reth is taken to four high temples (Athurwic) on a mound, and stays in them for another two days. Nyikango's army continue beating their drums night and day, so the people from afar are attracted by them, and they come to join the dancing. At the end of this time all the senior and ordinary chiefs gather together in Fashoda at a final advisory council (Loko), where the Reth is given the right to take up the post of king. The senior chiefs make speeches giving him advice to perform his professional task justly, and after the speech of the best orator the drum is beaten as a sign of praise. At the close of the speeches he is given two silver bracelets which are put around his wrists, as a sign of his office. These bracelets represent the crown and remain with him during his reign. After this he is invested with his holy office, which cannot be taken away from him or be abdicated until he dies.

After the coronation Nyikango and his carriers remain in Fashoda for two months pending the first fall of the rains. As the first rain of the autumn appears, the party begins to leave Fashoda for Akurwa, where Nyikango's and Dak's images are kept until the coronation of another Reth.

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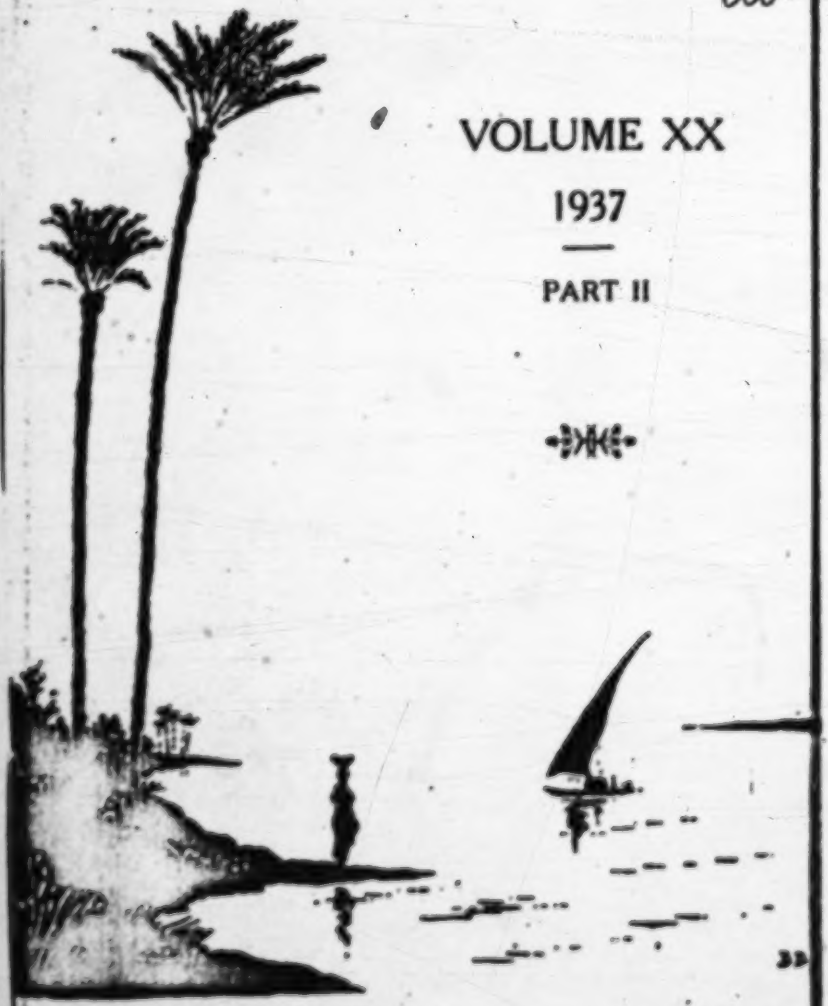

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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [572 554]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [572] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 643

[p. 319]

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195 643 648 [576] employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far as you are concerned.

195 643 The *Reth's* head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*). When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes. An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 643 648 539 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is anything comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the purpose of this note (which is serious).

Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second. 195

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Reth.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog. 643 648 539

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

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PRICE 15 P. T. (3/-).

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I. No 3.

INSTALLATION

OF THE

RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS)

BY P. MUNRO.

In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted 121
to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons : first it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman [1] and Westermann [2], and secondly the constant ebb and flow [124]
of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with 114
the account of the same as given by Seligman p. 224 are, in my opinion, 643
probably due to the fact that any enquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I 128
have divided this article into two sections : *a*) Necessary preliminary remarks; *b*) The actual narrative.

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(1) SELIGMAN VOL. B., *General Science*, 4th *Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 216 et seq.

(2) WESTERMANN, *The Shilluk People*.

[p.145]

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A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

643 The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 22nd, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: *a*) by his [156] presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and *b*) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, [645] during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti [178] therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers [825] and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. SELIGMAN, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

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any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal [1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang [2] from outside, and the temporary huts [3] built for the Ret,

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Ma stated by WESTERMANN, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

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643 and also the official residence of the Ret [1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent [585] by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

202 643 The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is [644] known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang : his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but [796 798] smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

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he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come». [644]

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

---

[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their [773]
daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

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643 his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo [1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

[482] 643 778

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

---

[1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery : cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang : a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are : *a*) to carry the Ret; *b*) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

565 773 614

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Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for : he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

---

[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

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126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him : «Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the «temporary hut» during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
541 there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the «battle» was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

778 «Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

«The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
537 out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
422 the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
582 up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases.»

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

---

114 [1] Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

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PRICE 15 P. T. (3/-).
Annual Subscription 50 P. T. (10/6).

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NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief.

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence.

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given.

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. »

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship,

[p. 283]

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769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
776 sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
782 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
[425] go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased. The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
[262] to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

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God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 787
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day. 787
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 761
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, 621 782

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776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

[643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769] made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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776
756

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devotion. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 754
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 754
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king 757
and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

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756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 583] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462 The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [126 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[187 They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person,
776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is
756 merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their dances told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

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of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by 756
different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same.

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and 755
chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he [187]
will recover. If he does not, he will die.

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to 756
belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way.

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant- 755
hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries «The house is on fire». The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward

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755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [754] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [653] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [762] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish [602] greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the relatives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 786 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

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they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. The beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases. 756 766 787

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast. 755 [762] [756]

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted. 756

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief. [756]

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer. 756 787

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people. 771 181

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people. 756

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That such a class can not meet the needs of the people is proven by their seeking to the medicine men. The longing in man for knowledge of the Highest which elevates him to the highest good, when directed in the right channels, may also be used by a class seeking power to hold him down in ignorant servitude, and fetter him with superstition's shackles.

D. S. OYLER.

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FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

MISSION ON THE NILE

by
JAMES DEMPSEY
of Mill Hill

For we would not have you ignorant, brethren, of our tribulation . . . that we were pressed . . . above our strength, so that we were weary even of life, but we had in ourselves the answer of death: that we should not trust in ourselves but in God.

II Cor. 1. 8-9.

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By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii]
[frontispiece]

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Made and printed in Great Britain by
William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles for
Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd.
28 Ashley Place, London, S.W.1

First published 1955

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TO

THE REV. FATHER J. A. WALL,

FIRST PREFECT APOSTOLIC OF KODOK,

AND TO

THE PRIESTS AND BROTHERS OF MILL HILL

IN THE UPPER NILE PROVINCE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

WITH AFFECTION AND RESPECT

Day Missions 9/7/56

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I AM indebted to the Superior General of the Verona Missionary Fathers for permission to use the material on which Chapter X is based, and to Sister Columba Ward for her translation of this material from the Italian original; to the Editor of *The Sudan Notes and Records*; and to Messrs. W. P. G. Thomson and P. P. Howell for much of the description of Chapter VI. 127

Use has also been made in various chapters, for information on and confirmation of the matter contained therein, of *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by G. C. Seligman, *A Survey of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* by K. D. D. Henderson, *The Egyptian Sudan; Its Loss and Recovery* by Alford and Swords.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Very Rev. F. Spakauskas, the Rev. J. Fitzsimons and the Rev. Mother G. Colognesi of the Malakal Prefecture, Upper Nile Province, and to the Very Rev. J. P. Kennelly of St Joseph's College, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, who supplied the photographs; to the Rev. W. Hallam of the Malakal Prefecture and the Rev. A. Foreman of St Josef's Missiehuis, Roosendaal, Holland, for their valued help and advice in the writing of the book; and to the Rev. B. J. Traynor, M.A., of Mill Hill, London, and Mr. Brian Carey of Burn Hall, Durham, for their assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press. [127]

Catholic Mission, Lul,
Upper Nile Province,
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

J. DEMPSEY

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Chapter I

WHERE IS KODOK?

I remember once reading a book, *Cavalcade* I think it was called, the first chapter of which described the return from the South African War of the Civic Imperial Volunteers. In it one of the victorious heroes was asked by his admiring wife, "Where is Africa, Alf?", but alas, Alf didn't know. My ignorance, I fear, was similar to that of Alf when in 1939 I received an appointment to work in the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. Almost all that I knew of Kodok was that it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa; to that extent, at least, my knowledge was superior to Alf's. I did know where Africa was, but apart from that the name Kodok was just a palindrome, for it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year, and the first band of five priests with Monsignor J. A. Wall at their head had but recently taken possession of the new field. 797 123

It was in December, 1939, that four of us set out to augment the original band of five, sailing in a wartime convoy for Africa. By this time I had learned a little more about the place. I knew, for instance, that it was the same place as Fashoda, famous in history as the meeting-place of Kitchener and Marchand and the scene of the 'incident' which nearly brought about war between France and England; that it was situated on the River Nile, 450 miles or so south of Khartoum; that it gave its name to an Apostolic Prefecture which theoretically covered a territory more than twice the size of Ireland, but in practice was confined to the land of the tribes dwelling on the river banks; that in the Prefecture there were already four mission stations established at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang by the Verona Fathers, 797 [131]

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our predecessors in the field; that really Kodok had very little to do with the Prefecture, being merely a village with a convenient name about ten miles from Detwok, from which it was administered.

The journey out provided few outstanding incidents to record. The blowing up of a trawler which struck a magnetic mine in the English Channel; the sight of the destroyers keeping station on the flanks of the convoy and the daily visit of Coastal Command aircraft; the halt under the great guns of Gibraltar, where the convoy dispersed; the loveliness of Valetta in Malta, and its great heat; the Midnight Mass at Christmas celebrated deep down inside the ship for the benefit of the Goanese stewards, and the indescribable discord of their singing; the surprising coldness of the Suez Canal at night; our feeling of forlornness when at last we stood on the quay at Port Sudan and watched the ship steaming out of the harbour; our dismay when we realized that our baggage had not been landed from the hold and was being carried on to Mombasa; these are the simple recollections that remain of an uneventful voyage. From Port Sudan we travelled by rail 500 miles through the desert to Khartoum. At each station along the route there was a lengthy halt while hordes of Sudanese, men, women and children, clamoured around the carriage windows, some offering for sale scraggy-looking chickens and doubtfully fresh eggs, others merely holding out grimy hands for alms and chanting the familiar Sudanese cry, 'Baksheesh, baksheesh'. At Atbara a lone Italian priest met the train, a Verona Father, one who keeps the Sanctuary lamp alight in the desert. He is always informed from Port Sudan or from Khartoum when a priest is passing through so that he can have an opportunity of making his confession. On this occasion, however, he was bidding farewell to one of his brethren from Khartoum whose company he had enjoyed for a few days and who now joined us on the train on his way home. In Khartoum we stayed for a short while as guests with the Verona Fathers and then set out on the last lap of our travels, the 500-mile journey up the Nile.

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This was made on the paddle steamer which wanders along the river between Khartoum in the north and Juba in the south, accepting and delivering mail and cargo at the trading posts and mission stations established on the Nile banks. The good ship *Rejaf* was more of a convoy than a single vessel, for she pushed and pulled along with her seven barges for passengers and cargo. First-class passengers were accommodated on the steamer itself; intermediate second-class passengers were carried on a house-boat-like barge alongside; in front went three barges conveying

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second- and third-class passengers and cargo, and around and behind were more cargo barges. Thus burdened, the *Rejaf*, travelling by night as well as by day, plodded along the river at a steady five miles an hour. A blast from its steam whistle signalled our approach to a trading station, and immediately all was bustle and excitement on the river bank. Merchants from the interior were there in force bringing in trucks, or loaded on camels and donkeys, quantities of produce for shipment, mostly grain. Humbler folk were there too, carrying the inevitable chickens and eggs, or perhaps dragging a protesting sheep or goat for sale to the crew. The whole bank was a mass of vociferous hagglers and squalling children, and if it were daytime, the water's edge would be lined with women washing clothes, the owners of which would be taking a dip in the river the while. Thanks to the hot sun and the stiff breeze this whole process of washing and drying takes less than ten minutes, which is an improvement on any patent soap-powder method, though it would be untrue to say that the clothes come out with the same dazzling whiteness. A few hundred yards from the river could be seen the village with its mosque built of sun-dried brick and its *suq* or market-place where one might find exposed for sale everything from dried dates to electric torches, and from soap (for which few seem to have much use) to murderous-looking swords and daggers. However, after an hour or so, all business completed, the steamer would back out into midstream, and the beat of its paddles soon lull us again to sleep as we lay in our deckchairs.

By the end of the third day we began to look around us with a quickened interest, for we had entered the Upper Nile Province which to us was synonymous with the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. We already knew our destinations, for we had found letters awaiting us in Khartoum appointing three of us to stations in the territory of the Shilluk tribe and the fourth to Yeyuyang on the Bahr-el-Gazal (Gazelle River) among the wild and woolly Nuer. I was destined for Detwok, and so the small hours of the next morning found me packed and ready for departure, since I

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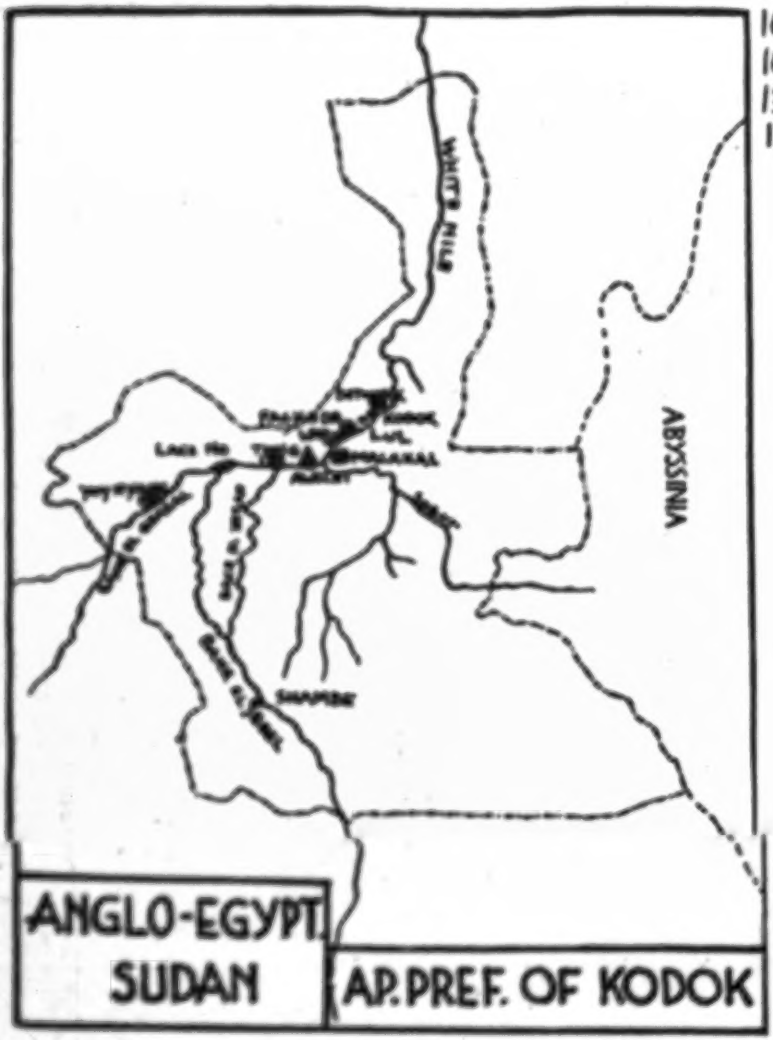

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had 797 123

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797 come on deck to see me leave, and together with my luggage
123 I was bundled into the steamer's boat, rowed to the bank, carried through the deep mud on the shoulders of the boatman, and finally dumped on solid ground. Here I found Monsignor Wall who, after visiting Detwok, was returning to his headquarters at Malakal, and the Superior of the
123 Mission. Monsignor had just time for a word of welcome before he was carried to the boat I had just left and rowed across to the steamer standing out in midstream. The Superior and I turned, and by the dim light of a hurricane lamp made our way through the dark tunnel which led to the house. It was a ramp, half a mile long, built over the swamp and bordered with trees; at every yard I shied fearfully at writhing shapes across the path, only to gulp with relief on finding that they were not the snakes I expected but the roots of the trees. In the end there loomed up before us the shadowy bulk of the house that was to be my home for the next ten years. I had arrived.

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Chapter II

THE PROMISED LAND

I awoke refreshed from sleep, and in the bright morning 797
sunshine I was able to survey my new dwelling place. It was no Eden. In Africa there are many places of wonderful natural beauty, but Detwok is not one of them. Right in front of the house stood the ignoble remains of a brick kiln, and that together with the dried-up appearance of the soil gave one the impression of standing in a well-burnt brick-field. One looked ahead over an expanse of baked earth scarcely relieved by tufts of grass, yellow and shrivelled by the heat, and low clumps of thorn bushes and saw the river shining in the distance. To right and left of the house, indeed almost surrounding the compound in the rear, was a forest of vicious-looking thorn bush beyond which, half a mile away, could be seen the Shilluk villages thinly strung [361]
out in line, like, as one writer has put it, 'beads on a string'. In the compound itself were the Fathers' house, a substantial building just recently completed by the Italian Fathers with bricks burnt in the kiln whose ruins still remained, the Convent of the Sisters and a two-storey building with a school below and chapel above.

The scene was unlovely in the extreme. The earth of all 134
that portion of the Upper Nile Province apart from the swamps is cotton soil, which, though eminently suitable for the growing of cotton, is useful for little else. In the dry [132]
season, lasting from November to June, its surface is rough and hard, broken by large cracks into which a bicycle wheel can easily slip as far as the hub; in the time of the rains it soon becomes a mass of grey viscous mud as unsafe for a careless walker as the surface of an ice rink. After a few weeks of heavy rain most of the countryside turns into a vast swamp through which one must wade knee-deep in water,

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134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [797] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 763 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that 797 a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

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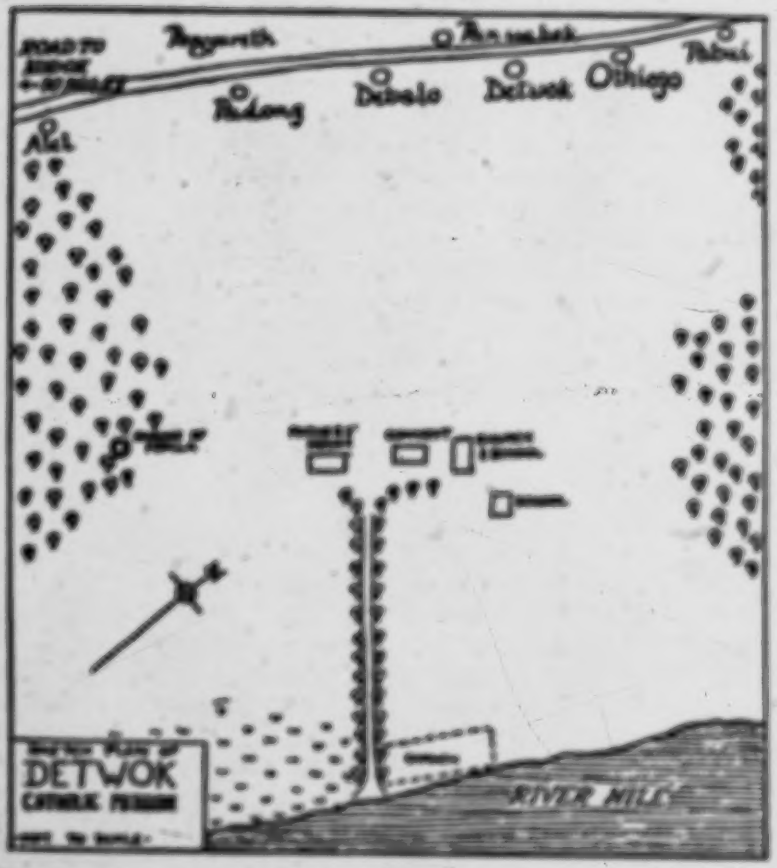

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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

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would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Detwok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Pabiu has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary
[164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native
[249] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard
[270] and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

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of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal dawg*,' he says, '*Yi sia*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi ssa*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

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errant sheep, Augustine, who has taken to himself a wife who is a pagan. Augustine is not be found anywhere; no one knows when he went away, where he is, or when he is likely to return. I think it very probable that he saw me coming, and at present is hiding in a neighbouring hut, but I know that it is useless to press the matter further now, so making a mental note to come back after a day or two, I retrieve my cycle with a sigh and, waving farewell to the chief, make my way to the next village on my list. Here, my welcome from the dogs is as noisy as ever, but my visit more successful. Julian is at home and admits that he has begun to pay cattle for the lady of his choice, yet asserts loudly and with an air of injured innocence that he would not dream of marrying outside the Church, and that he has only to point out to the girl the error of her pagan ways for her to begin instruction in the mission. This I take with a grain of salt, for I have heard it all before and know from experience that it will take months of patient and persevering persuasion before the bride-to-be presents herself to the Sisters to commence the learning of the Catechism. Still I must be satisfied with Julian's assurance, and taking leave of him I pop in to see Rachael.

The poor old lady is lying on a skin on the ground, her emaciated body covered with a dirty cloth. She seems to be dead already, but at the sound of the priest's voice she stirs slightly and turns her sightless eyes in my direction. I can see that she has grown much weaker since last I saw her, and that it can only be a matter of days till she goes to her reward, so I give her another blessing for the good of her soul and close her skinny claws round a piece of tobacco. Poor Rachael is too far gone to use or appreciate such a luxury, but she realizes that some one has given her something and is comforted by the possession of it. She tucks her gift away among her rags, for she knows that if her harridan of a daughter sees it she will take it from her as soon as her visitor has departed.

The round of visits continues. Paul's father is surprised to learn that his truant son has not been in school for the past

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week; he certainly has not been home, he says, and surmises that he has run off to the cattle camp across the river; he promises to investigate the matter in the morning, and the look in his eyes bodes no good for his errant offspring. In the case of the other missing schoolchildren I do not have the same success; Frederick is not at home, nor his boy; Cecilia, his wife, says that the lad is minding the sheep and goats and implies that he will have to go on minding them as there is no one else to do it. (The flock actually minds itself to the ruin of the Sisters' garden, while the false shepherd disports himself in the river.) As to little Amelia, she is wanted at home to look after the baby, so she can't come to school either. I give this up as a bad job and push on to work through the remainder of my visits. Once or twice I am called into a hut to look at someone who is sick, and if I judge that he or she is sufficiently ill to warrant the attention of the Sisters, I make a note of the name and place. In one hut I find a tiny baby obviously very ill, so while the mother anxiously looks on, I baptise it, giving it the name Angela. (I learned that evening from the Sisters that little Angela had died, and I felt happy that I had been instrumental in speeding her flight to join the angel choirs above.)

But now the last of the calls is made, and, accompanied by the ever unfriendly dogs, I make my exit from the village and take the track leading to the main road. In the distance I hear the mission bell ringing out the mid-day Angelus, and saluting the Mother of God as I ride, I quicken my speed towards the mission house and lunch.

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Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [95] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

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For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [316]
cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil-smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 832
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 802
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301]
ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

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832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

154 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[97] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its 174
home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. [197]
This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that
long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half 173
of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, 174
a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its [105]
name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chief source the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Detwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

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565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth clan may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same clan, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

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Lower egg

Cherry pie

Soup-plate, profile

Soup-plate, front view

Photo: D. F. [illegible]

Shilluk hair-styles

[facing p. 21]

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Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying gram-land. The river by constant pressure frequently breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inundations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river, at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood. Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a discount, and social or parochial calls present their own problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source of water for most villages, even those situated miles away from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthenware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Agumo I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each household consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the 351
side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his 342
enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled [565]
cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, [531]
or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other [343]
for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and 351
is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an [565]
ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight.

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle 343
byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much [233]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[289] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [343] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several 352
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate
[276] freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues
are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial
[521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will
excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped
position, greet everyone present in turn and make your
escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He
emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood-
[513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours
in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a
[372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a
825 protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against
[751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red
ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him;
if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face,
[515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river
—perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives
him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear,
winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off
[484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water
pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and
the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach
the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like
starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the
512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which
857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the
[233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered
372 cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to
[234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the
[252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound
of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain
into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or
white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at
shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-
[415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263]
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262]
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853]
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise bury perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283]
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231]
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857]
under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring
[439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various
[262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance.
512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the
535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three
[533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of
furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows
and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventu-
ally quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the
distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incom-
plete without a more detailed picture of their activities,
their work and their play. To them, as to most of the
inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying,
'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk
is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one
of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy
with hand and brain making and mending and improving.
Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is
essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must pro-
vide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and
beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to
get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth
for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of
oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to
procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his
food he must farm the land, and although his methods of
husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional
way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net,
harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results
possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly
built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross
the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [824]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a
beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by
one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety.
To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824]
[283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
324 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
[411] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[439] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

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241 but unfortunately for him, grass and weeds have a way of pushing up along with the grain and so, several times during the growing season he is forced to go out to his plantation and put in a day's weeding. If he is unduly industrious, he will plant beans, marrows, or pumpkins amongst the millet, and may even clear another patch and grow some maize; yet these are luxury crops—asparagus and strawberries, as it were—growing more quickly than millet and serving to fill up the lean time between the finishing up of one year's crop and the harvesting of the next.

The first month or so of the rainy season is a time of great anxiety as to whether the rains will be sufficient to sustain the growing crops. Sometimes the planting operation is attended with disappointments; a prolonged drought sets in and the young plants wither and die. A torrential downpour gives the husbandman new hope and out he goes to plant again, but this time one storm of rain after another washes the young shoots out of the ground. A third time he plants, and this time the fates are kind; the seed takes firm root and with constant and not too violent rain flourishes and gives promise of a good harvest; however by this time it is mid-July or even later, so that the crop will be late in ripening and he will be hungry before he can harvest it. The first crop
243 to be planted is red millet which grows and matures more quickly than the second variety, the white millet. If conditions are favourable the original sowing is firmly established by the end of July, and he proceeds to the planting of the second variety. This is more hardy when growing and more resistant in store to the depredations of ants and weevils, but it is ravaged by the myriad flocks of weaver birds which descend upon the ripening fields and by the animals of the forest which gorge upon the crops to such an extent that sometimes they kill themselves by going to drink immediately after filling their stomachs with the unripe grain.

The plants which survive the attacks of flood and drought, of insect, bird and beast grow to a height of eight to ten feet with stalks half an inch thick supporting the heavy oval-shaped heads of grain. The red millet is ready for harvest

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about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [445]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the 342 476 operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the [462] thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupa- 342 tion. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house 694 may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, 183 but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradition must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window. 342 644 183

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface. 226 [227]

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion. [227]

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud [221] [628] [476] [462]

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226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpoomed by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
693 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

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soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcase is floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

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224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the [749] hospital in Malakal.

224 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, 787 before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

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the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

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down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two bugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

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ment so much as endurance that is called for at a Shilluk dance. 535 881

The festivities are opened by a salute of the warriors to the assembled chiefs. The leader of the band approaches carrying a bowl of dust and asks the senior chief present or the leading guest to bless the dance; he takes a little dust [788] from the bowl and sprinkles it on the ground while calling down a blessing on the gathering. Then the warriors who are congregated at the opposite end of the field thunder forward with whoops and cries, their spears uplifted to strike, the lust of killing in their eyes; they stop dead in their tracks when the spears of the front rank are but a foot away from the row of chiefs and guests, and a roar of laughter goes up if they succeed in making anyone flinch. A second wave follows the first and so on, until with the onslaught of the last group this phase of the dance ends. The beat of the drums now quickens its tempo, spears are discarded in favour of dancing sticks and ambach shields, and the girls come forward to claim partners. A girl may take part in the [562] dance almost at any age, so that little girls of not more than twelve years of age are found taking their places in the long lines being formed. The dancers arrange themselves two abreast, the boys facing the girls; the boys stand with arms bent and sticks held upright, the girls hold themselves rigid with their arms pressed close to their sides. As three hundred pairs of feet thud down in unison, the ground seems to shake and dust rises in clouds; the drums throb, feet thump, the metal shells clash and bells clang, male voices yell hoarsely and female trill—the din is indescribable. The long lines circle slowly round the dancing floor, the boys jumping forward and the girls backward; in a concerted movement the girls raise their arms as if to ward off a blow and make a turn, first to the left, then to the right, while their male partners make the same half turns, bringing their sticks and shields over the girls' heads to protect them, as it were, from the threatened attack. This movement which is done at every dozen or so steps is the only variation in the monotonous jumping of the dance. A rest is called when the drummers

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535 are exhausted, but it is not long before the drumming is
98/ renewed with fresh vigour, for there is no lack of volunteers for the privilege of supplying the rhythm required, with a rapid slap of palm or thump of stick.

If our European traveller has halted to watch the dance and stayed as long as this, he will by now be deafened by the noise, choked by the dust and made dizzy by the monotonous movements of the dancers. He will be relieved when at last he is able to make his apologies to his host, ease up his cramped legs from the cowskin on which he has been sitting and make his escape. The din will follow him along the road, until in the distance it becomes a subdued murmur and finally dies away altogether. Behind him the dance continues with unabated enthusiasm, but when the sun begins to go down behind the trees, the party breaks up, and those who took part in it, still filled with the excitement which has possessed them all the afternoon, leap and shout and sing their way homeward. For them life is good. This is only the first day of the dance; there will be another tomorrow, and the day after that. Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow—we dance!

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Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648

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Empire, the Egyptians once more disappeared from Sudanese history.

For the next 200 years there is a gap in the records of relationship between the two countries, but then we find that the rôles of conquerors and conquered are reversed, and that Sudanese kings have successfully invaded and taken possession of Egypt and reign there as Pharaohs. The Sudanese dynasty in Egypt came to an end when the Assyrian hordes swept over the land in 660 B.C. but it continued in the Sudan itself in two separate kingdoms for nearly another 1,000 years, the one kingdom being destroyed by the Romans in 23 B.C. and the other overthrown by the Abyssinians in 350 A.D.

After this there is another blank in Sudan history covering the next 200 years until in 540 A.D. Christian missionaries reached the country from Asia Minor, having been sent by the Empress Theodora of Constantinople. Christianity spread rapidly over Northern Sudan and survived in that region in the north until the land was overrun by Mahomedans from Egypt in 1340, and in the south—that is, as far south as the country round the junction of the two Niles—until about 1500, when there, too, it succumbed to the ever encroaching tide of Moslemism. The next 300 years is a record of inter-tribal fighting and internecine warfare, as, lacking a powerful central authority, the various petty sheikhs incessantly preyed one upon another. The country was thus reduced to anarchy and was easy spoil for the organized invasion which came from Egypt in 1821.

This date may be said to mark the beginning of the modern history of the Sudan. The invasion was made by Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, then a dependency of Turkey, and thus the conquest was made in the name of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Mohammed Ali lost no time in establishing the country on an organized basis. It was divided into provinces and districts under Egyptian and Turkish officers directed from a Governor-Generalate at the newly founded town of Khartoum, built at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. Mohammed

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Ali's conquest of the Sudan was not for the purpose of bringing peace and prosperity to that unhappy country. He looked upon it as a vast milch cow whose yield was to supply him with the means of realizing his great ambition: the establishment of himself and his descendants as rulers of Egypt and the Sudan, completely independent of Turkey. Hence the primary occupation of the new government was the collecting of revenue in the form of tribute to fill Mohammed Ali's war chest, and of slaves to swell the ranks of the new Egyptian Army he was founding to wage war against his Turkish overlord. Frequent raids were made along the White Nile among the helpless pagan tribes for the purpose of capturing slaves both for recruits for the army and for domestic labour. Mohammed Ali attained his cherished title of independent ruler of Egypt and Governor of the Sudan in 1841, but this achievement did not stay his rapacity or that of his successors and their lieutenants. Indeed during the ensuing years the traffic in human lives reached enormous proportions. Better arming of the slavers' private armies and better organization of the raiding parties enabled them to venture further and further south. Huge parcels of land were farmed out to the merchants who found a rich return for their investments among the hapless people of Southern Sudan. Khartoum became the great slave market and clearing house of the Sudan.

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With the accession of Ismael as Khedive of Egypt in 1863 the first attempts were made to suppress or at least to diminish the slave traffic and to formulate some kind of progressive policy for the country. He called to his aid such men as Sir Samuel Baker, Colonel Charles Gordon, Rudolf Slatin and Gessi and appointed them as Governors of Provinces with full authority to stamp out the trade in slaves. That the efforts of these men were not more successful (in one year, for instance, Gordon and Gessi captured sixty-three caravans of slaves) was due not only to the strenuous opposition of the slave merchants themselves but also, and indeed mainly, to the corruption in high places among the Egyptian Pashas, most of whom had a keen financial interest in the business

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and had no intention of being deprived of so lucrative a source of wealth. Ismael's schemes for the betterment of the Sudan included the extension of the telegraph from Egypt to Khartoum, the inauguration of a postal system, the founding of a company to develop the agricultural resources of the country and of a steamship company. His reforms, however, were too few and came too late, and moreover he could not implement his authority with sufficient force to remedy the greatest of all the evils under which the country laboured, the slave trade. Whilst Gordon was at hand the traffic had decreased considerably, but with his recall to England in 1879 and replacement as Governor-General by an Egyptian, it revived immediately and flourished with greater vigour than before.

The unhappy Sudanese, crushed by the oppression of their Egyptian overlords and seething with discontent, were ripe for revolt and wanted only someone who would unite them and lead them in rebellion. A leader was found in the person of Mohammed Ahmed, the son of a carpenter, who had gained a reputation as a religious teacher and ascetic. He declared himself to be the Mahdi, the divinely appointed prophet, and proclaimed a holy war against the foreigners in the Sudan. The movement commenced in August 1881, and spread with surprising rapidity. Lack of appreciation of the situation both at Khartoum and Cairo resulted in the small expeditionary force sent to destroy the insurrection being cut to pieces and in the increasing strengthening of the Mahdists. Kordofan and Darfur provinces were overrun, and when at length in the middle of 1883 the Egyptian Government made a supreme effort to stamp out the rebellion, the Mahdist army easily defeated and almost annihilated the force sent out against it. The whole of the Sudan was now open to the Mahdi.

In February 1884 General Gordon returned to the Sudan with instructions from the British Government to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He arrived too late to accomplish anything, however, and lost his life when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists in January 1885. With the fall of Khartoum

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and the death of Gordon all outside influence on the Sudan came practically to an end. But the troubles of the unfortunate Sudanese themselves were by no means over. They had merely exchanged one tyranny for another. Six months after Gordon's death the Mahdi also died and was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, the Kalifa Abdullah; under him slavery, pillage and rapine quickly revived, revolts among the disillusioned tribes were ruthlessly and bloodily suppressed and anarchy reigned undisputed for the next thirteen years.

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In 1896 preparations were at length completed by the British and Egyptian Governments for the reconquest of the Sudan. A joint Anglo-Egyptian army under the command of Major-General Kitchener, later Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, invaded the country through Egypt, and in a campaign which lasted for two and a half years drove the Mahdist forces steadily before it and finally routed them decisively at the Battle of Omdurman in September 1898. The years of tyranny and oppression were over at last.

The new government of the Sudan took the form of a condominium, that is, a joint administration by England and Egypt by which the two countries pledged themselves to administer the Sudan primarily for the welfare of the Sudanese. The history of the Sudan during the past half century is an eloquent testimony of how well this object has been achieved.

The first step taken was to establish law and order throughout the land. The Governor-Generalate was restored but with the difference that the new holders of this exalted office had a far different conception of their duties and responsibilities than had their pre-Mahdist predecessors. The system of division into Provinces was re-established under British Governors who administered their charge with the assistance of District Commissioners. A police force was created, and gradually peace, order and security was imposed on a land which had enjoyed none of these blessings in all its previous history. Fully alive to the necessity of training the Sudanese in order that he might eventually

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175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[509] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

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648 solution was mainly found in the large-scale production of cotton.

Since the rainfall in the north is meagre and unpredictable, it was obvious that any large agricultural scheme would have to depend on irrigation, and the most suitable site for this was found to be the Gezira area, the delta formed south of the junction of the Blue and White Niles. The Gezira Irrigation Scheme was initially made possible by the generosity of the British Government which advanced loans amounting to nearly £12,000,000 to cover the cost of the great dam built at Sennar on the Blue Nile, and of the canalization system whereby the cotton and subsidiary crops are irrigated. The Scheme was launched on a large scale with the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1925. Originally the irrigable area was roughly 300,000 acres but has been extended during the years, so that now nearly 1,000,000 acres of land can be brought under cultivation. At its inception the scheme was run on a partnership basis between the Government, the peasant cultivator and a syndicate of experts. The Government supplied the canalization and the water, the cultivator raised the crops and the syndicate provided expert supervision and marketed the cotton. The three partners shared the profits in the proportion of 40% each to the Government and the cultivator and 20% to the syndicate. In 1950 the syndicate's concessions were terminated and its place was taken by a Government sponsored body, the Sudan Gezira Board.

During the years since the end of the war, the Sudan in company with the rest of the world has been going through a period of industrial and political unrest. The former to some extent has been settled by wage increases and improved working and living conditions, the latter is still in the process of working itself out. Once the country had been settled, efficiently policed, effectively administered and set on the road to literacy, the Sudan Government, in pursuance of its policy of eventually handing the land over to self-government, relaxed wherever possible its system of direct administration and called on the local sheikhs and chieftains to

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assist the District Commissioners in the administration of justice and tribal policy among their own people. This system of indirect rule commenced after the First World War among the nomadic tribes where the sheikh still had the status of patriarch and father of his people, was extended in time to the more permanently settled rural areas and eventually to the townships and municipalities. The late 1930's saw the beginnings of the Sudanization of the Central Government. Educated Sudanese found places in Provincial Councils, and in 1944 on the newly formed Northern Sudan Advisory Council. In 1948 a partly elected, partly nominated Legislative Assembly was set up and January 1954 saw the opening of the first elected Sudanese Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. This essay in self-government under international supervision is to last three years at the end of which period the Sudanese will decide for themselves the future of their country; whether they feel secure and strong enough to face the future completely independent, or whether their interests and security would be better safeguarded by union with Egypt.

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A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photos: Fr. F. Spokauskas

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

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Chapter VI

SHILLUK GOVERNMENT

643 Such is the relation of the Shilluk land to the lands of neighbouring peoples and to the great countries and powers of the modern world. Yet of these latter the Shilluk thinks very little. To him, his country is the world, and its government is all-important to his well-being. That government, and indeed all concept of authority, is centred in the [642] person of the Shilluk king.

'*L'état, c'est moi!*' No French monarch ever uttered that dictum with more assurance than a Shilluk king might have done had he ever heard of it, and thought it worth while to put into words what to him and all the Shilluk was a self-evident truth. Indeed, if a Shilluk were to enunciate his concept of the royal dignity, he would go much further than [642] merely to say that the king is the state, in the sense that he is an absolute monarch who rules his people according to his own dictates, who heeds not, indeed does not need, the advice of counsellors; who merely has to state his wishes for those wishes immediately to have the effect of law. He would indeed claim such despotic power on behalf of his king, though, lest some myrmidon of the Government was within hearing, he would hasten to add that it was no longer exercised and that no modern Shilluk monarch would in fact rule his country in so arbitrary a manner, yet would further aver that the king of the Shilluk is the state, in a way, and to a degree, that no European Monarch ever was; that to say that he ruled by the 'divine right of kings' would be something of an understatement; that he was king, not merely by divine authority and approbation, but that he was a divine king. For every Shilluk king has been and must be a descendant of Nyikang, the great deified hero-king of [186] the Shilluk.

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokauskas

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 648 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term '"Fashoda" Incident' is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north [103] of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognized right of any potential [669]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the
682 reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is,
669 as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or
731 otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the
[775] country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them; famine, pestilence, invasion, and—what comes nearer home and is always a potential danger during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies 766
in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer [178] practised.

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to [535] come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number [782] of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking [264] part in the funeral ceremonies.

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a 535
day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war 766
shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing [533] songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and address- [533] ing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but

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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, 643
when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that 666
the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A [787]
number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs 643
goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this pre- [669]
caution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since 643
with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an 669
armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as [178]
many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installa- 643
tion of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land 642
is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its [775]
habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public [535]
dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late

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643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 During this time also active preparations are on foot for the 796 ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, [326] ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of [301] bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species [237] of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation [326] ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 There is great activity during this period of preparation 796 in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own 778 sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king dis- 775 appeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers 796 are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march 778 to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and [614] start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

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643 796 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a [782] screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the [778] shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the [787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for [782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of [783] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

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king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened [372] stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village.

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's [778] second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *entourage* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved

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643 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang
796 reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward
[537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly.
[782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the posi-
797 tion, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or
[798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

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sense that saved the struggling mission of Detwok from destruction at the hands of the grief-stricken and enraged villagers when in 1931 the wall of a brick kiln collapsed, killing several boys and girls. He had on several occasions expressed his wish to become a Christian but owing to the political and religious repercussions that would have followed had he, the ruler and high priest of the Shilluk, taken such a step whilst in the prime of life, he had perforce to defer his conversion, but hoped for the grace of baptism before he died. God granted him his desire.

King Papiti became ill in mid-September, 1943. He had indeed been unwell for some time, but was afraid to let it be known to anybody in case the news brought the traditional smotherers to his hut. (On a similar occasion some years before he had had to spend lonely nights in the forest, in fear of his life, until he had recovered from his illness.) Now it was too late for medical skill to do anything for him and he was dying.

We heard the news in Detwok from Eugene, his nephew, one of our best Christians and a catechist. He proposed to go to Fashoda to ask the king if he had meant what he said about becoming a Christian. Being so close a relative of Papiti's and yet having no claim to the throne, Eugene would easily be admitted to his presence. He set off through the swamps and the mud (it was in the middle of the rains) to cover the twenty miles to Fashoda. On arrival there he was eagerly welcomed by Papiti who reiterated his desire for baptism. Eugene therefore gave him some preliminary instruction and without further delay continued as fast as the conditions of the terrain would permit, to Lul, some twelve miles further south. He arrived at the mission in the early hours of the morning and at once aroused Fr. Hurst from his bed. But let Fr. Hurst himself proceed with the narrative:

> In the Shilluk country there are no papers, but news travels fast nevertheless, and we heard that the king was sick. On Saturday, September 18th, at 4.30 a.m. I was

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643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs
[195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's
[644] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the
[237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the
[513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
[681] restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[634] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

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admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

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691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

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be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, 695
but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it 693
will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of 681
one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth [683]
out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried [684]
girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to [628]
pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the 682
case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is 628
demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive 628
from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

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628 raided in turn, his father speared to death and his brother so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards in Malakal hospital. The fact that one of the dead was the chief minister of the king did not deter the attackers from taking his life in retribution for the outrage they considered done to their family. In Detwok, over thirty miles away, we felt the repercussions of this awful tragedy. One of the teachers was a relative of the first aggressor, and he went in fear of his life for weeks after the unhappy event, and despite my assurances that no one would dare raid the mission, he insisted on carrying his spears around with him, even to the schoolroom and the chapel. The affair took place during the school holidays, and the boys from Lul who attended the Central or Teachers' Training Schools at Detwok did not return for some weeks after the new term had started, refusing, until the culprits on both sides had been arrested and security had been restored, to leave the safety of their villages, lest they be ambushed on the road and killed.

628 578 Sometimes a feud develops between two villages originating perhaps in some trivial incident now completely forgotten in the passage of time, but the principle is always the same: some injustice, real or imaginary, was suffered by one individual at the hands of another and such a thing can never be permitted to go unrequited. Reprisals follow from one side and the other, and a bitter rivalry springs up between the respective villages of the original antagonists, trouble breaks out periodically resulting in a little bloodletting and a few cracked skulls on both sides, police are [689] called in to restore order and to whisk the offenders off to prison, the village responsible for the breach of the peace is fined a number of cattle and both sides settle down to an uneasy truce until the next outbreak.

Such an antagonism exists between Detwok and its neighbour Pabiu. The quarrel originated over half a century ago when one village or the other—I could never discover which—destroyed or damaged or in some way desecrated the war drum of the other. The bitterness between the two villages grew with the passage of the years and there were

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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might 578
have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly 628
after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent [797]
a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another [625]
to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner 578
chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortu- 628
nate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple 648
of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not 634
merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment 578
and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The 628
rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even 731
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578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all. 578 628

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out. 578 628 535 302 301

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that 578 628

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578 he had better restrain his young men before something
628 happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Pabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

578 Poor Detwok! Poor Pabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only
628 wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice',
648 as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

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Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* [576]
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a [753]
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the [731]
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. [782]

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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782]
to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753]
taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755]
to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [787]
upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty calabash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825]
of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782]
washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362]
meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417]
spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358]
repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

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a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokowska

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

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Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Photo: Fr. F. Spaleuskas

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p.85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
[825] sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
[787] following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
[643] where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
[825] this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
[553] If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

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644 born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage
[608] of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from
[669] Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

* * *

581 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly
583 concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated
584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

583 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

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until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number 583
has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations.

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when 583
the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has 585
been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and 583
claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the 586
law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find 686
himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian [797]
family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

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583 break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
586 woman and children were not returned to their home within
686 three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
797 we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

583 And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he
602 assume the airs and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippon. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
231 few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

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funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with any- [181]
thing that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you off-hand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time.

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will [462]
at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

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586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's [578] family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might [692] attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 58 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

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mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the 797
catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'per- 581
haps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of 595
his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In 554
Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs [556]
or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her 587
matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to re- [589]
main a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of 763
wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

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763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[766] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

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Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once 766
except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in [764]
state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried
under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat
of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut [767]
into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden,
four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is
washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are
adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round
the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth
and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed
on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work [231]
of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very
difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground
is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since
it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down
to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut
in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body rest-
ing on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into
the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women
fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief,
clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in [533]
his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings
from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave,
throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she
casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back
to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she
throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all
the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes
round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads
and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period
of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after
the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of
the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured
on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud
and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance
follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder [535]
of the beer.

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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [778] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

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person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [801]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a [527] dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in the principal villages. [628] The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

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Chapter X

HOW THE FAITH CAME TO THE SHILLUK

By this, the patient reader should know something of the Shilluk people who inhabit this part of the Sudan, and perhaps he might now be wondering how it was that anyone thought of coming to evangelize them and how the first missions were established among them. The story takes us back more than a hundred years, to 1842, when Father Luke Monsori, an Italian Lazarist Father and companion of Blessed Justin de Jacobis, had to leave Abyssinia where missions had been established for many years, because of a persecution instigated by Abuna Salma, the head of the Coptic Church in that country. 797*

Father Monsori made his way to Khartoum, the present capital of the Sudan, and there began a mission by building a small church and school. In July 1843 he wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome, and after describing the work he was doing, said: 'I am also thinking of opening, as soon as I have repaired the buildings, a school for the boys of the Shilluk and Galla tribes and of other tribes on the White Nile who have lately been discovered. By this means there will soon be some youths well instructed in the truths of our holy religion who will be able to serve as catechists in their own villages. We can in this way get in touch with central Africa and open a mission there.' Unfortunately, however, he returned to Abyssinia the following year and left the mission in the hands of a Father Serrao, but the latter returned to Europe in 1847 and the mission was closed.

In 1848 some priests arrived in Khartoum to re-open the mission, but within three months the Vicar Apostolic died and one of the priests, Don Vinco, had to go back to Europe to seek for help. He was a native of Verona in Northern

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* 797 Italy, and at home stayed for some time in his old seminary where his description of the unhappy condition of the African negroes decided some of the students to follow him to the Sudan mission after their ordination. When Don Vinco returned to Africa he joined Mgr. Knoblecher, the new superior, on a voyage of exploration up the White Nile as far as Gondokero. Later he went back to Gondokero and founded a mission, and there he eventually died.

It was not until 1857 that the young students of the Mazza Institute, Don Vinco's old college, were ready to leave for Africa. Early in 1858 they set sail from Khartoum for Holy Cross, a mission station which had been founded not far from Gondokero. Among these young missionaries was a Veronese priest called Daniel Comboni, who wrote vivid letters home telling of their journey along this mysterious river, whose source was still undiscovered, and describing the strange birds and animals he saw on its banks. In one of these letters we hear of the Shilluk again. One night the boat ran on to a sandbank, and they could not get it off again. On the shore on one side they could see the fires of the Dinka and in the firelight the savages leaning on their great spears; on the other side of the river twelve or fifteen Shilluk canoes were tied up, their owners standing beside other fires; from both sides suspicious eyes were turned on the boat. It was easy for the missionaries to guess the thoughts that filled their minds: they were wondering if these white men were the usual slave traders who came to ravage their homes.

> Our position [wrote Comboni] was very critical; we were in the middle of the White Nile; on the one side were the Dinka who only last year had massacred the crew of a boat, on the other, the Shilluk, one of the most powerful and savage tribes of Central Africa, living by robbery and rapine. We could not move, and the ship's captain told us despondently that he did not know what to do. If those savages had wanted, they could have destroyed us in a matter of minutes. Do you know what we said? When we had discussed every side of the difficulty

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we said that if the Shilluk should come to attack us, with crucifixes on our breasts we would surrender everything to them, boat and all. Without doubt they would take us as slaves before their king, perhaps to be killed, but by the grace of God and by charity we would win the affection of those savage people, and so, without seeking any further for a place in the vineyard of Christ wherein to work, we would plant our Cross and found our mission station there. If we had been taken prisoners there and then, and carried in chains before their proud king, it might have proved the salvation of these haughty savages, but we, and perhaps they also, did not deserve such a grace. 797*

They were not taken prisoners, but managed to get off the sandbank by their own efforts. They had paid the Shilluk to help them, but these made off as soon as they received the money and did not stay to earn it.

Eventually the Fathers arrived at Holy Cross and there built themselves some huts and a church. Soon, however, the rainy season arrived and all the missionaries became ill with malaria. One laybrother had to be sent back to Khartoum where he died, and a month after their arrival one of the priests died as well. Don Comboni suffered more than any of them and wrote that he usually had a temperature for 36 out of every 48 hours; sometimes his bouts of fever lasted four, six and even nine days on end, and from April 5th until the middle of August he was hardly ever without a high temperature. The missionaries found it very difficult to make friends with the natives, for these hated all white men, believing them to be all slave traders and responsible for their sufferings. Nine months after their coming to Holy Cross the missionaries received their first letters, but these brought such bad news of death and ill health among their fellow-workers at Khartoum, including news of the death of the Pro-Vicar himself, that, considering their own weak condition, they decided to go back to Khartoum. Arriving there, another member of the party died, and it was found necessary to send Comboni to Italy if his life was to be saved.

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*797 Comboni recovered and hoped to return to Africa, but the frequent deaths among the mission personnel caused Mgr. Kirchner to conclude that the mission could not be carried on unless it were taken over by some large Religious Order. The Franciscans accordingly accepted the task, and sent two groups to work in the mission, but so many died even before the beginning of their labours that by 1862 the mission was practically abandoned. Don Comboni had sworn to one of his dying brethren that he would not desert Africa, and he never forgot his vow. He first worked with some native boys who had been brought to Italy, hoping to be able to send them back to work among their own people, but that plan was a failure; either the Africans died during the cold winter in Italy, or were spoiled by their contact with civilization. Then he had his great idea of 'saving Africa by means of Africa'; of founding institutes around the coast in healthy positions where white men and black could live together, and in these to train catechists and teachers, and eventually priests and nuns, who could be sent inland to start missions. To effect this plan it would be necessary to send missionaries in the beginning, but they could be changed frequently so that their health would not suffer. The Pope approved of this, and Comboni toured Europe to seek help from various Societies and Institutes. Help was forthcoming in the form of funds for his work, but he could not get any Congregation to undertake to send men. Individual priests were willing to assist, and a Congregation of nuns to help him temporarily, and with this help he founded an institute in Cairo where he took in sick and destitute negroes whom he nursed to health and instructed in the faith. Cardinal Barnabo, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, refused to give him a mission in central Africa; 'You must either bring me a certificate stating that you will live another 35 years, or found an Institute to carry on your work,' he told him, 'otherwise I am afraid that if an accident carries you off to another world, your work will die with you.'

Under the patronage of the Cardinal Marquis of Canossa,

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Comboni thereupon began two Congregations, the Verona Fathers and the Missionary Sisters of Verona. In May 1871 he was made Pro-Vicar of Central Africa, and on January 26th, 1873, left Cairo for Khartoum to take up residence there. He had been preceded by some of his missionaries, and immediately opened stations at Dilling, El Obeid and Berber. In 1877 he was consecrated Bishop and made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, but returning to Khartoum from Rome he found the Sudan desolated by a terrible famine which caused the death of hundreds of thousands of natives and many priests. He was thus forced to abandon his cherished project of the expansion of the mission. Dr. Matteuci, the famous explorer, wrote concerning this:

> Mgr. Comboni sees in the sad loss of nearly all his missionaries the delaying, for who knows how long, of the realization of his vast projects. In the last few months he had begun an agricultural station on the Blue Nile at Gadaref destined to have a great future; he had made arrangements for the establishment of a station at Fashoda, the capital of the Shilluk country, one of the most barbarous and unhealthy places in Central Africa, and was then preparing an expedition to the Equatorial Lakes which would have gone down in history as one of the most important achievements of Daniel Comboni.

Comboni always had in mind the poor Shilluk whom he had encountered on his journey to Holy Cross, and it was to help them that he planned to open a mission at Fashoda, but the famine postponed indefinitely this design, and the trials of the mission reached a climax with the death of the great apostle himself in 1881. It seemed that shipwreck was near, but the mission weathered the storm, only to come to grief a few months later. In 1881 the Mahdist revolt broke out, and as Dilling, El Obeid and Berber fell to the Mahdi, the priests, brothers and nuns became their prisoners. Many of them died as the result of the treatment they received when they refused to deny their faith and become Moslems;

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*797 others were taken to Omdurman and kept there as prisoners for ten years. The missionaries in Khartoum fled to Cairo, there to await the freeing of the Sudan by Anglo-Egyptian forces.

The revolt was suppressed in 1898, and it was only then that it became possible to carry out Mgr. Comboni's desire. In the beginning of December, 1900, Mgr. Roveggio, with Fathers Tappi and Ortwalder, left Khartoum in the mission boat *Redemptor* to explore the possibilities of founding a mission. They had decided to search in Dinka country, but the boatmen made a mistake and landed them on the Shilluk side of the river. Arriving at Fashoda, they sent a delegation to the king who answered that he would come himself to see them, but in the meantime needed a bottle of brandy as he was not well. When the king finally came on board, Mgr. Roveggio asked his permission to begin a mission among the Shilluk. The king consented and gave them a site at Tonga, far to the south. The missionaries then continued their journey to inspect the place the king had given them, and decided to accept it, but on their return they found that he had changed his mind and now wished them to settle at Lul, not far from his residence, as he thought that it would be more to his advantage to have them near at hand. On February 11th, Fathers Tappi and Huber went to live in the new mission station, the first established among the Shilluk.

*797 186 798 The beginnings of the mission were exceedingly difficult. Father Stang explained later: 'The Shilluk always speak badly of "foreigners", and despise everything which is not Shilluk, and this for two reasons: their pride in their own nation and the great suffering caused them by the Arabs and Mahdists.' The people would not go near the mission, and the old men and women kept away the curious children by telling them that the white men only wanted them as slaves, or would kill them to make poisons out of their blood. On July 7th, 1901, two of the mission huts were set on fire and only the timely arrival of Father Beduschi with supplies on July 24th saved the priests who had been left without shelter and food and tools. Ten years later the same Father wrote:

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'When Father Tappi and I started the first mission among the Shilluk at Lul, they did not want us; they hated us and twice attempted to kill us.' During the first few months the natives twice attempted to take their lives by throwing spears at them. One of their greatest troubles was the learning of the language, a tongue absolutely unknown to Europeans. The Shilluk could not bear the thought that foreigners should learn their language and did all they could to prevent them from doing so. They answered their questions falsely, and laughed scornfully at the attempts of the missionaries to write down the strange words; twice, too, they set fire to their houses so as to destroy their work. With time this difficulty was overcome, but even when the people could understand them they refused to listen to what they had to say. 'How is it possible,' they asked, 'for there to be anything good in heaven? Even the birds come down to eat so as not to die of hunger. We Shilluk are made to eat and dance; you foolish men can have your heaven.' They ran away from men so cruel as to wear on their breasts a cross with a man fixed to it. Alone in their mud huts, often hungry and often ill with malaria, the missionaries had only their faith and their trust in God to keep them at their posts. The health of the laybrothers became seriously impaired and yet not one Shilluk would come to work for them. To add to their troubles, the rains stopped earlier than usual that year and all their crops were ruined; the work they had done was wasted, and they were left even without seed to plant.

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Little by little, however, the natives began to approach the mission, first out of curiosity to see the work the white men were doing, and then to beg, whilst the king showed his interest by sending occasionally for a bottle of brandy, some money or some other present. At the same time the missionaries began to gain a reputation as doctors and were thus able to make friends with some of the people and baptize some children before they died. In 1903 the king deigned to visit the mission and stayed the night with the Fathers; he ordered the nearby villagers to send milk and instructed

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* 797 them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called
[643] the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this
[643] same year, too, the British Government deposed the king,
[648] Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was
[346] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

[114] A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

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Another well-remembered figure is that of Mother Adalgesa who died in 1946 while still in the prime of life. She had been Mother Provincial in this mission for eight years after serving in Uganda for twelve. Her death was brought about by the long hours she spent in the sun treating those who sent for her aid during the epidemic of relapsing fever. She saved many lives and drew many souls to God by her self-sacrificing charity. She died in hospital in Malakal, thanking God that she was able to die in the mission and not in far-off Khartoum. 'It is only right,' she said, 'that I should die here among the Shilluk, since I have given my life for them.' When her body was brought to Lul for burial, the church was crowded with weeping people. 797* [164]

In 1929 the present convent was built, and later the Fathers' house was rebuilt and a school with five classrooms erected. [346]

Other stations than Lul were gradually established as the work among the Shilluk was extended. In 1904 a mission was opened at Tonga, the site originally given by the king. Father Beduschi was the first Superior, but success was very slow, and after ten years or so he went to work in Uganda. It was not until 1923 that a third mission was established, this time near the village of Detwok, from which it takes its name. The funds for its foundation came from a group of Milanese Catholics who wished to assist a mission in Central Africa, preferably among the Shilluk people. Father Beduschi was recalled to become the first Superior of the new foundation; he was well fitted for it, being well acquainted with the language and customs of the people, but having seen the difference between the people in Uganda and the Shilluk he returned to the scene of his former labours very unwillingly and with great misgivings. On his very last day in Tonga a spear had been thrown at him in an attempt on his life. He went with Father Brambilla and a laybrother, Brother Joshua, who had helped him in the foundation of Tonga and had been there since 1904; their first task was to build huts to serve as house, church and school. The same hostility on the part of the natives met them as it had in Lul and Tonga, and 797* 798

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* 797 Father Beduschi wrote that the site of the new mission was
[798] unhealthy, and that it had no resources, unless clouds of mosquitoes and flies and armies of white ants could be called resources. As soon as the rains had ended, the new arrivals
[312] dug two wells for water, to the amazement of the natives,
[177] who could not understand the need for a well when the river was only half a mile away, and who refused to drink the water from the wells, thinking it was bewitched. Father Beduschi managed to gather a few boys together and start a school, but his work was undone by the chiefs, witch doctors, and old people who came and took the children away by force. In other ways, too, ill-luck dogged the new foundation: the few crops they had succeeded in planting in the poor soil failed; the road they had made from the mission to the river was nearly all carried away by floods; a bridge they had built was burned; a great pile of grass gathered for roofing the huts was destroyed by fire.

Father Beduschi had hoped to obtain catechists from Uganda, but when this was found impossible he borrowed some from Lul and sent them into the surrounding villages. He wrote also to the Mother General of the Verona Missionary Sisters asking her to send some Sisters to work in the mission as a present for the Silver Jubilee of his ordination and his coming to Africa. 'Detwok,' he wrote, 'is made up of thorns and crosses; I cannot promise the good Sisters anything but work and trouble; I even promise them disappointments and not consolations, but I do promise them a missionary life, and what more do they desire?' He did not live to see the Sisters arrive, for on November 10th, 1924, he
[164] died of blackwater fever, offering his life for the salvation of the Shilluk people. When he was dying, his companion, Father Brambilla, offered up to two shillings for a bottle of milk to give him, but the neighbouring villagers refused to let him have it.

[164] Brother Joshua who was with him both at Tonga and again at the Detwok mission died eventually as a leper. In Tonga he had made friends with a leper in an effort to

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convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the 797 *
native boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and [164]
said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish.

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught [177]
the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to [339]
build.

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week 761
later. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a 643
conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to 797 *
their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 643
'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission 797 *

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* 797 643 was saved. Of the two chiefs who were on the side of the missionaries one is now the father of the best Catholics and catechists in Detwok, and it is pleasant to recall that King Papiti received the grace of Baptism before he died, as has already been related.

Father Brambilla, who was Superior at Lul at the time, hastened to Detwok when he heard the sad news and offered to give to the family of each of the dead girls ten cows, the amount of dowry which each would have had on marrying, but the king would not hear of it, giving as his reason: 'The crocodile does not give cows; this was an accident.' Soon afterwards the people assembled for the solemn mourning dance for the dead children, and Father Brambilla sent four bulls for the funeral feast.

* 797 The church was completed in the same year by Father Cotta, and under his guidance the school also made great progress. It was his dream to have a Central School there for the whole Shilluk mission to which boys would come from Lul and Tonga to attend the upper classes, but this scheme was not realized whilst he was there.

The mission of Kodok, as it was known, was raised to the status of an Apostolic Prefecture in 1938 and the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society of Mill Hill took over the staffing of the district from the Verona Fathers who had worked there for nearly forty years. The first leader was Mgr. Wall, who had already seen many years of service in Kenya. He had his headquarters at Malakal, another mission in Shilluk territory, and the Prefecture was renamed after this place in 1949. Since the coming of the Mill Hill Fathers the good work has gone on slowly, but the difficulties still remain immense; a total absence of civilization, complete indifference to religion on the part of the population in general, trying climatic conditions and wretched communications make the missionary's task hard and call for great patience and a spirit of optimistic endurance. Much effort [871] has been put into the advancement of education. Father Cotta's dream of a Central School in Detwok has been realized, and schools for both boys and girls as well as

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Teacher Training Centres have been established in other missions. New stations have been started in Awechi, Wau and Riang Nom. 797* [871]

Mgr. Wall had to relinquish his office of Prefect in 1947 owing to failing health, and was succeeded by Mgr. John Hart.

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Chapter XI

IS ANYONE SICK AMONG YOU?

*797 A missionary priest working among the Shilluk will have trials, exasperations and disappointments in plenty, and being but human may gloomily wonder whether the paucity or perhaps the complete lack of results makes further efforts among such a graceless and utterly ungrateful people, in so miserable and inhospitable a terrain, really worth while, or whether it would not be better to transfer himself and his undoubted talents to a more salubrious clime and a more appreciative flock. Yes, there is no doubt about it, he is simply wasted where he is, and would do very much better in Kenya or Uganda, for instance, or the Congo, where converts are simply pouring in in their thousands, where there are decent roads and means of transport and a missionary trek means a satisfying tour by motor bike, lasting three or four weeks, and not just a bone-jolting bike ride to Kodok and back.

Thus he muses, and comes to the conclusion that he is undoubtedly right, and that he had better write to the Prefect by the next boat and break the news gently that he feels that he and his gifts are being wasted in this sterile land, and therefore will the Prefect please arrange with the authorities at home for his transfer to another and more congenial sphere of labour. Of course the letter is never written, much less sent (if it were it would probably be greeted with the hoots of derisive laughter that it deserved), for the mood rarely extends beyond the after-lunch pipe, and should it resist even that mellowing influence, it is effectively squelched by the next sick call. For there is nothing like a sick call, not even perhaps the celebration of Holy Mass, to make the priest see things in their true perspective; to make him realize the value of his presence in

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this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, 797* not as a teacher, or an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has vested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile.

Sickness and death do not study the convenience of the missionary either as to time or place, so he must be prepared to go at any time to any place that it is humanly possible to reach, whatever be the risk or inconvenience to himself; and although not usually fraught with peril, sick calls do have the habit of coming in at the most awkward times and from the most inaccessible of places. It may happen that the priest is alone in the mission and is perhaps in the middle of morning school when the summons comes from a village maybe ten or fifteen miles away. A catechist has come across 163 a man, baptized many years ago in Detwok, but long 797* since drifted from the district, who is sick and dying in a remote village on the other side of Kodok, and now sends in a messenger to inform the priest. Or, as often happens, the mission hears of it only because the pagan relatives of the dying man have sent in, not to summon assistance, but merely to beg a cloth to use as a shroud for his burial. Whatever way the news has come in, the priest acts promptly; 797* he hurriedly hands over his class to the Sister next door, or gives it sufficient work to keep it busy—if not happy—for the remainder of the morning. From the house he picks up his sick-call case, hurries to the chapel for the Blessed Sacrament and, if the state of the roads permits, is away on his bicycle in a matter of minutes. If the rains are on and cycling is impossible, he changes his shoes and stockings for a pair of rubber pumps and sets out across the fields and through the swamps in the general direction of the main road and Kodok.

He arrives at that important administrative and commer- [632] cial centre (the Assistant District Commissioner's residence [648] and office, a prison, a dispensary and half a dozen Arab-

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* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632 on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342 into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276 Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

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With a little help from the priest and a great deal left to the compassionate understanding of God, he makes his confession and receives his first absolution for years. Then the priest unbuttons the pocket of his shirt and takes from it a leather case, containing a gold box, that he has been carrying suspended by a cord round his neck. There is no table with spotless white cloth, crucifix, lighted candles and flowers, nothing but the bare earth floor: so he places a small corporal on the crown of his sun helmet and reverently lays the pyx down on it. The catechist who returned after the man had made his confession raises him up while the priest gives him Holy Viaticum. Then the priest goes on to administer the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, but first he must find a clean spot on each limb that he can anoint, so he wipes the grimy hands and feet with a piece of cotton wool soaked in water. With his thumb smeared with the holy oil he proceeds with the anointing: 'By this holy anointing and of His own most tender mercy, may the Lord forgive thee the sins thou hast committed . . .' he murmurs, as in turn he makes the sign of the Cross on eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands and feet. The sick man has already drifted into unconsciousness and only the faint breathing and an occasional twitch of his hand show that he is still alive, and it is obvious that the end cannot be long delayed. The anointing finished, the priest carefully cleanses his thumb with a piece of cotton wool, and burns it, together with the wool that he used during the anointing. There remains now but one more thing, the Apostolic Blessing. This is quickly given and then he closes his sweat-stained ritual and slips it, together with his stole, into his bag, and at last is free to quit that stifling atmosphere for the comparative coolness outside. The pagans grouped outside the hut eye him curiously as he stands for the moment dazzled by the sun, but offer no comment save that one opportunist seizes the chance to try and beg a piastre, and failing that, a pipeful of tobacco. The priest wipes his streaming face with his now grimy handkerchief and, bidding the little group farewell, makes his way out of the village, accompanied as usual by

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokowska

Sisters' Convent, Detwok. Sister gives catechism class

[Facing p. 116]

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763 the snarling dogs. He and the catechist have not gone far on
* 797 their way towards Kodok, when the shrill wailing of women breaks out in the village they have just left; the man has died. The priest stops for a moment and commends the departed soul to God and then continues on his road.

* 797 In Kodok he meets with a disappointment. It is two p.m. and he had hoped to find his friend the Assistant District Commissioner at home, but he is out on trek in his district and so all hopes of a refreshing wash, followed by a still more refreshing bottle of cold beer and lunch, vanish. He stops for a while and rests in the shade outside the shop of one of the merchants, and is offered and gratefully accepts a glass of tepid, sickly sweet lemonade. At last, with a sigh, he throws away his cigarette and reluctantly pulls himself to his feet, to cover the ten miles that lie between him and a bath, a meal and a luxurious stretch in a deck chair.

Not all sick calls have the same happy ending as that just described. Sometimes the priest makes a long and tiring journey to find that the person he has come to see was suffering from an imaginary sickness, or else has made a miraculous recovery and has gone off to put in some work in his field, or for a day's fishing. Sometimes, alas! he arrives too late, and finds only a newly-made grave.

763 On one occasion I had been wandering through some
* 797 villages in the evening and made a last call, just at sunset, at
[164] Pabiu. Here by chance I found a youth, shrunken and wasted by tuberculosis and obviously ill beyond recovery. He had been sick, I was told, for the past six months and had recently been brought from a village inland where he had been living for the past several years, in order that he might die in his own village. He was not a Christian, but had been a pupil at the mission school some years previously, and he still remembered some of his catechism, and asked to be baptized. Since he was quite cheerful and lively in spite of his illness, there did not seem to be any immediate danger of death so I promised that I would return the following evening to instruct and baptise him. He assented cheerfully,

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Photo: Dr. F. Spiekmeier

Sister Infermarian gives an injection at Detwok

[facing p.17]

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and so we parted. The next evening, after tea, I mounted 763
my bicycle and pedalled leisurely towards the village. 797 *
Half-way there I met the father of one of the school boys, and we chatted for a few minutes about the progress, or rather lack of progress, his son was making. Then he asked me casually where I was going, and I replied just as casually that I was going to Pabiu to baptize so-and-so. 'So-and-so?' he said. 'He died half an hour ago.' I stared at him in amazement for a moment, and then, jumping on my bike, pedalled furiously to the village. It was only too true. I could hear the shrill crying of the women as I approached. The men were digging the grave and the body, not yet cold, [764]
had been prepared for burial. Whether the lad had been 'helped' out of this world, I could not say; I baptized him conditionally, and could but commend him and his good intentions to the mercy of God. Then, sick at heart, I rode slowly back to the mission.

One does not easily associate humour with the administration of the Sacraments to a person who is dying, but sometimes there can be, in retrospect, a funny side even to these solemn and awful occasions. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of Rachael, the old blind leper woman of Pabiu. Poor Rachael was long a-dying, and weary though she must have been of this world she had hung on to life long beyond anybody's expectation. I had long since given her the last Sacraments and every day expected to hear that she had gone to heaven. One morning the Sister told me that the old woman did seem to be near her end and probably would not last the morning, so I went across to Pabiu to render her what assistance I could in her agony. The entrance to a Shilluk hut is a round hole no more than [342]
waist high so that one wishing to enter must bend double or even go on hands and knees to do so. Furthermore, the inside of the hut is in semi-darkness, and entering from the bright sunlight it takes a moment or two to accustom oneself to the surroundings. Hence, when I ducked through the doorway, I almost pitched headlong over a shapeless bundle

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763 lying right across the entrance. It was poor Rachael who
*797 had been stretched out across the threshold where anyone entering the hut could not fail to step on or fall over her. Sitting against the wall opposite the entrance were four
[521] ancient-looking hags who were simply passing the time away in gossip whilst waiting for the old woman to die. When I made my undignified entrance, one of the unlovely quartette, Rachael's daughter, said, 'Get up, Rachael. Here's the Father and he has brought you a burying cloth.' Said I, 'I haven't brought a burying cloth.' Chorus from the four beauties: 'He hasn't brought a cloth, Rachael; don't get up.' To me, 'What have you brought?' 'I have come to give her a blessing.' 'Oh! He's come to give you a blessing, Rachael; don't get up.' At this point poor Rachael dimly understood that someone had come to give her something, so she asked me to put it in her hand and not let the others get it.

I thought that I had better get on with the good work, and blessing the hut and Rachael with holy water, I began to recite the Litany of the Dying. Half-way through, there was an interruption from the daughter: '*Jal duong*'—a
[514] pause whilst she spits, across Rachael and through the doorway; a good ten feet.

Myself: 'What?'

Daughter: '*Yi bi.*'

[576] This normal Shilluk greeting often comes, not when first meeting a person, but halfway through the conversation or visit. I said something more than my prayers, while the four resumed their gossip and spitting.

Daughter: '*Jal duong, Jal duong.*'

Myself: 'All ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Shut up.'

Daughter: 'O-oh! He says: "Shut up," and I was going to tell him that I went to the Sister to tell her that my mother was dying and to ask for a cloth to bury her in.'

At length, without further interruption I finished the prayers for the Dying, and gave poor Rachael one final blessing and prepared to depart. The four beldams followed me out of the hut, and the following conversation resulted:

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Daughter: '*Jal duong.*' 763
Myself: 'What?' 797*
Daughter: 'When are you coming back with the cloth?'
Myself: 'I am not coming back with a cloth.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Shall I come to the mission to get it?'
Myself; 'No; I have no cloth.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Have you any tobacco?'
Myself: 'No, I have no tobacco.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Are you going now?'
Myself: 'Yes, I am going now.'
Final Chorus: 'He is going now, Rachael, and he hasn't brought a cloth to bury you in, and he hasn't any tobacco. Don't get up.'

In the same village of Pabiu was another ancient lady, 797*
Amelia. Amelia had been baptized many years before the Mill Hill Fathers came to the Sudan, but she had long since given up all practice of her religion, and for some reason or other was bitterly antagonistic to the mission and all that it stood for, jeering at those Christians who did come to Mass and the Sacraments, and trying to prevent children from coming to the school. During the weeks preceding Easter we had had a round-up of the district, reminding the lazy and indifferent of the approaching Feast and of their Easter duties. The Parish Priest had visited Pabiu and had seen and chatted to Amelia. Some word cheerily spoken, or some little kindness he had shown her touched the old woman's heart and the grace of God did the rest. She promised that she would come to make her Easter duties, and she was as good as her word. I was agreeably surprised when she came to confession before Mass on Easter Sunday and later received Holy Communion. A fortnight later word came 763
that Amelia was very ill, having caught a chill which 797*
developed into pneumonia. I took the familiar path to Pabiu to see her, and it was obvious at once that her hours were numbered. She had been carried out of her hut into the small compound in front and was lying in the afternoon sun, propped up against the reed palisade. To hear her

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763 confession was an easy task now, and I gave her Holy
*797 Viaticum and then proceeded to anoint her. As I did so she stirred feebly, tried to raise herself up and twisted her shoulder towards me. 'Father,' she said 'put some there. That's where the pain is.'

*797 Epidemics sometimes visit the district and then the
[731 missionary is very busy indeed. Devastating though they
164] may be, carrying off both young and old, the strong as well as the weak, they can have a chastening effect on the lazy, indifferent and careless. On one occasion I stood in the dark behind a hut, whilst mosquitoes in their thousands whined and buzzed and bit, hearing a panic-stricken man's confession. Within the hut, his wife, his little daughter and infant son, all newly baptized, lay dying. The sickness had not touched him, but its visitation to his home did what years of coaxing, prodding and reminding had failed to do.

164 A primitive people like the Shilluk fall an easy prey to
744 whatever sickness is going. Not overclean in their persons and insanitary in their habits, they huddle together at night in small windowless huts with the doorway blocked by a heavy grass mat; hence disease quickly spreads from person to person, from hut to hut and from village to village. Medical facilities are limited and an epidemic can get a good hold before effective reinforcements can be sent from Malakal, sixty miles away, to help the overworked Medical Assistant. During my first years at Detwok, cerebro-spinal meningitis was a regular annual visitor. It came when the rains ceased, and with the first showers of the next rainy season it disappeared again, but during the intervening months it did its deadly work and scarcely a day passed without some village mourning its dead. An effective remedy was found, however, in a spinal injection of the famous 'M & B' drug, and the scourge lost much of its terror. After 1942 it failed to put in its annual appearance, and to date Detwok and district has been free of it altogether, although yearly it makes its presence felt in the southern end of the province, and takes a deadly toll in other provinces in the Sudan.

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In September 1944 a new sickness swept through the 164
country. One evening I received a sick call from a village
some four miles to the south of Detwok. Just as I was setting
out another message came in from a village equally distant
from this mission, but to the north. It so chanced that I was
alone in the mission at the time so that the two calls from
opposite directions put me in something of a quandary,
since the rains were on and I could not use a bicycle. How-
ever, the call from the south appeared to be the more
urgent of the two, so I went there and sent a catechist north
to do whatever he could. When I arrived at my destination,
I was appalled at what I found. It was not one person who
was ill, but a dozen or so, including three in the house to
which I had been called. (It was on this occasion that after [797] *
I had baptized his wife and children the terrified husband
asked me to hear his confession on the spot.) I found the
same in the other villages nearby, and when I met my cate-
chist that night he had a similar tale to report from the
north. I immediately sent a runner to Kodok to wire the
news through to Malakal, surmising that the outbreak was
one of cerebro-spinal meningitis, since the symptoms
seemed to be similar, though I was puzzled at its appearance
during the rains. Prompt help was forthcoming from Mala- 164
kal. The following day a launch brought a doctor and a 744
team of assistants, and the outbreak was diagnosed as
relapsing fever. It is a disease carried by lice. The person
infected becomes ill and is very seedy for about a week;
then he recovers and apparently is as well as ever, but after
a short interval he is stricken down again, and unless medical
assistance is at hand, death generally follows. Fortunately,
medical assistance was at hand, and although, owing to the
sickness becoming widespread so rapidly, many succumbed
to it, very many were saved thanks to the immediate action
taken by the medical authorities.

The major problem was how to stamp out this plague
which had originated somewhere round Kaka and advanced
south with great rapidity. Squads of soldiers and public
health workers were sent to the district and they toured the

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164 villages, boiling, disinfecting or burning anything that could
744 harbour the deadly lice. It was a long struggle, and the sickness had spread south of Lul and managed to get a hold on the Malakal side of the river before it was finally destroyed.

*797 In the mission, we fought long and unceasingly, and
164 happily, not unsuccessfully, to keep the fever at bay. Natur-
744 ally in the school we had always maintained a very high standard of cleanliness. A morning bath for the children had
[515] always been enforced, their clothes had to be washed every Saturday, and classrooms and dormitories were swept and dusted daily. But we multiplied our efforts; the pupils' heads were kept shaved, and their clothes, blankets and mosquito nets were boiled. They were deprived of all beads, bracelets and trinkets—anything indeed where lice could find refuge. Stripped of their adornments for the first time, they appeared to be really naked, and they, and we, lived in a perpetual cloud of D.D.T. powder. As far as possible the villages were put out of bounds and the children's activities confined to the area between the mission and the river. Thanks to all these precautions only two boys went down with the sickness. These were promptly and rigorously isolated and, receiving immediate medical attention, both recovered.

164 Since the passing of the relapsing fever epidemic the district has been free from any serious outbreak of sickness. Every year, however, from November to March, when the really cold North wind comes howling across the country, many people, particularly among the old folk, get pneu-
*[797] monia, and the priest is ever on the alert for the knock on his door and the summons which may take him but ten minutes to answer, or on the other hand may mean a journey of twenty miles or more, and occupy him the best part of the day.

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Chapter XII

GOZINTAS AND ALL THAT

A visitor to Detwok, or indeed to any other mission station, taking an after-breakfast stroll round the place, would perhaps be momentarily mystified by a buzz which, as one approached nearer the source, would develop into a chant of youthful voices. Even though the listener knew nothing of the Shilluk tongue, the chant nevertheless would soon be recognized without much difficulty, for I suppose that about the same hour each morning the same chorus arises from millions of young voices all the world over. The language might differ from place to place, but the chorus is the same and the theme is the same: 'Two gozinta four twice, two gozinta six three times, two gozinta eight four times, etc., etc.' The Shilluk version is a little more elaborate than its English counterpart, for it may be translated thus: 'Four, its inside has two multiplied by two . . . ten with two to its head (i.e. twelve), its inside has two multiplied by six,' and—if one wished to proceed thus far—'one hundred with forty to its head, with four to its head, its inside has ten with two to its head multiplied by ten with two to its head.'

No matter how zealous a missionary may be to preach the Gospel, he realizes that evangelization must needs go hand in hand with secular education, and indeed in some cases—and this is particularly true of the Shilluk people—must follow it. For the adult Shilluk is so conservative in his habits and customs, is so imbued in the mythology of his tribe which claims its founder to be a demi-god and the spirit of divinity to be immanent in its kings, as to be almost wholly indifferent to the presence of the foreigner in his midst, and quite incurious as to the reason of his coming. Hence, the Catholic priest among the Shilluk, although by no means unmindful of the salvation of the adult pagan,

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* 797 must of necessity concentrate the greater part of his efforts
871 on the youth of the tribe through the medium of the school. Here the teaching of the 'three Rs' is combined with a solid grounding in the Catechism, and at the end of the boy's third year, if he has proved a satisfactory pupil and desires to become a Christian, he is baptized. A further year in the
[872] mission Elementary School is followed by four years Intermediate education. At the end of this period the boy may,
873 if of sufficient ability, pass on to the Secondary School, and may ultimately attain to the highest honours of University College, Khartoum. Alternatively, when his Intermediate or
464 Secondary course is finished, the pupil, either of his own choice, or because further promotion is denied him, may elect to seek employment, usually in one of the Government
[874] departments, or to proceed to a course of training as an Elementary or Primary School teacher.

* 797 In any case the priest is always at hand to guide, guard and
872 instruct him. In the mission school, naturally, he lives in a Catholic community and atmosphere. If he is transferred to a Government School, he finds a Catholic chaplain in residence who will continue his religious education, say Mass for him daily, give him the Sacraments and act as his mentor and guide in general. Our hope is that, with all these measures and safeguards, the Shilluk boy, now fast approaching manhood, with eight or ten years' schooling behind him, his character strengthened and firmly set in Catholic practices, will bring a Catholic influence into his tribe, will marry a Catholic wife and found a Catholic family, and so will prove a corner-stone in the building up of Christianity in the tribe during the next generation.

This is the reason why I, in common with the majority of newly-arrived missionaries, was set to serve my apprenticeship in the school. Two days after my arrival at Detwok, I was firmly though not unkindly conducted to a classroom, confronted by two rows of husky youths and told, 'This is Class IV; go ahead and teach them.' Left to my fate, I gave the class what I fondly hoped was a friendly grin but which was probably a sickly leer, and the pupils responded with a

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teeth-baring snarl. Then I bade them a cheery 'Good-morning', and was greeted in turn by a full-throated roar. These preliminaries over, I cast wildly round for something to teach. English! That's what I'll start with; English by the direct method. And heaven knows, never before had a class so unique an opportunity of learning by the direct method; I knew no Shilluk, and it had no English. The setting was perfect. I picked up a book from the table and said 'BOOK'. The boys beamed brightly as though I had performed a smart conjuring trick. I repeated the word and indicated that they were allowed to play too, and was rewarded by a thundered response of 'FOOL'. I showed them a tin box, saying 'TIN'. The answering bellow was 'SIN'. 'TABLE' was rendered as 'ALEFUL' (which I wasn't at that hour of the morning). 'RULER—BOO', 'CHAIR—JEER', 'PEN—FEN', 'PENCIL—FANCY'. And so the merry game went on. When I said 'Stand up', the response sounded like a request from a gangster accompanied by a menacing gesture with a tommy gun.

When at length I had exhausted all the articles in the room, my vocabulary, and myself, I selected the book from the now littered table and asked the brightest looking star in the galaxy what it was. He promptly answered 'Fool'. I tried another boy and he thought it was a 'Fancy'. I waggled the book at a third and he gave his considered opinion that it was a 'Jeer'. 'No, you clown,' I shrieked, 'it's a Book, a BOOK, a BOO—OOOK'. 'Now'—to the whole class—'what is it?' The troupe, game to the last, bayed something that ranged between 'Fool' and 'Coot'. I threw the book at them and fled.

It is interesting after the lapse of a dozen years to see what became of the 'guinea pigs' of that first 'Essay in Elementary English'. Simon is now a respected and happily married Primary teacher in Detwok Central School; Maurice teaches in Lul Elementary School; Bernard, after serving Detwok mission faithfully for years, inherited a dead relative's wife, and now we see him no more. One boy died and two have dropped out of my ken. Two others took full

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*797 advantage of the superiority that the mission education
159 gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

*797 To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little
185 or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the
[759] mission was a place where those good, but queer, women, the Sisters ('*Thwore*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suore*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place
872 where his children could learn to read and write, but rather
*797 a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring
857 could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to
[262] them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

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dusty nakedness; the good red blankets to protect them from the cold at night; the two solid meals a day in which oil and salt were always to be found, and frequently meat and groundnuts as well, and the joys and thrills of football. For these and other blessings the Shilluk boy was quite willing to put up with the nuisance of having to sit in a classroom for a few hours each morning, with the grind of gozintas and the making of ridiculous marks on a slate. After all, he needn't learn these things if he didn't want to; when the novelty of the place wore off, and even the delights of football began to cloy, he could always run away and return to the freedom of the pampas and the cattle camp, and if he had any luck he might be able to get away with his cloth and his blanket too. And, by heaven, they did run away, with a regularity that became monotonous. I suppose that during the first couple of years, for every boy who found learning to his liking and settled down to make it his career, ten tired after a month or two and returned to the less exacting life of the kraal and the cattle camp.

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Sometimes it would suddenly dawn on a Shilluk parent that he hadn't seen his son and heir about the place for the past week or two, and that his herd was either tended by a substitute, or else running wild to the detriment of his neighbours' corn fields, and with a baleful light in his eye and a willowy stick in his hand, he would make a bee-line for the mission. Or perhaps he would be returning from the river and would stand stock still and rub his eyes in astonished incredulity on beholding the vision of the apple of his eye clad in spotless white, his face shining with soap and his soul with virtue, among the alumni of Detwok Academy. Disturbed in whatever I was doing by the ear-piercing shrieks that one usually associates with pig killing, I would rush to the spot. But the result was always the same; the white badge of scholarship would be whipped off the boy and flung indignantly in my direction; the erring youth, after dodging round a few obstacles to avoid the shrewd cuts of the ashplant, would break for the open and hare it in the general direction of French Equatorial Africa, his irate dad

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a good second, getting in a telling thwack every second or third step. I could but watch with dismay until the yells grew fainter as pursued and pursuer grew smaller in the distance, and then resignedly cross the name of yet another promising scholar from the roll.

So with one thing and another Detwok Elementary Vernacular School had something of a floating population during the first two years. In January 1940 there were some twenty pupils in Class I. When I closed the school in November there were still some twenty pupils in Class I, but alas! they were not the same twenty. There had been many incomings and outgoings during the intervening months, so that the personnel of the class, although always hovering around the twenty mark, had completely changed not once only but several times, and of the original twenty not one had stayed the course. On going across to the school on any given morning, I could never know whether I would find thirty pupils or thirteen or even three. On one historic occasion, indeed, I found none! There had been a communal fishing effort on the previous day resulting in a bumper catch. And overnight, the entire student body had hied it to the villages, nor did any of the truants return while there remained a bone to be picked clean.

Gradually, however, things improved. I was able to take a firmer hand and in 1942 let it be known far and wide that I would refuse all comers after the end of February (the school re-opened at the beginning of January), and that all who left would be refused re-admittance. In May and June, when the grain bins were emptying and the first rains were falling, the usual stream of applicants athirst for academic honours began. Steeling my heart, I refused one and all. The Shilluk were incredulous and indignant. 'Where,' they demanded, 'are we to find food for the children at this time of the year?' I regretted that I did not know, but assured them that it would not be from the school larder; I pointed out that if they had made less beer during the months of plenty, they would have sufficient now for themselves and their progeny, and bade them a courteous good-day. Those

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in the school, knowing that re-entrance was barred to them 797 *
if they ran away, and sensing what the coldness of their 872
reception at the family dinner table would be if they returned at such a time, elected to stay, and found that actually gozintas and all that could be fun. They remained for that year and came back for more the following year. Numbers grew year by year until the happy day in mid-January 1946 when I had to turn applicants away through lack of room.

At the time of writing the Shilluk have become far more [185]
education-conscious, and all our schools can now be filled without any difficulty. Indeed the problem has now become that of finding sufficient room and teachers for all who apply. Even girls are coming forward in increasing numbers. The [562]
reader may have noticed that so far there has been mention only of boys. In 1940, girl education was but an idle dream. Now each mission has its separate girls' school in the care of the Sisters, and so the prospects for the future Christianizing of the Shilluk are thereby considerably enhanced.

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Chapter XIII

BUILDING

*797 Not one of the least headaches of a priest working in the foreign mission is the provision of the buildings he needs for his work. It is the great desire of every priest, of course, to have a church as beautiful and seemly as he can; in addition, he must for health's sake provide himself and the Sisters who may be working in the mission with him with well-built houses; there are also school buildings, teachers' houses and perhaps a hospital or dispensary to be constructed. There are no architects to be called on for plans, no contractors to be engaged to do the work; out of very slender resources, and with whatever ingenuity he can summon to his task, he has to do his best with what lies to his hand. I will try to describe to you, then, a session of building as it is conducted in one of our Sudan missions.

During the rainy season, as can be expected, nothing in the building line is possible, but with the end of the rains the mission begins to move with a little more liveliness than it has been able to do during the previous few months; to scrape the clogging masses of mud from its boots, to hang its waterlogged garments out to dry. Indeed if all goes well the place in a very short time will be a bustling hive of industry. For with the assurance that the last shower has fallen, the missionary begins to put into action the plans that have been maturing during the previous months. The school *797 is expanding and new classrooms must be built; more huts 346 must go up to accommodate the increasing number of scholars; he is getting a new teacher and must provide him with a house. Furthermore, he has noted with grave concern the dilapidated state to which many of the present buildings have been reduced. To build on cotton soil, lay the foundations as deep and as wide as you will, is as thankless and as

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unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and 797*
permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or 346
three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in [136]
the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must 797*
try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that 339
he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word 464
goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to 797*
be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule 461
is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been 797*
good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

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461 Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his [648] tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be [651] demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make 339 them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, *797 a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

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bricks he requires and is doubtful whether those that are made will ever be built into a kiln and burnt; and, should he get over that stage, whether the bricklayers will be forthcoming to put up even the minimum number of buildings he requires. So he tears his hair and goes through his list again and reduces it building by building, until there is left not a stone standing on a stone, even on paper. The Sisters' convent, however, must be done. He will be able to find a couple of bricklayers and to scrape together sufficient labourers to do that; indeed, he must, for he dare not face the Reverend Mother and tell her that she and her Sisters must, by their prayers, hold up that tottering wall for yet another year. His school expansion programme must suffer; the present crumbling and already overcrowded buildings will have to take yet a few more, and if there are more applicants than he can fit in, then they will have to be turned away.

The missionary, dear reader, is a kindly and humane man. He earnestly desires the spiritual and material welfare of the people among whom his lot has been cast, and he works hard and long to attain that end. But he is after all but a frail mortal, and once he has experienced the frustration of a wasted dry season—wasted through no fault of his, but because of the plenty that surrounds his flock—he cannot help but wish that Providence had not yielded up the fruits of the earth so liberally, and trusts that in future years the mission building programme also may be taken into Heaven's consideration. And so other rainy seasons find him watching the weather, not in the hope, as one might expect, of seeing a lowering sky and the preparations gathering overhead for a real life-saving storm, but quite the contrary. Of course he would be appalled and would indignantly and, as he thinks, quite honestly deny it, were he taxed with harbouring such base feelings as to hope that the labours of the planting season should be, if not exactly in ruin, still, not so bountifully blessed as they might be. If it is a choice between a bumper crop and a full and busy building season, there is no doubt where his preference lies. 'Of course,' he hastily tells himself, 'he doesn't want the people to starve. What an

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*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The 461 *797 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

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of sand carriers fully employed; half a dozen more, to their 339
greater disgust, are given picks and sent to dig out the 797 *
foundations of the new buildings, and of the remainder some are led to the site for the new huts and put to work to clean up the ground so that the foundations can be marked out, and others given the job of making and puddling mud for the replastering of the present mud buildings.

Now commences a period of unceasing activity on the part 797 *
of the missionary. There are some seventy workmen em- 466
ployed in four different parts of the mission estate, and, 461
except for the brickmakers who are paid a set price for every [339]
thousand bricks, each and every one of them is only too [465]
ready to steal away and fold his hands and close his eyes in repose as soon as the boss's back is turned. He, poor harassed man, has become the complete Pooh-Bah of the building industry; he must act as architect, general contractor, storekeeper, clerk of works, foreman, timekeeper and cashier, and at the same time keep the mission running normally. He does not forget his priestly duties, and so he is up long before the dawn to say his Mass and have as much as possible of his Office said before he goes out at 6 a.m. to call the roll and start the men on their day's work. He returns to the house to bolt his breakfast, but before he has finished, there are half a dozen outside clamouring for attention. A wheel has come off a water cart, and the crew, never dreaming of putting it back themselves and finding a nail to hold it in place, but only too happy to have a legitimate excuse to sit down and do nothing, are doing just that. He slaps it back into place on the axle, secures it with a bolt and nut and scares the watermen into actually galloping off towards the river. A brickmaker has broken his mould and that requires a little carpentry and a few new screws. A digger complains that he can't find his shovel, is led firmly to the tool shed and falls over the missing article as he enters the doorway. A crowd of people has gathered at the back of the house and [437]
the number is increasing as more people come from the villages carrying poles or hanks of grass rope for sale. Each pole and hank has to be inspected, its value appraised and paid for on the spot.

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*797 paid for on the spot. But the Reverend Pooh-Bah leaves them
466 for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection.
461 He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the
[462] bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies —don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are
465 really putting their backs into it, for the more bricks they
339 make, the more money they will earn, and already there are
*797 long double lines of newly made bricks stretching out in
466 front of each man. In one case it is a matter of more haste,
461 less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team
*797 vehemently arguing the matter among themselves, since a
466 man from the hut-plastering squad comes along to tell him
461 that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.

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So he continues his tour of inspection, galvanizing the dilatory workers into fresh activity, and then returns to the house and commences the buying of the rope and roofing poles. That occupies the best part of an hour, and then, grown wise in the ways of these children of Nyikang, he makes sure that his purchases are put away, the poles on the flat roof of the house, the rope in a store-room where the wily Shilluk cannot filch them to re-sell them to him. Then it is time to make another round of the workmen, a procedure that he will carry out yet twice more during the morning and another three times during the afternoon. At 10.30 the morning's work is finished, and the labourers go home to reassemble at half-past two. There is no respite for Poob-Bah, however. The affairs of the mission demand his attention, another group of rope sellers have gathered, the post-boat is due the next day, and he must write to Malakal for cement and to Kodok about the wood for the brick burning. He disposes of these tasks and also manages to find time to finish his Office before lunch. The afternoon's work is a repetition of the morning's; a continual tour of the different groups, the attending to the wants of one here and another one there, with one or two visits to the house to dispose of the rope and pole sellers.

Thus one day succeeds another, and week follows week and still the work goes on. By Christmas there are fifty thousand bricks ready for burning, the foundations of the new classrooms and the teacher's house are dug, the old mud huts have been replastered and the walls of the six new ones are already well above the ground, and everybody, Poob-Bah by no means among the least, is heartily sick of the sight of mud, whether in its natural state, or made into bricks, or built into a wall, and is only too glad of the few days' respite the Festival brings. As soon as Christmas is over, the work begins on the kiln. The base, a rectangle twenty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide, must be built with care since it has to support the weight of thirty thousand bricks. It is three feet in height and is pierced by six triangular firing tunnels, each two feet wide at the base and two feet

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*797 339 high at the apex. Its construction takes two bricklayers a full fortnight, and then another week is required to build up the bricks on the foundation, six men piling row upon row on edge in a herringbone pattern that leaves plenty of space for the flames to penetrate. Thirty thousand bricks are thus built up into a solid block some nine feet high, and the whole mass is plastered with mud to seal off all the cracks in the walls.

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner, who had promised to use his good offices in procuring sufficient wood for burning the bricks, has been as good as his word, and one day a steamer arrives bringing one hundred and fifty cubic metres of firewood. It looks a small pile when dumped on the shore, but its transport to the brickfield presents a formidable problem when the only wheeled vehicle available is [493] a rickety handcart. Yet if it isn't moved soon, its transport will present no problem at all; the Shilluk will see to that. Fortunately the District Commissioner solves that difficulty too, for he arrives by lorry shortly after the wood, and kindly gives the harassed priest the loan of truck and driver to bring the wood from the river. A strenuous day's work sees the job done and the wood neatly stacked in two piles, one on each side of the kiln.

*797 426 It is now the end of January. The brickmakers are well into the second fifty thousand bricks, the walls of the six new huts are finished and the construction of the roofs is [349] well in hand. Grass rope is still required, but the number of roofing poles required is now complete and the demand now is for millet stalks. Women come in from the fields bearing huge bundles of them on their heads, and wait patiently until busy Pooh-Bah has time to attend to them. The swamps are emptying rapidly with the fall of the river and in another month the grass will be drying out ready for cutting. The work is going well and is keeping up to the time-table, but all this has not been accomplished in complete harmony and smoothness. The same relentless vigilance has to be kept up day after day to keep the indolent up to scratch; disputes break out among the workmen and often sounds of strife at

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one end of the compound bring Pooh-Bah hurrying from the other to add those of peacemaker and judge to his other rôles. Workmen tire of their particular jobs (water carrying is particularly hated) and demand another one. The water-carrying difficulty is not solved until a roster is formed so that everyone except the lordly brickmakers and bricklayers take their turn. Hoes begin to disappear, but that little pastime is effectively put an end to by stopping the price out of the wages of every individual in the squad concerned. After the second one disappears it is found to be too expensive.

Now it is time to fire the kiln. The six tunnels are roughly bricked up on one side and filled with firewood and straw from the other. The fires are lighted at dusk, and once they are kindled must not be allowed to go out until the firing is completed. Soon each fire is blazing merrily, and the draught forcing the fire back through the mass of dry wood and straw quickly turns each tunnel into a roaring cavern of flame. The kiln presents a grand spectacle in the darkness, as great tongues of fire lick out from the openings and billows of smoke from the wood and clouds of steam from the still drying bricks envelop the whole structure. The firing continues on one side for two nights and two days; then that side is bricked up and the other side opened and the process for firing continued for a like period. The interiors of the tunnels are before long glowing white-hot masses of fused brick, and the kiln soon becomes fiercely hot as the flames mount up, searching through each crack and cranny to reach the top of the mass. When the firing is completed, the tunnels are blocked up again, any cracks that have appeared in the walls are plastered over anew and the mass is left to cool down, a process that takes about a week. By now there are sufficient bricks to commence the second kiln and this is built in the same manner as the first. But the priest has noted with concern that the firing of the kiln has consumed far more wood than he had anticipated. The strong north wind which now blows with full force every day has helped on the fires more enthusiastically than he would have liked. He cannot go to the expense of getting more wood from Kodok, and the

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* 797 339 forest is too far away to make wood carrying from there an economical proposition, so he has to fall back on what resources the mission can offer. A squad goes off armed with saws and axes to attack the leafy avenue of trees which line the road to the river. The operation is euphemistically called 'pruning', but by the time it is completed and the Father's wood hunger is satisfied, the trees present a sad and sorry appearance. However, they will recover, and anyhow he can't afford to shed a sentimental tear over their appearance with sixty thousand bricks yet at stake.

With the breaking down of the brick kiln, revealing the rows of lovely bricks, those on the top and sides baked a golden brown, and the centre ones red and blue, the real work of the season begins; the rebuilding of the Sisters' convent and the erection of the new schoolrooms and the teacher's house. This is a task beyond the amateur capabilities of our Pooh-Bah, but expert assistance is at hand. One of the Prefecture staff is an authority on building, and he, accompanied by a Brother, arrives on the postboat, having been snatched from his labours in some other mission to start the work here. Scaffolding is erected round the dangerous wall and with consummate skill the expert directs the operation of pulling down the wall in sections, planning to rebuild one portion before passing on to the destruction and rebuilding of the next. The Brother meanwhile is setting out the foundations of the other buildings. The Reverend man-of-all-work, however, has little time to pause and admire such dexterity, for the unceasing daily round still claims his attention. The second kiln is nearing completion, and must be fired as soon as possible, and the first one, now being rapidly demolished, has to be rebuilt with the remaining mud bricks, about another thirty thousand, and fired again. He is still a one-man purchasing board for the produce of the district, but now the grass rope and millet stalks have given way to bundles of grass for thatching and the work of thatching the new huts and some of the old ones has already started.

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So far, apart from minor hitches, accidents and squabbles,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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everything has gone wonderfully well, but now a serious misfortune occurs. The schoolboys too have been roped in to assist in cutting and collecting some of the great quantity of grass that is required for the thatching, and as a result of their labours about three hundred and fifty heads of grass are standing in the field near the river waiting to be transported to the building sites. One bright and too breezy morning two small boys, a couple of miles north of the mission, light a small fire to cook some fish that they have caught, the north wind scatters the fire among the tall, tinder-like grass and before anyone in the mission is aware of what has happened, a great mass of fire comes sweeping and roaring down, not on the mission itself, which is not in the direct path of the flames, but on the field of cut grass and the mission garden by the river. It happens to be Good Friday when the building operations have been suspended and no outside help is available. Two priests, a few mission employees and a handful of schoolboys attempt to rescue the grass and save the garden, but without success. The grass is destroyed and although the garden itself is protected by fire lines, the fierce heat so scorches the fruit trees and vegetable beds as to deprive the mission of vegetables for the next few months and of fruit for the remainder of the year. The fire is stopped only by the steep grassless bank of the path, but even so, it manages to reach out and burn several of the fine trees that line the path. One pious Sister consolingly reminds poor blackened Pooh-Bah, now turned fire-fighter, that such incidents are the 'poetry of the missionary life'. Such a mishap is not a complete disaster, however. It means that more grass must be bought from the villagers and the roofing of some of the huts will be delayed, but the rest of the work goes on as before. Not quite as before perhaps, for now it is March, and the programme is frequently interrupted by fishing days. These are the Shilluk equivalent of Bank Holidays and the missionary must be resigned to one or perhaps two days a week of idleness while the fishing lasts. However, he has no cause for anxiety. The second kiln has been successfully fired and the third is nearing completion

797 * [466] [466]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 and can be burnt in a few days, one section of the convent wall has been rebuilt and the second started, the walls of the new brick buildings are rising and the thatching is going on as fast as grass can be obtained.

But yet another verse of missionary 'poetry' has to be written. The third and last kiln has been fired and during *797 the first night and day all goes well. During the second night 339 of the firing, however, the faithless tenders of the fires desert 466 their posts to slumber and sleep during the night watches. The fires burn low and die out. In the morning the sleepers awake and try frantically to re-light the fires before their negligence is discovered and also before the kiln is spoiled. But they are too late on both counts. They are caught in the act by an angry Pooh-Bah who on his way to say Mass has noticed the lack of light and activity around the kiln. The fires are rekindled and the firing continues in the hope of saving the kiln, but the damage has been done. Most of the bricks are poor yellow specimens that crumble at a touch, and the kiln has to be written off as a loss. The unworthy servants are removed with ignominy from their stewardship. Still, despite this calamity, the work is able to *797 go on. With the two kilns already burned and the reserve from the previous year there are sufficient bricks to complete the jobs on hand, although there is no margin left for any emergency that might arise and no reserve for the following year. By the end of April one or two warning showers have fallen just to let one know that the rains are on the way. But the programme is almost completed. The Sisters are safe and secure behind a stout new wall, the walls of the classrooms and house are up and roofs are on and doors and windows are being fitted. The thatching is done and all the huts both old and new are tight and sound to withstand whatever storms the rainy season may bring.

Pooh-Bah stretches and yawns mightily, and then turns to his sadly neglected desk. He is well satisfied with what has been achieved, and his building troubles are over for another year.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter XIV

FAMINE AND FLOOD

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the Shilluk live in a state of chronic hunger. The poverty of the land they till, their primitive methods of husbandry, the elements which seem to fight against them in their annual struggle to raise a crop all contribute to make this so. And if despite all these handicaps, if perhaps in an occasional year the fates relent a little and send neither deluge nor drought, but a supply of rain liberal enough to nurture a plentiful field, then the weaver birds will descend in their millions to lay waste the great heads of mature but as yet unripened grain. The damage that these tiny predators can do is incredible. In the early dawn they swoop like a black cloud on the unprotected fields, settle and after a short time, rise again. But they leave behind them ruin; the heads of grain are in rags and tatters and the ground is carpeted green with the unripened grain. In three or four days the former flourishing field is laid waste. 731 [433] [136]

Once, at daybreak, I saw a migration of weaver birds. They were flying up the Nile from north to south. I did not see the beginning of this great army, neither did I see the end, but *for half an hour it flew in an unbroken mass which* seemed to stretch across the entire breadth of the river and to be about a foot deep. Its passing boded ill for the luckless cultivators in the south.

Despite these misfortunes the Shilluk usually manage to garner something from their impoverished fields. From October and for the next few months they generally have sufficient to eat and after that, if they have money to buy it, grain imported from more prosperous parts of the country is available in the merchants' stores. But occasionally the whole country is stricken. The failure of the rains is [433] [443]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the
731 following year and consequently had in hand a larger
461 building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer
[574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many
[585] village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about
797 a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before
466 dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

unhappy task to try to choose fairly so that, if not every individual, at least every village should be given a turn. It was an even more difficult and unhappy task to send the disappointed ones away; to turn a deaf ear to their pleadings; to close one's eyes to the mute appeal in theirs.

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But in actual fact the ones who worked were little better off than those who didn't, for although they had a little money there was no grain to buy. In view of the opening of the new school we had been forming a reserve of grain, but the scheme had to be abandoned in the face of such complete shortage. We doled out what we had and by dint of careful and stringent rationing we were able to keep about twenty families, I will not say 'fed', but at least from starvation from October until February when our store was exhausted and we could do no more.

The Government stepped in and took control of all the grain in the country in order to ensure a fair distribution. We had at that time about 120 people—schoolchildren and permanent employees—to feed every day, and normally used a 2-cwt sack of grain per day. We were allotted ten sacks per month, one third of our usual consumption, and so had to make a proportionate reduction in the food bowl. But there was no question of the Shilluk schoolboy being thankful for small mercies in receiving a little every day whilst his less fortunate parents and brothers and sisters at home got nothing. There were protest meetings among the boys generally followed by an indignant procession carrying the meagrely filled bowls so that the Father—myself—who in their eyes was responsible for this shortage could see for himself the result of his gross neglect in not cornering the entire grain supply for their benefit. In vain I pointed out that the famine was no fault of mine and that they were better off than their brethren in the village. They replied in effect that such arguments were beside the point. Since they had done me the favour of coming to the mission to be fed, clothed, housed—and incidentally taught—for nothing, the least I could do in return was to see that the feeding was adequate, and since I had so obviously failed in this respect,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

731 they might as well go home again. And go home many of
797 them did, regardless of the fact that whilst at the mission they would get some sort of a daily ration, there would be nothing for them at the parental board, not even a welcome.

Those who remained got a little extra in consequence of the defection of their fellows, and in order to supplement their slim diet still more I divided the school into two and on alternate days sent one half to fish for the benefit of everybody whilst the other half had class, and bought a bull each week to provide them with a couple of meat meals.

And so we struggled on from month to month until in June the importation of beans from Egypt eased matters considerably, and eventually with the arrival of the new crops in mid-September the crisis was passed.

731 The unfortunate people outside the mission did not fare so well. True, periodic allotments of grain were made at various central villages that boasted a shop or two, but it was impossible to devise an equitable system of rationing, and since many people were several miles from these centres, the possession of money did not guarantee that there would be grain left by the time they had tramped the hot and dusty road to the shop. For the most part they subsisted on roots
[261] and grass and occasionally a decent catch of fish would enable them to forget their misery for a time.

We heard of many instances of suffering and endurance during these dreadful months; how a young mother alone in a hut with her newly-born baby, in trying to lift herself up to reach for a drink of water fell on the infant and killed it; how a woman in search of food walked from Detwok through the Shilluk country to Kaka some fifty miles to the north, there crossed the river and continued her quest among the equally stricken Dinka tribe, and making a huge semi-circle through rough country, eventually recrossed the Nile opposite Detwok and came home empty-handed, having covered about 150 miles on foot.

731 One morning when I was going across to the school I saw
797 two little children in the Sisters' compound trying to pick out the few grains of millet seed that had fallen into the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

cracks in the soil. As I approached they fled and I continued with a heavy heart across the compound. The Reverend Mother came from the house to meet me. The tears were streaming down her face as she told me that the two children had been abandoned by their parents who had gone away in search of food. Near to tears myself I told the weeping nun that I could not and would not take any more children into the school, that I could not and would not feed all the destitute children from the villages and that I could not permit her to give of our scanty ration to any of the hungry folk that daily haunted the mission. But, I hastily added, as the tears flowed faster, if she was a wicked and disobedient nun and chose when I was safely out of the way to disregard these strict orders and give a little food occasionally to two small hungry children, then of course I could not prevent her from doing so. It took her a moment to grasp my meaning, and then brightening, she dried her eyes and cheerfully promised to disobey me each morning when I was in the classroom and unable to see what was going on. And so the two children were given a meal every day while the shortage lasted and until their parents returned to provide for them.

The rains of 1946 bade fair to make amends for their sad failure of the previous year. And that the heavy downpours we experienced in Detwok were no mere local affairs was soon made evident from the rapidity with which the Nile rose. The mission is half a mile from the river and is reached by a road built some four feet above the swamp level and lined with trees by our energetic Italian predecessors. By the end of September the swamp waters had overtopped the road and had flooded it in parts to a depth of nearly a foot, and by Christmas the accepted method of going to collect mails and stores from the fortnightly steamer was to paddle the mission boat down the road until it grounded in the mud and then to wade the rest—and this generally at about 2 a.m.

During this time Mgr. Wall, the Prefect, paid one of his periodic visits to the mission. He did not travel on the ordinary fortnightly boat but by a casual northbound tug,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Moral support at Detwok Dispensary

[facing p.148]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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so that his arrival was unwaited. As usual the boat arrived at Detwok in the small hours of the morning, and after manœuvring round in the inky darkness managed to put Monsignor ashore on what was thought to be the road, but which turned out to be the garden. Since this was locked he could not get out, so the tugmaster obligingly took him on board again and then backing his craft a few yards down to where the path was, told a couple of sailors to carry Monsignor ashore and escort him up to the mission. They managed to land him without mishap on the only piece of dry land that remained—a patch about the size of a tablecloth—but after splashing a few yards through the watery waste the boatmen prudently refused to proceed further and lifted Monsignor up to carry him back to the tug. Unfortunately they dropped him in the river. However, he was quickly fished out, and spent the rest of the night in a chair, in pyjamas and dressing-gown, while his sodden garments dried out in the engine-room.

On another occasion the unfortunate Father whose duty it was to attend to whatever boats should call at the mission was aroused from his slumbers by a mournful hoot from the river which heralded the arrival of a steamer. Reluctantly dragging himself from his snug bed he went out on the verandah and to his relief saw the lights of the boat receding in the distance. He decided that either the hooter had shown in mistake or else whatever had been dumped on the bank could wait until morning. 'Whatever had been dumped on the bank' did wait until morning; it was Mgr. Wall once more, making another unexpected visit to the mission. Finding no guide coming to assist him and not daring in the dark to attempt the perilous passage of the waters alone, he was marooned and had perforce to await the coming of daylight, sitting on his suitcase and wrapped in his dressing-gown for protection against the hordes of mosquitoes that delightedly hastened to the place to keep him company during the long hours of his vigil.

When at length the river began to subside the floods receded rapidly, so rapidly indeed that they carried away a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

great portion of the road and of the embankment that we had repaired and built up at no inconsiderable cost and labour only the previous year. 731 797

So passed our trial by famine and flood. We have been visited by both misfortunes since then but not again in successive years nor on so large and widespread a scale.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

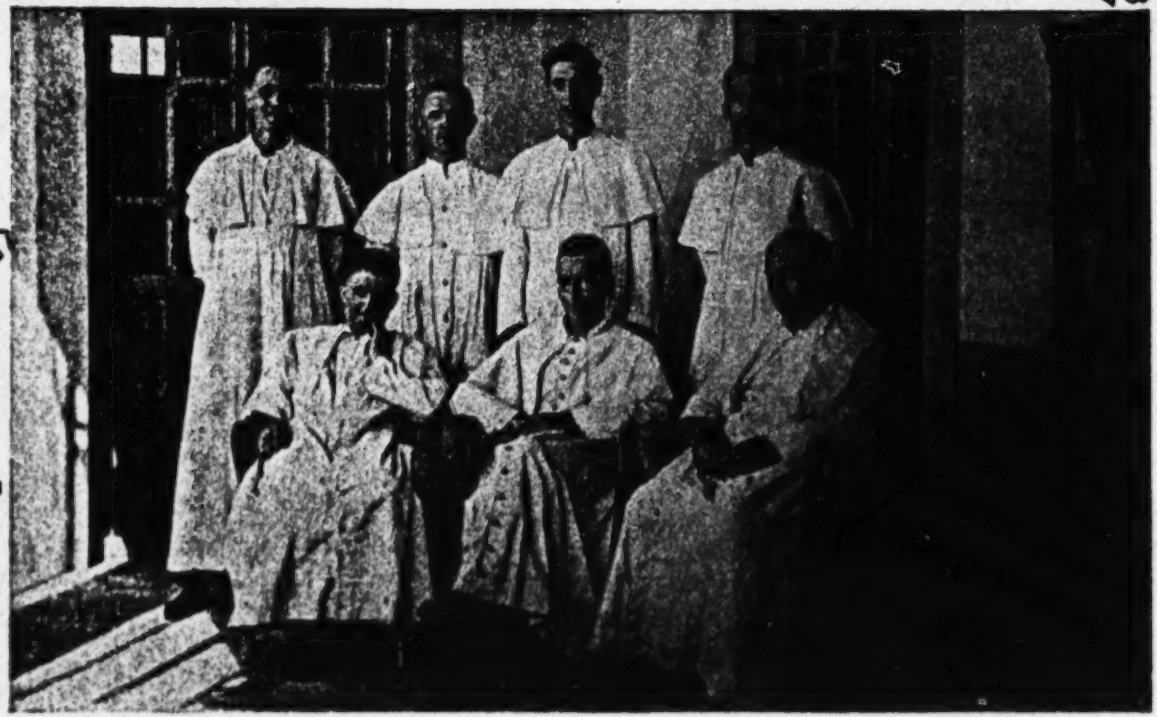

Photo : Fr. F. Spokanskas

Right Reverend Monsignor Hart, Prefect Apostolic of Malakal (formerly Kodok) Prefecture and some of the Fathers

[Facing p. 149]

29: Dempsey
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[For information on missionary activities and a brief history of the mission among the Shilluk see category 116, pp. 99-142.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

FOREWORD

IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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121 kept before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: rules of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people [114] investigated. In this matter Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study technological processes, but specimens of any object of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Whenever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to 128 illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

119 Our first expedition, in 1909-10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911-12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

PREFACE.

121 In the summer of 1910 the Prussian Board of Education provided me with
122 the means to undertake a journey to the Northern Sudan. My object was to make linguistic studies. During my stay in the Sudan the material for this work was collected. My studies in the Shilluk language and people are due to a request made to me by the Reverend C. R. Watson D. D., of Philadelphia Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Mr. Watson, having heard of my intended journey to Egypt and the Sudan, asked me to visit the United Presbyterian Church's Mission on the Sobat, and to study the language of that district which lies within the sphere of their activity. By supplying the necessary funds for this part of the journey and for my stay in the Sudan, I was enabled to carry out this proposition, which was at the same time of importance for my linguistic studies.

114 I left for the Sudan at the beginning of August 1910, where I staid in Khartum and on the Sobat till the middle of November.

The results of my work obtained during this comparatively short time would not have been possible had it not been for the extremely active and kind support rendered me everywhere in the Sudan by the American missionaries. Not only was I able to profit by their kind hospitality, but they also most generously placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of the country, people and language. I owe my practical introduction to the language to Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, medical missionary at Khartum, in whose house I was privileged to stay for over a month. In addition to the contributions signed by him he also supplied me with several native texts from his collection which will be found incorporated in this book.

The missionaries on Doleib Hill, Mr. C. R. Guthrie and the Reverend D. S. Oyler also helped me on all possible occasions; above all they introduced me to the Shilluks and put me into touch with those natives who were necessary and useful to me in my researches. Both these gentlemen and the Reverend E. McCreery and Mr. R. W. Titrick have supplied me with very valuable information in answer to questions addressed to them since my return to Germany, some of which appears as signed contributions. Part of it has been included in the introduction. During the winter of 1911 I had the pleasure of receiving the Reverend McCreery while he was in Berlin, and thus had an opportunity of discussing grammatical questions with him.

I must express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in their

[p. vi in Hindi]

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many 171 ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[171] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Funj, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [174] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places further removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 172 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [128] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one [138] man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911; C. G. Seligman, 1911; C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 125–6, the creation of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. R. Cole, 1938 ff.

[cp. 138]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesized in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 781 theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 772 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have 776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which 121 every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation 643 is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is 183 643 concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king 643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Chilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Duka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F321

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lod*), and 'settlements' (*pedit*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*nai*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wad*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial organization of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pur*: pl. *ayer*) which comprise several domestic units (*ger*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ar*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *dwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

lover is any less hard. In place of a recognized tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *spirit* whom he is living with proceeds as follows: 'Give me a cow or I will sell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *spirit* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *spirit* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *spirits*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *spirit* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compensable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwereth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions.

Conclusion

We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, grain, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *nagle chid*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *ceer* and the Dinka *chol de chid*, or any one in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1948.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

VOLUME XXII APRIL 1952 NUMBER 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

THE LAWS OF HOMICIDE AND THE LEGAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *REITH*

P. P. HOWELL

INTRODUCTION

PUBLISHED literature on the subject of the Shilluk is considerable[1] and there are also many interesting accounts of specific subjects buried in the files of the Administration. Nowhere, however, is there a complete account of all aspects of Shilluk life. Moreover, there has been a tendency to concentrate on certain aspects, notably the Divine Kingship, to the exclusion of others. In 1941 Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and I published two articles: the first a general summary account of the Shilluk tribe based on Mr. Pumphrey's observations and wide experience; the second a more detailed analysis of one Shilluk settlement,[2] the result of fieldwork carried out in 1939. In 1944 I had the privilege of attending the installation of *reth* Amai Kor and, together with Mr. W. P. G. Thomson, published a full account.[3] Subsequently Mr. Thomson published his "Further Notes on the Death of a Shilluk Reth",[4] after the death of *reth* Amai in 1945. This, with Professor Evans-Pritchard's Frazer Lecture, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*,[5] represents the total of information published on the subject of the Shilluk in recent years.

The Shilluk are an exceptionally conservative people and, perhaps the heavy odds of centuries of resistance to external aggression, have a natural distaste for innovation. Yet times are changing and it is therefore all the more important that the gaps in our knowledge of Shilluk society as it was during the last few decades, and is now, should be filled. During the last two years I have had occasional opportunities to visit the Shilluk and to continue fieldwork, begun in 1939. The results of these investigations,

[1] See Bibliography, pp. 108-19.

[2] Pumphrey, M. E. C., "The Shilluk Tribe", and Howell, P. P., "The Shilluk Settlement", *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[3] "The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor." By Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, 1946.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xxix, part ii, 1948.

[5] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Frazer Lecture 1948. Cambridge University Press, 1948.

"Africa", the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out '*if* we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are closely of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, *i.e.* the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Delbergy, 'The Langi, Nandanum, The Nilotic Karamojo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Lou Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal jur*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal jur* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal jur*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely reproved.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer cult or Ghost: see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghosts—a form of Witchcraft', *J.N.R.* xxviii, 1951.

[2] *ganga*, magician, *jal jur*, sorcerer, *pwok*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *The Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *J.N.R.*, 1920. [3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *J.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 190.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Parricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuale ji kipo ruom*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as '*fines*' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sanctions by the present Government.

[1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 15.

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OF FUNG AND SHILLUK

Bohumil Ried

Any one who deals with either the Fung or the Shilluk, historians as well as anthropologists, must say a word about the possible relationship between the two kingdoms. Many pages have been written on this subject by well known writers, but the lack of a good comparative study that would envisage the whole problem in the various aspects is noted in some of these works. Others were motivated by 'a priori' conceptions, or one-sidedness, or depended entirely upon certain points, or '... favour for verbal similarities'. 1)

The last word in the controversy has not yet been said, and most probably will not be said. I do not contend that this paper will put an end to the controversies, but I think that by taking into consideration the historical as well as the anthropological points of view, we can reach a safe stage at which we can build our own point towards this complicated subject.

* * * * *

A) The PROBLEM :

The story begins in 1790, the year James Bruce of Kinnaird -an English traveller- published a voluminous work describing his journey to discover the sources of the Nile, which took place between 1768 and 1773. In 1772 Bruce was in Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, which was the most important and the most powerful state of the Eastern Sudan in the Middle-Ages. In this city Bruce got a glimpse of history of Kingdoms and tribal movements in this part of Africa. Bruce transmits to us what he heard (and maybe what he imagined) 2) in such a statement:

> 'In the year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 12, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab province ..... This race of negroes is in their own country called Shilluk ... At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of

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1) Arkell was so described by Chatamy, p.117

2) It is agreed upon that Bruce always imagined many things, and in his writings pictured himself as a hero who escaped dangers through his bravery etc. ... Read a short description of Bruce's character in Crawford, pp. 868-894

"Skilluks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohammedans for the sake of trading with Dafur and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 8)

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organisation of the state:

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this barbarous people, that the king accounts his throne under the obligation that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Gom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to his hanging any of his sovereigns he thinks unfitted. Actual Sid el Gom, the present reigning, and resident in Sennar's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... of Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Funegis, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 9)

What was the first time the world ever heard of the name Skilluk, and time was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Skilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarise these controversies into three major ideas:

1) The Skilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Eastern origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other eastern Islamic empires of the west Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first idea; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Funge and the Skilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject.

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4) Seligman, p. 486. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).

5) Seligman, Hillelson, Kirk, Shelli, Westermann, (and Grandist to a certain extent).

6) The Fung Chronicles, Arab, Reneeity, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chaloney and Rubber are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Nubia.

7) Dragomir, and later on Schell.

(2) To begin with, we just need a quick round of the historical background, amplified, as is always the case, in ethnological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

A) The SHILLUK :

(3) The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 200 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

(4) The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Ogres. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) (4) But within the total anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components: the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shilluk land and the southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

(4) This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, cond-ed, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived to the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and these we may call aborigines of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these aborigines in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event the coming of a new stock, yielding power in their hands, a state system could be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

(4) The racial differences between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

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8) Seligman, p.69, and p.90. Also Kind, pp. 71-78

9) Kind, pp. 71-78

10) Kind, pp. 71-78

11) Seligman, p. 68.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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(ii) The *reth* may, at any time, be killed by a rival claimant to the throne. This is clear from tradition and is supported by the current evidence of the extraordinary precautions taken to avert possible attack during his lifetime, especially during the installation, and from the more recent events of Shilluk history. 643

These two forms of 'king killing' are not quite the same thing. The first is motivated by a desire to avoid the national consequences of the *reth*'s waning physical powers upon the people as a whole. The second is motivated by the desire of a rival claimant to seize the *reth*ship. There is, however, a connection between the two, since the rival—always the son of a *reth*—will have more chance of success if the *reth* is unpopular because of tribal disasters which are attributed to his physical deterioration.

In September 1943, *reth* Fafiti Yor of the Shilluk, who had held office for twenty six years, died. That same year Anei son of *reth* Kur was elected his successor, and was finally installed at the capital of Shilluk *reths*, Fashoda, in March 1944. The late Professor Seligman speaking on the subject of divine kingship[6] said, "If it be permissible to speculate on the deeper significance of the beliefs and ceremonies I have described, more weight should, I suspect, be given to the complicated installation ritual of the Divine King than has hitherto been the case. In the past there has been an over emphasis on his ceremonial death. It is for future research to unravel the many emotional trends woven into the installation and rejuvenation ceremonies. For it is in these especially that the emotional projection upon the Divine King of his people's deepest desires for life, fertility, and prosperity find their clearest expression."

Our purpose here has been to record as accurately as possible all the ceremonial, all the diverse ritual and the public events which took place to ensure that Fafiti was safely laid to rest and his soul conducted peacefully to a new status in the ancestral hierarchy of the royal house, and to establish his successor firmly upon the throne. 21 643

6. *loc. cit.*, p. 62

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK (1945)

By W. P. G. Thomson.

These notes are intended to amplify the article "The Death of a *Reth* of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor" by Mr. P. P. Howell and myself published in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXVII, 1946. 121

No attempt is made to describe the ceremonies in full. The general pattern followed that of 1944 and these notes are chiefly concerned with the differences observed on this occasion, and the reasons given by the Shilluk for these differences. It was interesting to observe that in several cases where points of ceremonial differed, the procedure reverted to that of January 1918 described by Munro in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I, 1918.

The disposal of the Body and Soul of Reth Anei.

The course of events was as follows:—

Reth Anei Kur died on November 10th 1945. He had been ill for some days, apparently from an attack of relapsing fever, which was prevalent among the Shilluk at the time; he was known to have a bad heart, and had in fact had a heart attack some months previously in Malakal hospital. A Shilluk medical assistant, present at Fashoda at the time of the *reth's* death, reported that he died in his arms of heart failure. This is as good evidence as we are likely to obtain that *reth* Anei died a natural death. 643

I was invited, as in 1943, to pay my last respects to the corpse. This I did on November 11th, and the scene was similar to that of 1943, but simpler. The corpse was fanned by sisters of the *reth*, and his wives were not in the house with the corpse. Several were observed outside. The reed mats were not so elaborate as in 1943 and there were no cloth curtains. 766

The corpse was not immediately buried, as happened in 1943, but was taken on the night of 11.11.45 to a small hamlet belonging to the village of Fadwal, (the village of the Bang Reth Kur — slaves of *reth* Kur, the father of Anei) some three quarters of a mile from Fashoda, and sealed up in a hut. These proceedings were naturally secret, and I was not invited to enquire into details. This method of disposing of the corpse was a reversion to tradition: there is no evidence that a 567

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak *wad* FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 114 [643]

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643

(5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Akurwa to Fashoda;

[113]

[1] See in particular: Mason, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol*, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I. N° 3.

INSTALLATION

OF THE

RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS)

BY P. MUNRO.

In writing the following description of the above court I have attempted to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons: first it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman[1] and Westermann[2], and secondly the constant ebb and flow of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with the account of the same as given by Seligman p. 108 sqq., in my opinion, probably due to the fact that any enquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I have divided this article into two sections: a) Necessary preliminary remarks; b) The actual narrative.

[1] Seligman Tre. R., *General Science*, 6th *Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 108 et seq.
[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*.

[p.145]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

FOREWORD

IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Wherever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be more important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. While no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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NOTE OF APPRECIATION.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N. A. desires to express to the Trustees of the Arthington Fund its profound appreciation for financial help which made it possible to carry on linguistic investigations in Southern Sudan and then to give publicity to their findings by the publication of this book.

[p. v]

3:Westermann E-6 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

PREFACE

[2] In the summer of 1910 the Prussian Board of Education provided me with the means to undertake a journey to the Northern Sudan. My object was to make linguistic studies. During my stay in the Sudan the material for this work was collected. My studies in the Shilluk language and people are due to a request made to me by the Reverend C. R. Watson D. D., of Philadelphia Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Mr. Watson, having heard of my intended journey to Egypt and the Sudan, asked me to visit the United Presbyterian Church's Mission on the Sobat, and to study the language of that district which lies within the sphere of their activity. By supplying the necessary funds for this part of the journey and for my stay in the Sudan, I was enabled to carry out this proposition, which was at the same time of importance for my linguistic studies.

[124] I left for the Sudan at the beginning of August 1910, where I staid in Khartum and on the Sobat till the middle of November.

The results of my work obtained during this comparatively short time would not have been possible had it not been for the extremely active and kind support rendered me everywhere in the Sudan by the American missionaries. Not only was I able to profit by their kind hospitality, but they also most generously placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of the country, people and language. I owe my practical introduction to the language to Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, medical missionary at Khartum, in whose house I was privileged to stay for over a month. In addition to the contributions signed by him he also supplied me with several native texts from his collection which will be found incorporated in this book.

The missionaries on Doleib Hill, Mr. C. R. Gorkrie and the Reverend D. S. Oyler also helped me on all possible occasions; above all they introduced me to the Shilluks and put me into touch with those natives who were necessary and useful to me in my researches. Both these gentlemen and the Reverend E. McCreery and Mr. E. W. Tiedrich have supplied me with very valuable information in answer to questions addressed to them since my return to Germany, some of which appears as signed contributions. Part of it has been included in the introduction. During the winter of 1911 I had the pleasure of meeting the Reverend McCreery while he was in Berlin, and then had an opportunity of discussing grammatical questions with him.

I must express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in their

[A. W. in Hamb]

3:Westermann E-5 (0910) 1962 F323 Shelfish F323

cooperation and by placing the necessary funds at my disposal, which enabled me to complete this work.

I am indebted to the Arthington Trustees, who by their financial support made the printing of this book possible.

My gratitude is also due to Mr. L. Hamilton of the Oriental College, Berlin, who has read and corrected the English text.

The Reverend C. B. Wawrzyn was kind enough to read and correct that part of the work which relates to Folklore.

Berlin, August 1910. DIEDRICH WESTERMANN.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk—to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [614] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event—at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement—soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

128 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear :-

21: Mutwakil U-5 (1946) 1947 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

TYPES OF DURA USED BY SHILLUK AND DINKA

by Hassan Mutwakil

Introduction

123 In making this note I am quite aware of the fact that I have been in the Upper Nile Province for so short a time that I cannot guarantee its accuracy in every particular. It is the outcome of personal experience and observation and enquiries made among Shilluks and settled northerners (*Gallâba*), and should be accepted as such. If, however, in the course of future investigation any doubt arises with regard to my information, I will do my best to correct or confirm what I now venture to put on record.

Groups and Varieties

243 1. *Lwalli* is the Shilluk name for the 'early red dura.'

This dura is early in the sense that it is sown earlier than other crops. But it includes quick-maturing varieties as well as comparatively late-maturing varieties.

The word 'red' is not a precise description, as the colour of the grain is by no means uniform. The dura exhibits a large mixture of colours from dark red to white, most probably the result of crossing. All these colours can be produced in one field, often from plants in the same hole.

Lwalli includes a large number of sub-varieties, of which the following are more common :—

Toro, a tall plant, late-maturing, seeds pink
Otheck " " " "
Nyalwalding, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyakino, dwarf, quick-maturing, seeds dark red.
Wer Jal Nyigara, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyanwar, " " "
Nyafirwat, " " "
Nyanbar, " " "
Nyachogo, " " " White
Yonongo, " " " Brownish red
Chiat alij, " " "

[p. 164]

22: Howell K-5 (1951) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

The Death and Burial of *reik* Dak and FADHET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell.

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reik* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 114 643

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reik* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reik* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reik* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643 (5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reik* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Akurwa to Fashoda;

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[1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reik of the Chol, Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reik of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reik of the Shilluk, S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4. *Jago Ataowi* (Fadu Division)
5. *Awanpiwok Akwei* (Dorwok Division)
6. *Jago Ongwany* (Mumme Division)
7. *Jago Okwak* (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *Awanpiwok Dhikwan* (Nyilak Division)
9. *Awanpiwok Yanon* (Lul Division)
10. *Awanpiwok Gony* (Malakal Division)[7]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *reth* Kor was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep ordered to the ground[8]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*bour*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*yor mur*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *Awanpiwok* Deng of Apec, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present showed their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, [illegible] looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to commemorate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[9]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *bewreth* (*jago jang bewreth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[10]

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the occasion of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

[7] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[8] The significance of this act (*ahoik*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[9] Howell & Thomson, *ibid.* p. 75.

[10] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rite of Nyikang

We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person of the last *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak, son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and sandwich surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers, sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable. Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by men of the *kwe* Nyikang and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth to Debaio

As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and retires to the village of Debaio a few miles south of Aweyjur, the watercourse which is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang: *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Lauh, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[1]. At Debaio, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

[1] See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 159.

[2] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debalo, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers were to be seen clustered round Debalo. There followed the usual delay while *kwa* Ojal, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda,[1] were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *kwa* Okelo who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after stepping over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anei and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to motor northwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Grey antelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, her luggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *laws*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two Government police, stationed at Debalo for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anei on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the *khor* Arepejur was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by eluding its captors and running away down *Khor* Arepejur, from which it was only retrieved with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

643 by the *ocwo* and *bowrok* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully averted, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debaio and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafini, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Atkurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debaio had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Atkurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Atkurwic*: *jago* Yorkiher *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ocwo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient crones, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for: he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniert). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tootooing and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary table and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them come and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Orwo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[69] on the threshold of his temporary hut. He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[69] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Ryal Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 108 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Dobib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter I

WHERE IS KODOK?

I remember once reading a book, *Candide* I think it was called, the first chapter of which described the return from the South African War of the Civic Imperial Volunteers. In it one of the victorious heroes was asked by his admiring wife, "Where is Africa, Alf?", but alas, Alf didn't know. My ignorance, I fear, was similar to that of Alf when in 1939 I received an appointment to work in the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. Almost all that I knew of Kodok was that it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa; to that extent, at least, my knowledge was superior to Alf's. I did know where Africa was, but apart from that the name Kodok was just a palindrome, for it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year, and the first band of five priests with Monsignor J. A. Wall at their head had but recently taken possession of the new field.

It was in December, 1939, that four of us set out to augment the original band of five, sailing in a wartime convoy for Africa. By this time I had learned a little more about the place. I knew, for instance, that it was the same place as Fashoda, famous in history as the meeting-place of Kitchener and Marchand and the scene of the 'incident' which nearly brought about war between France and England; that it was situated on the River Nile, 450 miles or so south of Khartoum; that it gave its name to an Apostolic Prefecture which theoretically covered a territory more than twice the size of Ireland, but in practice was confined to the land of the tribes dwelling on the river banks; that in the Prefecture there were already four mission stations established at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang by the Verona Fathers,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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second- and third-class passengers and cargo, and around and behind were more cargo barges. Thus burdened, the *Rejaf*, travelling by night as well as by day, plodded along the river at a steady five miles an hour. A blast from its steam whistle signalled our approach to a trading station, and immediately all was bustle and excitement on the river bank. Merchants from the interior were there in force bringing in trucks, or loaded on camels and donkeys, quantities of produce for shipment, mostly grain. Humbler folk were there too, carrying the inevitable chickens and eggs, or perhaps dragging a protesting sheep or goat for sale to the crew. The whole bank was a mass of vociferous hagglers and squalling children, and if it were daytime, the water's edge would be lined with women washing clothes, the owners of which would be taking a dip in the river the while. Thanks to the hot sun and the stiff breeze this whole process of washing and drying takes less than ten minutes, which is an improvement on any patent soap-powder method, though it would be untrue to say that the clothes come out with the same dazzling whiteness. A few hundred yards from the river could be seen the village with its mosque built of sun-dried brick and its *suq* or market-place where one might find exposed for sale everything from dried dates to electric torches, and from soap (for which few seem to have much use) to murderous-looking swords and daggers. However, after an hour or so, all business completed, the steamer would back out into midstream, and the beat of its paddles soon lull us again to sleep as we lay in our deckchairs.

By the end of the third day we began to look around us with a quickened interest, for we had entered the Upper Nile Province which to us was synonymous with the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. We already knew our destinations, for we had found letters awaiting us in Khartoum appointing three of us to stations in the territory of the Shilluk tribe and the fourth to Yoynyang on the Bahr-el-Gazal (Gazelle River) among the wild and woolly Nuer. I was destined for Detwok, and so the small hours of the next morning found me packed and ready for departure, since I

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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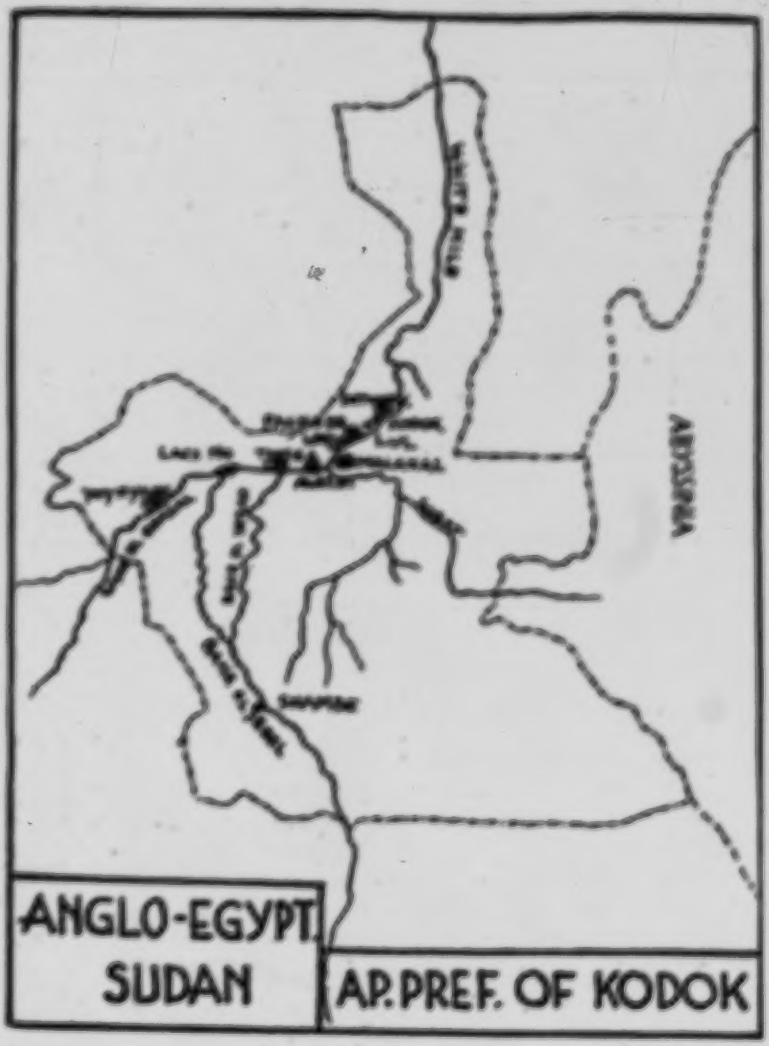

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 come on deck to see me leave, and together with my luggage
125 I was bundled into the steamer's boat, rowed to the bank, carried through the deep mud on the shoulders of the boatman, and finally dumped on solid ground. Here I found Monsignor Wall who, after visiting Detwok, was returning to his headquarters at Malakal, and the Superior of the
123 Mission. Monsignor had just time for a word of welcome before he was carried to the boat I had just left and rowed across to the steamer standing out in midstream. The Superior and I turned, and by the dim light of a hurricane lamp made our way through the dark tunnel which led to the house. It was a ramp, half a mile long, built over the swamp and bordered with trees; at every yard I shied fearfully at writhing shapes across the path, only to gulp with relief on finding that they were not the snakes I expected but the roots of the trees. In the end there loomed up before us the shadowy bulk of the house that was to be my home for the next ten years. I had arrived.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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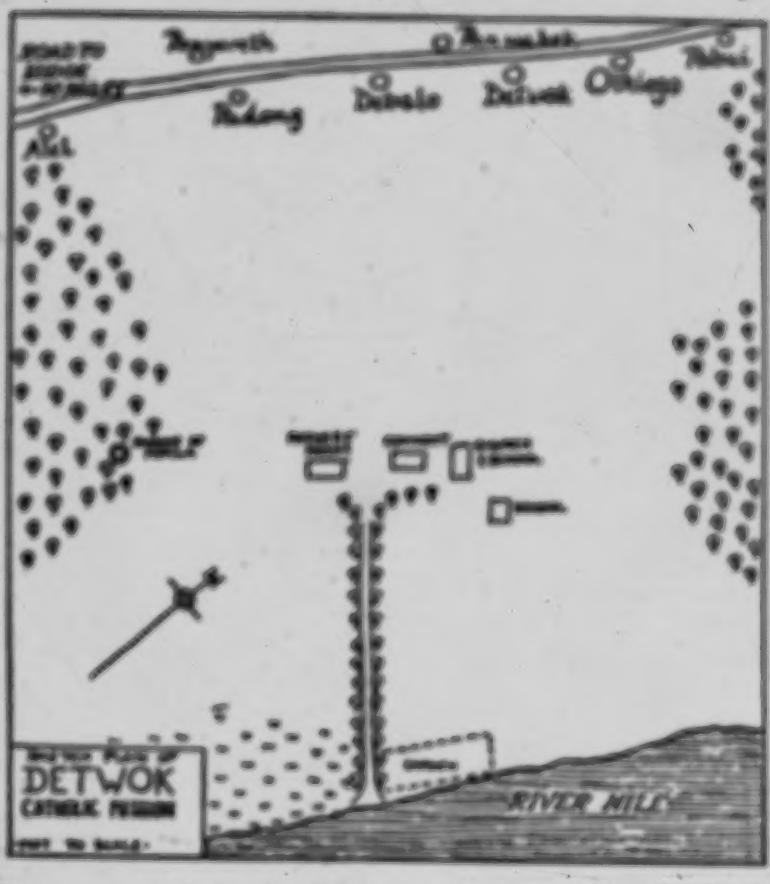

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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Dewok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Palim has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary
[164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-
[249] call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native
[276] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal dueng*,' he says, '*Yi sis*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi eat*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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errant sheep, Augustine, who has taken to himself a wife who is a pagan. Augustine is not be found anywhere; no one knows when he went away, where he is, or when he is likely to return. I think it very probable that he saw me coming, and at present is hiding in a neighbouring hut, but I know that it is useless to press the matter further now, so making a mental note to come back after a day or two, I retrieve my cycle with a sigh and, waving farewell to the chief, make my way to the next village on my list. Here, my welcome from the dogs is as noisy as ever, but my visit more successful. Julian is at home and admits that he has begun to pay cattle for the lady of his choice, yet asserts loudly and with an air of injured innocence that he would not dream of marrying outside the Church, and that he has only to point out to the girl the error of her pagan ways for her to begin instruction in the mission. This I take with a grain of salt, for I have heard it all before and know from experience that it will take months of patient and persevering persuasion before the bride-to-be presents herself to the Sisters to commence the learning of the Catechism. Still I must be satisfied with Julian's assurance, and taking leave of him I pop in to see Rachael.

The poor old lady is lying on a skin on the ground, her emaciated body covered with a dirty cloth. She seems to be dead already, but at the sound of the priest's voice she stirs slightly and turns her sightless eyes in my direction. I can see that she has grown much weaker since last I saw her, and that it can only be a matter of days till she goes to her reward, so I give her another blessing for the good of her soul and close her skinny claws round a piece of tobacco. Poor Rachael is too far gone to use or appreciate such a luxury, but she realizes that some one has given her something and is comforted by the possession of it. She tucks her gift away among her rags, for she knows that if her harridan of a daughter sees it she will take it from her as soon as her visitor has departed.

The round of visits continues. Paul's father is surprised to learn that his truant son has not been in school for the past

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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week; he certainly has not been home, he says, and surmises that he has run off to the cattle camp across the river; he promises to investigate the matter in the morning, and the look in his eyes bodes no good for his errant offspring. In the case of the other missing schoolchildren I do not have the same success; Frederick is not at home, nor his boy; Cecilia, his wife, says that the lad is minding the sheep and goats and implies that he will have to go on minding them as there is no one else to do it. (The flock actually minds itself to the ruin of the Sisters' garden, while the false shepherd disports himself in the river.) As to little Amelia, she is wanted at home to look after the baby, so she can't come to school either. I give this up as a bad job and push on to work through the remainder of my visits. Once or twice I am called into a hut to look at someone who is sick, and if I judge that he or she is sufficiently ill to warrant the attention of the Sisters, I make a note of the name and place. In one hut I find a tiny baby obviously very ill, so while the mother anxiously looks on, I baptize it, giving it the name Angela. (I learned that evening from the Sisters that little Angela had died, and I felt happy that I had been instrumental in speeding her flight to join the angel choirs above.)

But now the last of the calls is made, and, accompanied by the ever unfriendly dogs, I make my exit from the village and take the track leading to the main road. In the distance I hear the mission bell ringing out the mid-day Angelus, and saluting the Mother of God as I ride, I quicken my speed towards the mission house and lunch.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other 171 Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[171] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [114] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 172 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [127] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, [538] abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted. 776 773 121

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season. 105 [161]

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Ororo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls." 565 614 644 558

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[20] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Ororo*. 614 643 644 558

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[21] which is often used to describe the *Ororo*.

The *Ororo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of 565 614 644

20. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Ororo* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Ororo* will ever say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry. [124]

21. *bung bodh yi gen*.

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhob-Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhob-Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 361 621 613 621 361

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names-of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 613 621

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,[2] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wadh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Duong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [622] [124]

2. The special status of the *Ororo* is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).
[see MI Pumphrey, His File. -Analyst]

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameilek*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [428] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gitker* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gitker* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameilek* is now dead.

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Luak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk--to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [614] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event--at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement--soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 of fire ceremonially at Debalo has already been mentioned. This ceremony completed the first day. Nothing further occurred, though members of the Kwar Nyikwom danced and sang during the night, and sporadic drumming could be heard until the early hours of the morning.

INTERVAL.

During the two days after the *reth's* formal installation on the sacred stool no public ceremonies occurred. The *reth*, still in strict seclusion, moved only at night, and the rites enacted were conducted in secrecy. To the bulk of the people his whereabouts remained unknown. It appears that he spent one night in Adul (11th—12th March) and that the ceremony of tying on the sacred bead of Acoro took place on the morning of the 12th March. It was not possible [124] to witness any of these rites, and inquiries were met with evasion. An air of reticence and mystery veiled the scene. On the evening of the 12th and after dark, the *reth* went up into the mound Aturwic, and it is said he was enticed away by a woman of the Ororo (*nyaroro*), leaving behind him *nyakwer*, the girl of Kwa Okel who had accompanied him from Debalo. During the night of 13th-14th the *reth* visited Dhidu, a house which is below the mound of Aturwic and nearest of all houses to it. This visit must also remain a mystery. Answers [124] were evasive and probably deliberately misleading, though some informants said it was the house occupied by the Ororo girl.

THE FOURTH DAY.

643 644 The ceremonies of the fourth day centre round the person of *nyakwer* and emphasise the continued opposition between Nyikang and the *reth*-elect. *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies", who is provided for the occasion by the Kwa Okel, and who accompanied the *reth* from Debalo, had entered the temporary camp Adul with the *reth*. Thus far her status and the part she plays in the ceremonies had remained obscure. It was not clear whether she could be regarded

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I. N° 3.

INSTALLATION

OF THE

RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS)

BY P. MUNRO.

In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted 121
to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is
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in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I 128
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marks; *b*) The actual narrative.

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[1] SELIGMAN Vol. II., *General Science*, 4th *Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 216 et seq.

[2] WESTERMANN, *The Shilluk People*.

[p.145]

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil." 101 171 241

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shilluk.(6) 161

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong: 114

Akurua, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alel, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Eyingar, (near Lul) Padit (near eastern Ana), Aclo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Butu (eastern bank), Pamath, Tharujok, Kango, Fokan, Eyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar and Eyijok. [103]

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7) 125
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain. 114 141

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"2"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lauk (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned. 141

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fasheda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
541 there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks [1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

778 « Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
537 out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
422 the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
582 up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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114 [1] Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other 171 Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[771] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [114] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 772 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [127] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one [538] man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *got*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·5 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 25.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though [648 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of 682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
781 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object [782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agwony*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of [127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity [114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that [171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and [671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem 643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kuar kuar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Juok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I AM indebted to the Superior General of the Verona Missionary Fathers for permission to use the material on which Chapter X is based, and to Sister Columba Ward for her translation of this material from the Italian original; to the Editor of *The Sudan Notes and Records*; and to Messrs. W. P. G. Thomson and P. P. Howell for much of the description of Chapter VI. 127

Use has also been made in various chapters, for information on and confirmation of the matter contained therein, of *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by G. C. Seligman, *A Survey of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* by K. D. D. Henderson, *The Egyptian Sudan; Its Loss and Recovery* by Alford and Swords.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Very Rev. F. Spakauskas, the Rev. J. Fitzsimons and the Rev. Mother G. Colognesi of the Malakal Prefecture, Upper Nile Province, and to the Very Rev. J. P. Kennelly of St Joseph's College, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, who supplied the photographs; to the Rev. W. Hallam of the Malakal Prefecture and the Rev. A. Foreman of St Josef's Missiehuis, Roosendaal, Holland, for their valued help and advice in the writing of the book; and to the Rev. B. J. Traynor, M.A., of Mill Hill, London, and Mr. Brian Carey of Burn Hall, Durham, for their assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press. [127]

Catholic Mission, Lul,
Upper Nile Province,
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

J. DEMPSEY

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

121 kept before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: rules of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people [114] investigated. In this matter Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study technological processes, but specimens of any object of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Whenever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to 128 illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

114 Our first expedition, in 1909–10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911–12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all. 000

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation. 128

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. Lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river. [131] 361

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically. 105 221

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition 572 [3 42]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

128

M. E. C. Pumphrey.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This article and the succeeding article by P. P. Howell were submitted independently and the authors very kindly agreed to re-write them to avoid overlapping. The articles should be read in conjunction and Mr. Howell in particular has assumed a knowledge in his readers of Mr. Pumphrey's notes and explanations. EDITOR.

[p. viii]
[p. vii blank]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk--to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [614] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event--at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement—soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

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(1) SELIGMAN Vol. II., *General Science, 4th Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 216 et seq.

(2) WESTERMANN, *The Shilluk People.*

[p.145]

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [105] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
●131] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of 171 the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3: Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄l̄*, "a Shilluk", plural *ugɛ cɔ̄ɔ̄l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fɔ̄ɔ̄ cɔ̄ɔ̄l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cɔ̄ɔ̄l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *cɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*, "descendants of *kɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄l̄*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Masran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Masran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Belker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mɔ̄ɔ̄mɔ̄*, *Tɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba.

131 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended further northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Dueim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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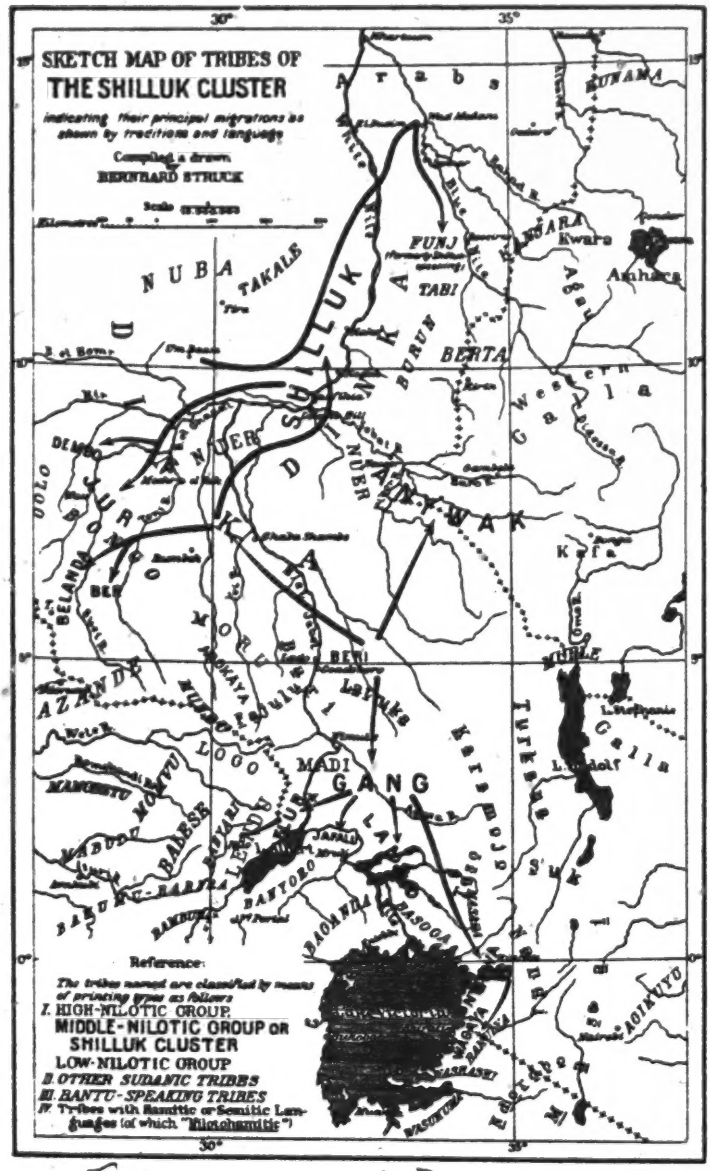

[Following p. LXIV (B)]

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all.

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation.

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river.

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' N latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 226] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°5'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of
[171] the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[131] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-
361 scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

8) The SHILLUK :

131 The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 350 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 144 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 9) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 173 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyakang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, wielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 635 The racial difference between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Rind, pp. 71-76

9) Rind, pp. 71-76

10) Rind, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 49.

133 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river farers are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many scouting expeditions downstream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and lost their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it came [131] to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 23) south of 13 degrees latitude.

We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for sure, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, 173 and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk 174 adventure. None of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. Moreover, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being 'from Muomo to Tung' 24), these being the present Shilluk borders. Had it been more once, why was it not preserved in the tradition?

C) The FUNG

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Butana 25), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lamul, 26) which some historians put on the present Ethiopian and Eritrean border, between the rivers Takazze and Kher al Gash. 27)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Soba, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Moya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Soba. 28)

23) Westermann, p. XX.
24) Lienhardt, p. 151.
25) Bosaily, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northwestern part of the present Ethiopia.
26) Crawford, pp. 134-142. A description of Reuboni's journey and how he met Amara in Lamul. Arkell in (A) tried to reduce the name Lamul to Lul, a district in the present Shillukland.
27) Bosaily's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo.
28) Awad, p. 252.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

101 [B1] [19]

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

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1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[FACING p. 6]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter I

WHERE IS KODOK?

I remember once reading a book, *Cavalcade* I think it was called, the first chapter of which described the return from the South African War of the Civic Imperial Volunteers. In it one of the victorious heroes was asked by his admiring wife, "Where is Africa, Alf?", but alas, Alf didn't know. My ignorance, I fear, was similar to that of Alf when in 1939 I received an appointment to work in the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. Almost all that I knew of Kodok was that it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa; to that extent, at least, my knowledge was superior to Alf's. I did know where Africa was, but apart from that the name Kodok was just a palindrome, for it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year, and the first band of five priests with Monsignor J. A. Wall at their head had but recently taken possession of the new field.

It was in December, 1939, that four of us set out to augment the original band of five, sailing in a wartime convoy for Africa. By this time I had learned a little more about the place. I knew, for instance, that it was the same place as Fashoda, famous in history as the meeting-place of Kitchener and Marchand and the scene of the 'incident' which nearly brought about war between France and England; that it was situated on the River Nile, 450 miles or so south of Khartoum; that it gave its name to an Apostolic Prefecture which theoretically covered a territory more than twice the size of Ireland, but in practice was confined to the land of the tribes dwelling on the river banks; that in the Prefecture there were already four mission stations established at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang by the Verona Fathers,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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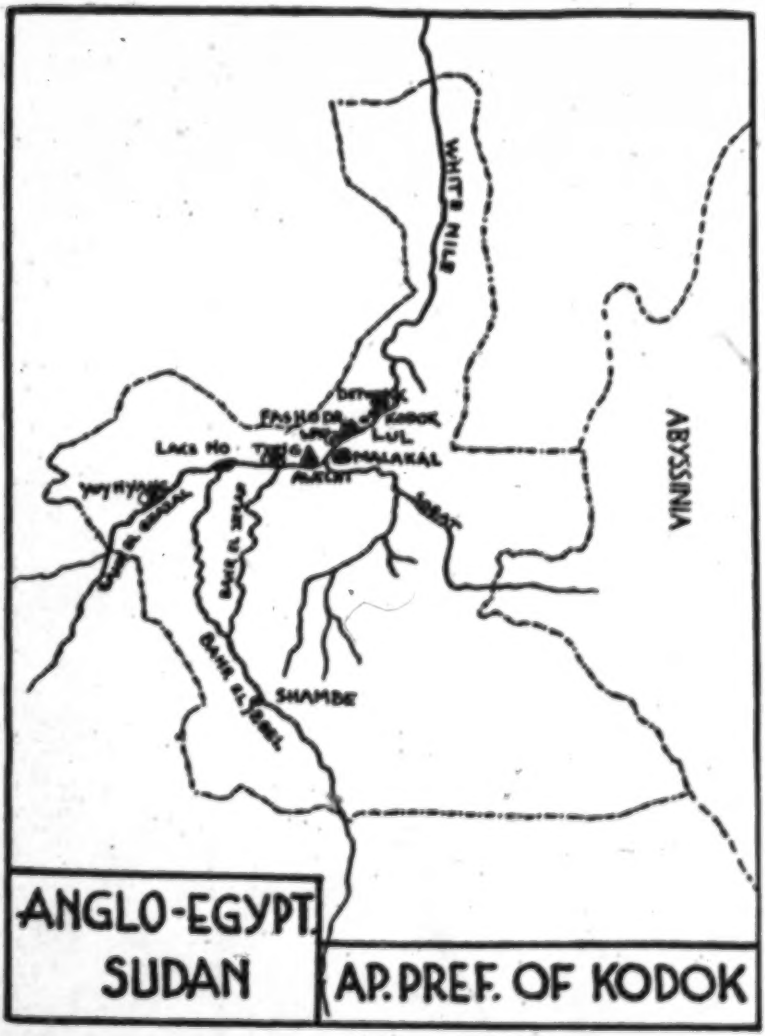

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 9 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
●131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

132 433 231 243 161

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

171 174

The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[114]

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄ɲ*, "a Shilluk", plural *ugɛ̄ɛ̄ cɔ̄ɔ̄l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fɔ̄ɔ̄ cɔ̄ɔ̄l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cɔ̄ɔ̄l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *cɔ̄ɔ̄ɲ*, "descendants of *kɔ̄ɔ̄ɲ*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *cɔ̄ɔ̄ɲ*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Maarza Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Maarza Island, Wad Dakena Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Belker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwome and Tonga (*Mɔ̄ɔ̄mɔ̄, Tɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Berseba.

131 M4 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended farther northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Duein; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors [1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: heglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

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The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rufifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

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5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix-xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' E. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

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Fangak	(9°5'N)	1187 mm
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15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The
782 walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deṅ. The soup in which
821 the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deṅ present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deṅ. While the servants of Deṅ put the higlig branch (ȳk Deṅ) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer.
821 One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deṅ. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped.
778 Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deṅ is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deṅ's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

●132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small
ovo wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

21: Mutwakil U-5 (1946) 1947 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12

S 243

It is very difficult to distinguish between the plants or the seeds of these different sub-varieties. Certainly I cannot recognize the differences myself, but I also doubt whether the Shilluk can do so without being misled quite often. All these sub-varieties are generally treated, and behave, in the same way. They are sown early in June, reach maturity in 90-100 days, (exceptions are the heavy sub-varieties), and are harvested in mid-September in a normal year.

2. *Rwat* is the Dinka name for the Shilluk *kwalli*. ?

D 243

The same sub-varieties exist among the Dinka, and the names given above for the sub-varieties are used by them.

It is also grown as an early crop in Dinka land, but in much smaller quantities, as a subsistence crop only.

3. *Jak* is the Dinka name for the heavy, late-maturing dura. It is the Dinka main crop, and has several sub-varieties, of which those commonly known are :—

Awet	Seed colour white.	
Kuchuka	" "	yellowish.
Kwayan	" "	orange red.

Again seed colour is not as pure as the above description may convey. A mixture of colours is always a usual sight in a field of this dura.

All sub-varieties of the *Jak* are considered as heavy or late-maturing. They are usually sown early in July, reach maturity in about six months, and are harvested towards the end of December.

4. *Agono* meaning ' white dura ' is the Shilluk name for the Dinka *Jak*.

S 243

The same sub-varieties and their names as above are also used by the Shilluk. As a crop plant, however, the *Agono* is grown but little in the Shilluk district, except among the southern Shilluk between Malakal and Tonga, where it is grown as a main crop.

5. *Angul*, meaning in Shilluk, ' dura of the wind,' is a winter dura.

The name refers to no one variety, but actually any crop which is sown so late in the rains that it benefits from the cool north (winter) wind, is known to the Shilluk as *angul*.

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As the wet period from which the *angul* may be expected to benefit [132] is very short, it is natural that only quick-maturing varieties are selected for the purpose.

? [i.e., early red dura. —Analyst]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE PROMISED LAND

I awoke refreshed from sleep, and in the bright morning 797
sunshine I was able to survey my new dwelling place. It was no Eden. In Africa there are many places of wonderful natural beauty, but Detwok is not one of them. Right in front of the house stood the ignoble remains of a brick kiln, and that together with the dried-up appearance of the soil gave one the impression of standing in a well-burnt brick-field. One looked ahead over an expanse of baked earth scarcely relieved by tufts of grass, yellow and shrivelled by the heat, and low clumps of thorn bushes and saw the river shining in the distance. To right and left of the house, indeed almost surrounding the compound in the rear, was a forest of vicious-looking thorn bush beyond which, half a mile away, could be seen the Shilluk villages thinly strung [361]
out in line, like, as one writer has put it, 'beads on a string'. In the compound itself were the Fathers' house, a substantial building just recently completed by the Italian Fathers with bricks burnt in the kiln whose ruins still remained, the Convent of the Sisters and a two-storey building with a school below and chapel above.

The scene was unlovely in the extreme. The earth of all 134
that portion of the Upper Nile Province apart from the swamps is cotton soil, which, though eminently suitable for the growing of cotton, is useful for little else. In the dry [132]
season, lasting from November to June, its surface is rough and hard, broken by large cracks into which a bicycle wheel can easily slip as far as the hub; in the time of the rains it soon becomes a mass of grey viscous mud as unsafe for a careless walker as the surface of an ice rink. After a few weeks of heavy rain most of the countryside turns into a vast swamp through which one must wade knee-deep in water,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

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9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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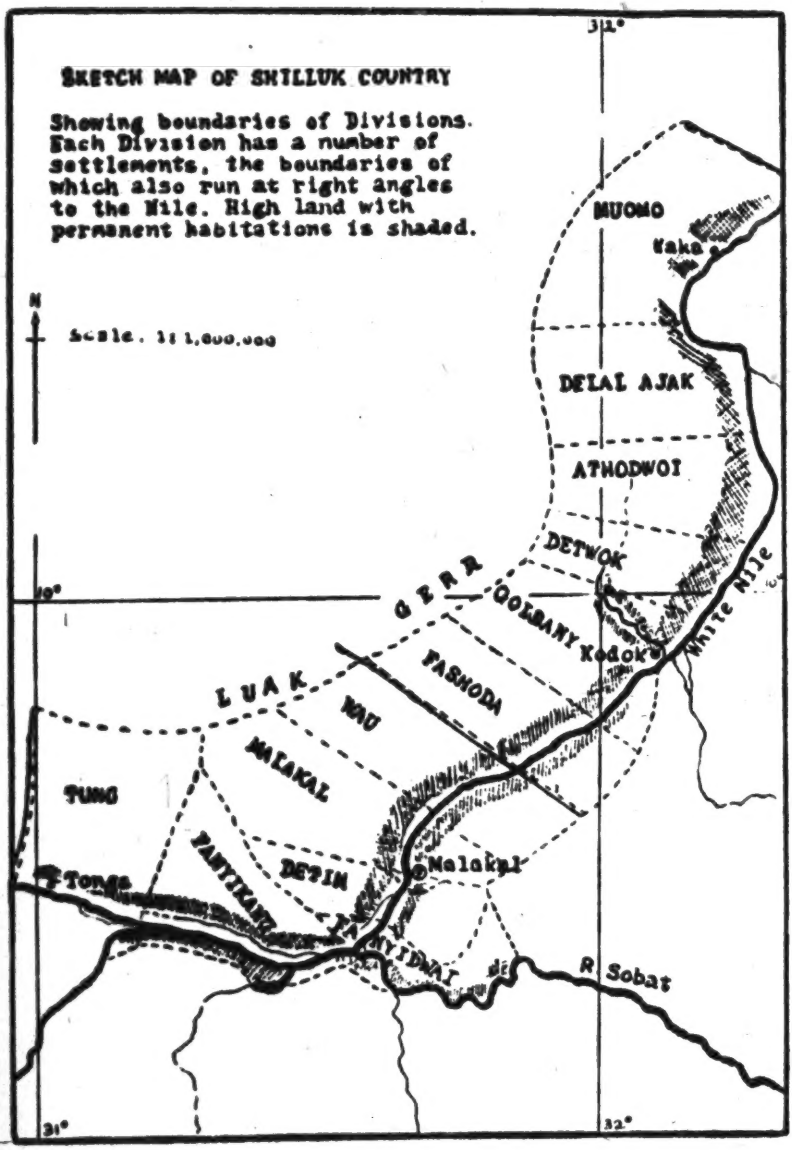


that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 621 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

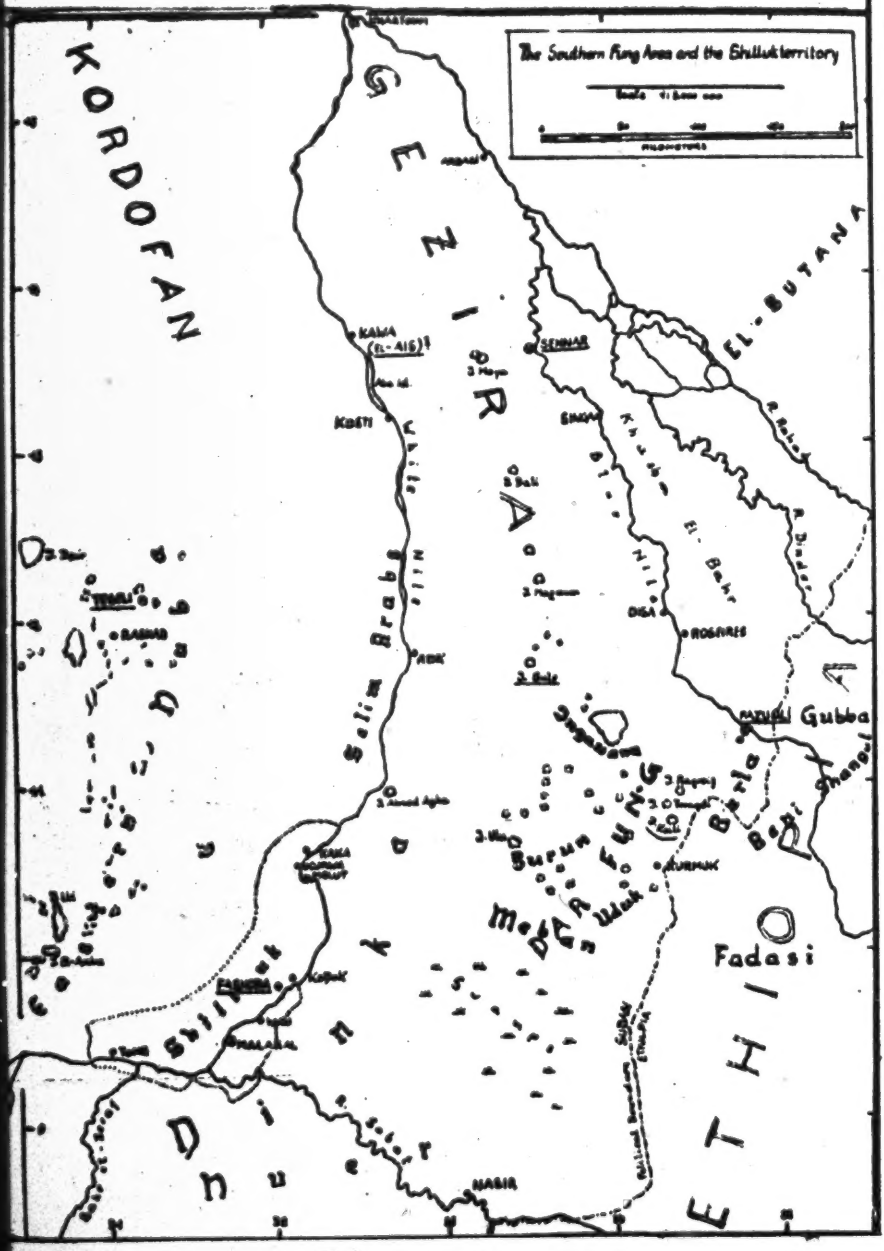
[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *podh cillo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133] [182] [631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101] [561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

10: Rind E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



[FACING p. 144]

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e) The Capital:

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organisation is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but those messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

> "Le Bahar el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, & divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (Le fleuve) ... " 22)

22) Bruce, 440.

133 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river farers are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many scouting expeditions down-stream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and loot their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it came [131] to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 23) south of 13 degrees latitude.

We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for sure, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, 173 and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk 174 adventure. None of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. Moreover, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being 'from Khomo to Tung' 24), these being the present Shilluk borders. Had it been more once, why was it not preserved in the tradition?

c) The FUNG :

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Butana 25), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lamul, 26) which some historians put on the present Ethiopian and Eritrean border, between the rivers Takasze and Khor el Gash. 27)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Soba, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Moya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Soba. 28)

23) Westermann, p. XX.
24) Lienhardt, p. 151.
25) Boscily, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northwestern part of the present Ethiopia.
26) Crawford, pp. 134-142. A description of Roubeni's journey and how he met Amara in Lamul. Arkell in (A) tried to reduce the name Lamul to Lul, a district in the present Shillukland.
27) Boscily's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo.
28) Awad, p. 252.

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4) Evidences of the Theory of a Shilluk origin of the Funj

James Bruce was the first to declare that the Fung were originally a Shilluk northern offshoot, who descended upon the Arabs, defeated them, and created Sennar as a seat of their new Kingdom.

First of all, it is quite clear from the Journal of Bruce that he was very much interested in the Shangally, and probably confused Shangalla, Shankala, and Shilluk. Once, while in Tsawa near Godaref, he said that "The Fung were originally Shankala or Ramidge", 61) and on arriving at Sennar, he added, "and are, as they are called, Funge, that is Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came to drive out the Arabs under Wad Agib. Of these, the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly pagans even yet." 62)

Further quotations from Bruce give an idea about the mess into which he had fallen. He says that the king of Sennar pretends to be of noble Arab element, "but his wooly hair, and black flat features, show him to be a Shangalla; the particular name Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El-Aice (the White Nile) ... The name of Shankala, given to the true blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The rivel El-Aice is twice as broad as the Nile and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands, in these dwell the Shilook, who rob in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Neba, and Fazuclo, three southern provinces which depend on Sennar". 63)

The Shangalla or the Beni Shangul are Negroe of negroid tribes, living in the river valleys in the mountainous western Abyssinian escarpment. They were included within the Fung kingdom throughout its history.

It would seem that the description of the White Nile, which Bruce names El-Aice, and the description of the people who inhabit the islands of this river, is quite a separate sentence, which has nothing to do with the preceding sentence, in which he returns the Fung to a Shangalla origin. This assumption is validated by the above quotation, in which he says that the Fung are the Shangalla converted to Islam, and defines the Shilluk as the troops of the king. But this again contradicts the famous quotation, in which Bruce asserts that in 1504 a Shilluk migration founded Sennar.

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It is interesting to know that Bruce's statement about the Nile was not correct. He imagined that the Blue Nile was the

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61) Arkell, (A), p. 220

62) Ibid, p. 220

63) Ibid, p. 220

real Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course down the Sudan, but made a short-cut from Abyssinia to the Butana plains and to Sennar. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Sennar is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fazughli extend uninterrupted to the Nuba mountains. On this assumption he considered that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Main Nile, and had its source in the Fazughli-Nuba chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he would accordingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes?

114 174 133

Arkell dwelt on the statement of Bruce that the Sennar kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Bid el Qon, and after the sanction of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Funj. Moreover, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Kwon, the Shilluk word for their sacred stool, to be transformed to Qon, in Bid el Qon etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the alledged Funj killing is false, due to the lack of the essential notion of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king.

114 173 174

Crawford, though he does not suggest a Shilluk origin of the Funj, says that there were certain Shilluk associations. He further states: "I suggest that the Shilluk association was not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fazughli region and the gebels to the west whose inhabitants were partly at any rate of Shilluk origin. When Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded his kingdom he may have carried with him some of these Shilluk associations ..."64) Crawford then suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Malut, or Jebel Ahmed Agha, or Rank. He is compelled to such an explanation because

114 174

1) he finds that the inhabitants of the Fazughli region are "Negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and in the southeast is the land of the Hamitic Galla". 65)
2) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) is here quite conclusive". 66)

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Fazughli area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which shrunk to the present picture of pockets in the river valleys which cut deep in the western escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau,

64) Crawford, p. 156

65) Ibid, p. 157

66) Ibid, p. 157.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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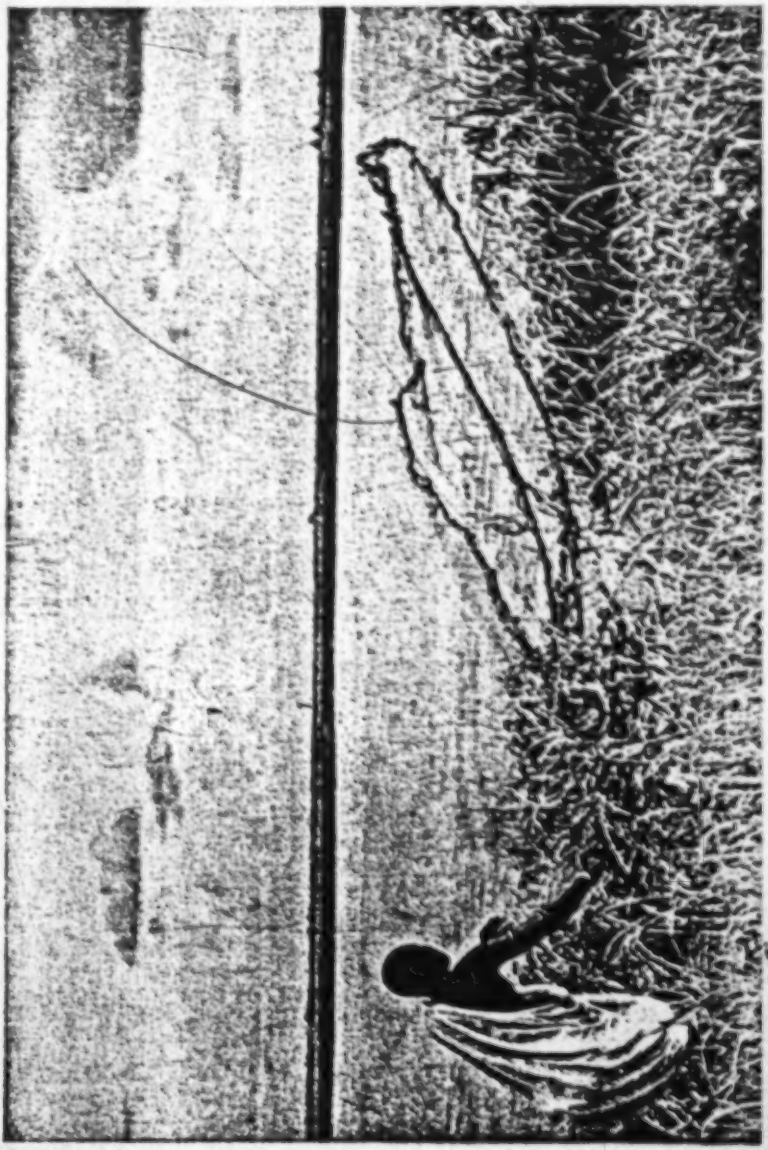

SHILLUK FISHERMAN P.P.II.

[FACING p. viii]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[FACING p. 6]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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This was made on the paddle steamer which wanders along the river between Khartoum in the north and Juba in the south, accepting and delivering mail and cargo at the trading posts and mission stations established on the Nile banks. The good ship *Rejaf* was more of a convoy than a single vessel, for she pushed and pulled along with her seven barges for passengers and cargo. First-class passengers were accommodated on the steamer itself; intermediate second-class passengers were carried on a house-boat-like barge alongside; in front went three barges conveying

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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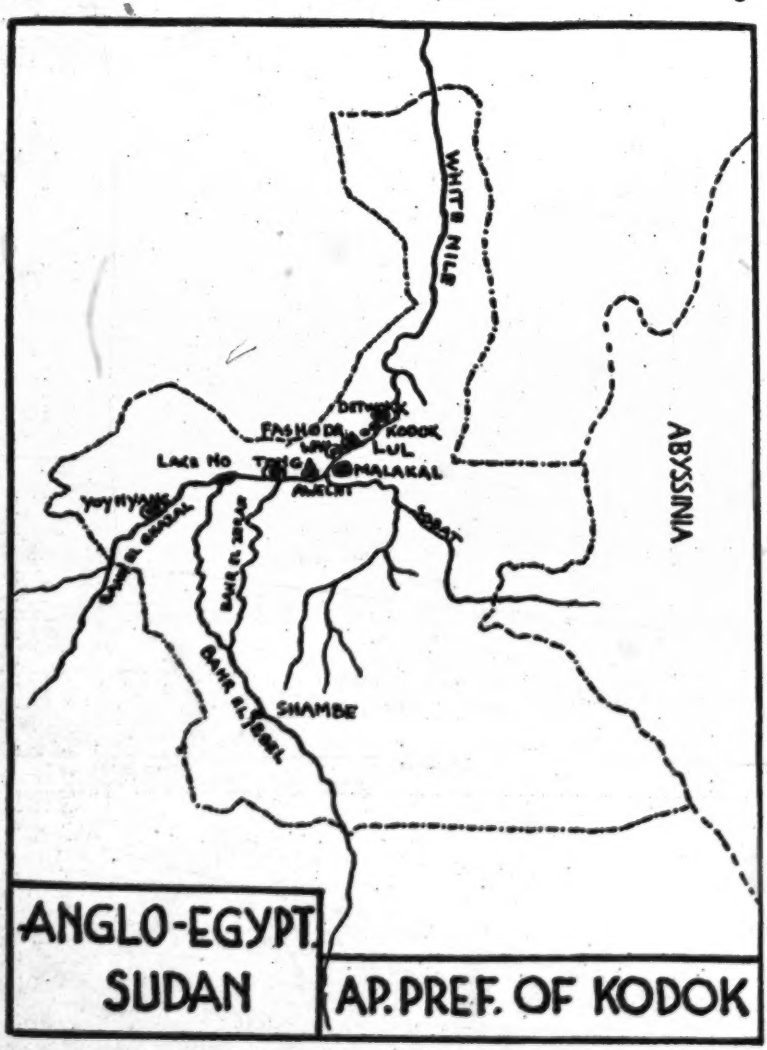

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok 797
about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so 123
often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inundations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river, at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood. Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a discount, and social or parochial calls present their own problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source of water for most villages, even those situated miles away from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthenware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors [1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: beglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

ANIMALS

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rubifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

[1] Khor (Arab) = water course drying up in the rainless season.

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shullas call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties then down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the but ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

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Dẹ̀dẹ̀ black, rich earth
kwójẹ̀ sandy ground
ówẹ̀lẹ́ red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
áwán brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
àwěkó red sand
àyéch sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

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byél dura
ŵmẹ̀ sesame
ńẹ̀rẹ̀ bean
kwẹ̀rẹ̀ cotton
búdẹ̀ a small, sweet gourd, is eaten.
ókwẹ̀l an eatable gourd
kẹ̄nọ a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
òshẹ̀yó melon
àtábọ tobacco
abwok maize.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: *byél*. The common name for white dura: *ágọ́nọ̀*.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marrige, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> it is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeijo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE PROMISED LAND

I awoke refreshed from sleep, and in the bright morning 797
sunshine I was able to survey my new dwelling place. It was no Eden. In Africa there are many places of wonderful natural beauty, but Detwok is not one of them. Right in front of the house stood the ignoble remains of a brick kiln, and that together with the dried-up appearance of the soil gave one the impression of standing in a well-burnt brick-field. One looked ahead over an expanse of baked earth scarcely relieved by tufts of grass, yellow and shrivelled by the heat, and low clumps of thorn bushes and saw the river shining in the distance. To right and left of the house, indeed almost surrounding the compound in the rear, was a forest of vicious-looking thorn bush beyond which, half a mile away, could be seen the Shilluk villages thinly strung [361]
out in line, like, as one writer has put it, 'beads on a string'. In the compound itself were the Fathers' house, a substantial building just recently completed by the Italian Fathers with bricks burnt in the kiln whose ruins still remained, the Convent of the Sisters and a two-storey building with a school below and chapel above.

The scene was unlovely in the extreme. The earth of all 134
that portion of the Upper Nile Province apart from the swamps is cotton soil, which, though eminently suitable for the growing of cotton, is useful for little else. In the dry [132]
season, lasting from November to June, its surface is rough and hard, broken by large cracks into which a bicycle wheel can easily slip as far as the hub; in the time of the rains it soon becomes a mass of grey viscous mud as unsafe for a careless walker as the surface of an ice rink. After a few weeks of heavy rain most of the countryside turns into a vast swamp through which one must wade knee-deep in water,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: heglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

ANIMALS

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rufifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

[1] Khor (Arab) = water course drying up in the rainless season.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 162 [621]

The population amounts to about 60000 souls,[1] who live in a little more than 1200 villages, and 10000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

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According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

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The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

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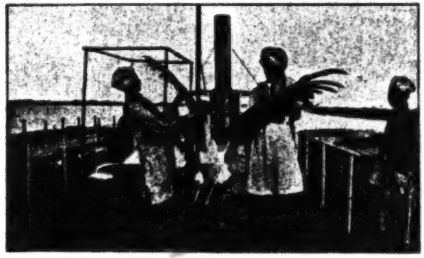
Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

[Facing p. xxiv]

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5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 30.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix–xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 130. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This [173] embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[18] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 224 292 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 356 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, but no new building in mud was done.

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[132] 18. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii
frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and 797*
permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or 346
three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in [136] the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must 797*
try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that 339
he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word 464
goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to 797*
be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule 461
is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been 797*
good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter XIV

FAMINE AND FLOOD

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the Shilluk live in a state of chronic hunger. The poverty of the land they till, their primitive methods of husbandry, the elements which seem to fight against them in their annual struggle to raise a crop all contribute to make this so. And if despite all these handicaps, if perhaps in an occasional year the fates relent a little and send neither deluge nor drought, but a supply of rain liberal enough to nurture a plentiful field, then the weaver birds will descend in their millions to lay waste the great heads of mature but as yet unripened grain. The damage that these tiny predators can do is incredible. In the early dawn they swoop like a black cloud on the unprotected fields, settle and after a short time, rise again. But they leave behind them ruin; the heads of grain are in rags and tatters and the ground is carpeted green with the unripened grain. In three or four days the former flourishing field is laid waste.

Once, at daybreak, I saw a migration of weaver birds. They were flying up the Nile from north to south. I did not see the beginning of this great army, neither did I see the end, but for half an hour it flew in an unbroken mass which seemed to stretch across the entire breadth of the river and to be about a foot deep. Its passing boded ill for the luckless cultivators in the south.

Despite these misfortunes the Shilluk usually manage to garner something from their impoverished fields. From October and for the next few months they generally have sufficient to eat and after that, if they have money to buy it, grain imported from more prosperous parts of the country is available in the merchants' stores. But occasionally the whole country is stricken. The failure of the rains is

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
131] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *Ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear them-[221] selves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

226 224 Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

32 The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, [316 though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by 439] trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are 501 necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus* [37] *flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

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[1] Khor (Arab) — water courses drying up in the rainless season.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks [311] of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baqara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 226] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) ●137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°5'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurua, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alel, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Nyingar, (near Lul) Fadit (near eastern Abu), Kolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Butu (eastern bank), Pamath, Thrujok, Kango, Fokan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar und Nyijok.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"A"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lunk (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

141 565

		C.I.	N.I.	S. (cm)
"B" Gerr Prov.	(12)	72.2	84.7	178.6
Luak "	(22)	71.1	86.4	176.8

This is further and clearly illustrated from the measurements taken only on the Colo (any common Shilluk other than the members of the royal family and the Ororo members):

"C" Gerr Prov.	(6)	73.3	85.5	178.5
Luak "	(17)	71.7	85.0	174.5

Here the differences are shown more clearly than those in table "B" in which royal members were included. This means, that the royal members have had, so to say, a compromising effect on the indices and further it means that the royal members have different anthropometric qualities. This is shown in table "D".

		C.I.	N.I.	S. (cm)
Royals	(11)	70.8	85.9	178.9
Colo	(23)	72.5	85.2	176.5

Also there is a tendency among the royal family members to differenciate physically, in north and south. This may be seen clearly in table "E":

Gerr (6)	71.1	83.9	178.7
Luak (5)	70.5	87.9	179.2

The mean indices for the 6 women were:

"F"			
Colo(5)	72.1	86.1	162.9
Royal (1)	70.22	85.1	165.7

Here we also see the difference between commoners and nobles, though the number of samples is not sufficient to stand by itself. We depend here on the results of the 34 men measured to state that difference of physical character occurs also among Shilluk women.

Now here are some notes on the forgoing tables, to sum up, for the time being, a hurried conclusion liable to alteration if new anthropometric studies on the Shilluk and related tribes are undertaken in the future.

114 141 1. The difference in the Nasal index in table "A" may be attributed to differnces in the points of measurement between Professor Seligman and me, unless Seligman has taken his samples from a certain area in the Shilluk-land. If this happens to be the case, it is most probable that the majority of his samples were taken from southern Shillukland in general, and the districts of Tonga and Fanyikang specifically, because my samples in this area show the highest nasal indices recorded as shown in table "G" below.

141 2. The considerable differences between north and south, shown in tables "B" and "C", are a matter of the first degree of importance. This is the first time, as far as I know, that this difference has been brought to light. And its importance is not a self-contained racial matter, but is accentuated by Shilluk mythology in which North and South stand opposed to each other as two political units and in certain times as two religious units.

The racial difference may be fully understood and explained by Shilluk mythology. Nyikang, the demigod and the Shilluk culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shillukland and erected his headquarters at Nyilual, in Panyang district. When he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Nuba and Pung, or according to one authority (9) Dongolawys or Berabra. It seems to me that the Pungs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but more reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile. At any rate, Nykang conquered the present Shillukland in a peaceful way sometimes, and by means of force in in those instances where people showed resistance. The people either fled to the Nuba mountains and Sennar, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shilluk citizens and thus incorporated into the Shilluk nation. 144 173

Now the high cephalic index in the north may be attributed to a Nuba influence, more specifically to an eastern Nuba influence, or to a mesaticephalic influence from the Dar Pung Hills. 141 144 174

There is no other nearby area of mesaticephals than the eastern Nuba Hills. The next nearest area of mesaticephals is the Dar Pung mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 400 kilometers northeast of the Shilluk land across the Nile. Here first are some anthropometric measurements from both mesaticephalic areas: 171

	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)
Nuba Hills: (10)					
Tegulo (7)	79	103	76.5	44.5	
Ilyry & Lafofa(32)	76.42	92.26	82.26	46.19	173.82
Lemon (8)	78.88	95.63			
Tira-ol Akhdar, Mandi, Kandroma					
Khoma (7)	77.75	92.37	82.42	45.55	169.8
Nuba women (11)	76.30	94.03	83.48	48.23	157.2
Ilyry (10)	75.15	94.4			
Dar Pung Hills: (11)					
Pung (5)	74.6	83.3	84.9	46.5	170
Ingassana (12)	73.1	90.4	82.8	44.3	173
Khoma (7)	73.4	96.3	82.0	45.9	
Uduk (9)	77.4	97.0	77.9	43.7	167
Burun (30)	75.2	101.5	83.1	44.4	170
Jum Jum (17)	75.5				
Koban (43)	79.1	96.0	84.0	47.0	176

Hypothetically we can say that those two areas in the past formed a mesaticephalic belt, now separated through the migration of the dolicephalic Dinka of the White Nile, on the eastern bank, and the Shilluk and Baggara Arabs on the western bank of the Nile. 144 174

Both areas, within themselves, do not form racial unities, but are more or less refuge areas. Thus they are merely conglomerations of different physical and cultural types which have fled from the plains in front of any conquest. But the most inportant feature that combines them (not politically, but from our scientific standpoint) is their mesaticephalic character.

144 Now it is impossible to suggest that all people fled to the hills because of an
174 instance of superior invasion; some will naturally stay in their land and will incorporate with the new-comers. At first they may well form a caste , they may also be reduced to slavery, but through the factor of time intermarriage will occur, and the conquerors and conquered will fuse into a harmonious unit. This process depends upon the policy followed by the conquerors; it will be allowed to develop if the conquerors accept the aborigines in the frame of their society. The negative picture will result if the invaders insist upon wholly exterminating the aboriginals. Many factors define the policy of the invaders, but the most important is the numerical factor. If it is a big migrational wave, then there is no question of peaceful incorporation and amalgamation, and if they form a minor wandering wave, they will be keen on the amalgamation **policy** . The latter case was that which we can deduce from the Shilluk legend. They were so keen upon populating the country that they tell us that Nyikang, through his supernatural powers and the help of Dak, his son, caught mysterious people from the river and changed animals into men to make them their subjects and to incorporate them into their nation.

If this was the case, then we should be able to say that the present Shillukland, before the coming of the Shilluk of Nyikang, was populated by at least a mesticephalic group in the north and a dolicephalic group in the south, culturally and perhaps politically separated. The longheaded group may be the racial substratum of the whole area of the Kilotes of the Sudan.

141 3. The further heterogeneity of the Shilluk, which table "D" reveals, is quite
174 understandable. The Shilluk legends and myths tell us that the founder of the nation and his followers came from a far country near "Nam Doun" which means a broad and big river, a lake, a salt sea or a lake shore.

The physical qualities of the royal family members, as shown in table "D", do not give any clue to the real origin of this migration, because these qualities are shared by most of the inhabitants of the bigger area around the Shillukland. Long-headedness is nearly universal in Africa. The tendency to broadness is rare and may be attributed to Armenian (Alpine) influence in the northern half of the continent and to Pigmy influence in the central parts. From other evidences such as their legends and the legends of other Shilluk-speaking tribes, as well as other circumstancial evidences we can speculate on the original home of the Shilluk. Many theories have been introduced to account for the origin of the Shilluk, but here is not the right place to discuss this controversial problem.

4. In table "E" we see further disharmony. The tendency to a higher cephalic index is readily explained if we understand the Shilluk social institutions. The kings marry commoners according to the law of exogamy which is prevalent among the Shilluk. Later on, when the wives of the king are pregnant, they are sent to their villages to give birth. The royal babies are never born in Fashoda , and they stay in the village of their birth under the protection and guidance of the village chief.

We can conclude that the racial heterogeneity of the Shilluk is not simple. Three factors play a role in the ethnic composition of this nation and like many other nations, these different elements are fused into a social and cultural unit.

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks I	marks E	marks R	marks A	dots	C.I. cm	C.I. mm	N.I. cm	N.I. mm	S. cm	S. mm
D 6	72.6	85.4	78.3	43.3	176.9												
C 5	77.7	84.3			183.4	+					25		77				+
B 2	70.1	89.1			182.4		+				25				+		
D10	69.8	82.6	88.8	53.1	178.4							+		+			
C 9	74.4	83.7			168.9	+	+	+	+							+	
D 4	75.3	88.0	83.7	47.4	181.4						25						
	73.3	85.3			178.5												
D 8	67.7	97.7	85.3	44.9	172.3	+					23	+					
B 8	71.6	102.2			170.0	+					22					+	
B10	71.5	100.0			169.1	+					20						
B 9	69.9	97.7			178.8	+		+	+		19						
C 4	71.9	88.2			170.2	+		+	+	+	26						
C 3	73.1	68.6			164.3	+					23			+		+	
B 6	72.1	82.0			168.3	+					24						
B 5	70.1	76.2			179.4	+					25						
B 4	71.4	71.9			179.1						30						
A10	72.5	83.7			170.4		+	+	+	+							
A 9	70.6	75.0			189.4	+											+
A 8	72.5	82.3			183.1												
A 7	75.4	80.3			167.6		+	+	+	+				+			
A 6	75.1	78.4			183.3												
A 5	71.5	85.4			174.3			+		+							
A 4	71.6	83.9			182.3			+		+							
A 3	71.8	92.0			169.0	+	+										
	71.7	85.0			174.5												
C10	74.3	86.9			158.3	+	+				31	+				+	
D 2	73.5	84.0			159.7	+	+		+	+	26						
D 1	70.0	92.8			169.0	+	+	+	+		28	+			+		+
C 2	71.5	82.6			164.9		+		+		30			+			
C 1	71.3	84.4			163.0	+	+	+	+	+	25						
	71.7	85.0			163.9												
B 3	71.6	83.3			165.0									+	+		
A 2	70.1	76.9			174.2						23			+			
A 1	72.1	91.4	86.0	43.3	184.1												
C 7	68.8	91.8			187.4						30						
D 5	68.1	82.0	77.5	42.0	185.5						23						
C 6	77.0	78.0			176.2	+	+				34			+			
	71.1	83.9			178.7												

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. mn.	C.I. mx.	N.I. mn.	N.I. mx.	S mn.	S mx.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			175.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	88.7	89.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	7.5	87.9			179.2												
D 13	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder R= right upper arm and shoulder B= Back A= Abdomen

mn= minimum mx= maximum

Tribal Marks .

304 The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of
619 dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of those dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots
[114] or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Nuer and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum , as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower
114 incissors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation
184 "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk
304 the royal family alone keep their teeth intact." (17) From the results I have
619 obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:
a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,
b) that some royal members practice it.
The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the
304 past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to
197 knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that
[753] changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

B) The SHILLUK :

131 The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 350 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 144 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 173 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyakang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, wielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 635 The racial difference between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Riad, pp. 71-76

9) Riad, pp. 71-76

10) Riad, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 49.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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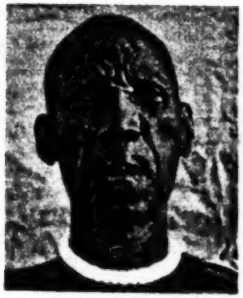

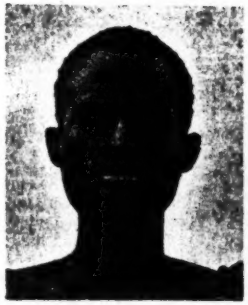
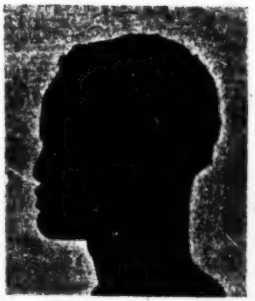

3 4 5

Shilluk types. No. 1 average, 2 aristocratic, 4 "Negroid," 5 woman (unusually broad-faced)

[face p. 38

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 171 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of 142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best 174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented 142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have 144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the [556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old [462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164-5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:— 173 539 114

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Análi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600-35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Plate IV

142
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Conversing types of Shilluk

361

Shilluk villages from Nile

[illegible]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinos seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk removes the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its curious result, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

[1] Five feet two inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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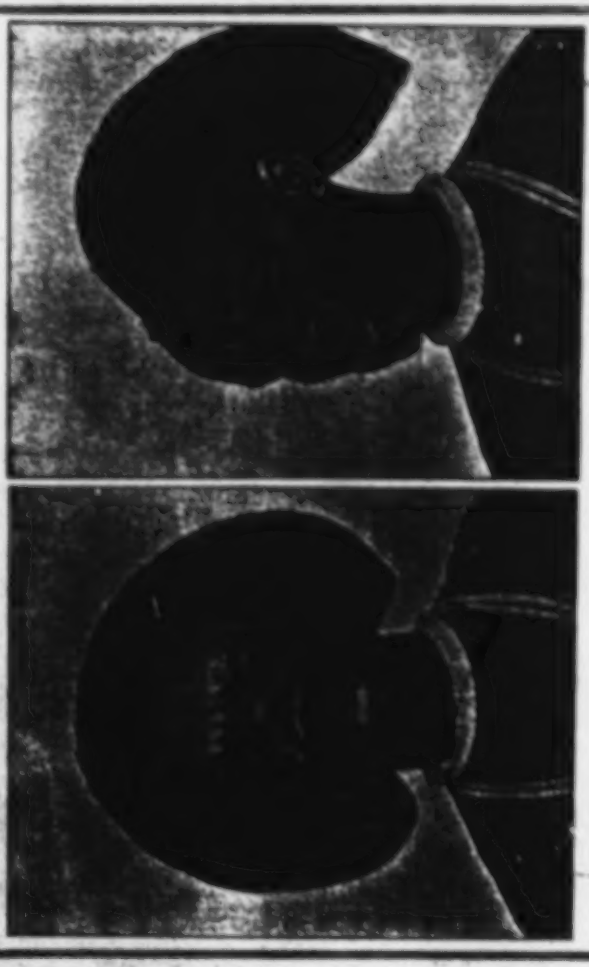

A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

[Facing p. xxxii]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. Shilluk Girls showing the wear they wear on the Nile Bank
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[Facing p. xlviii (A)]

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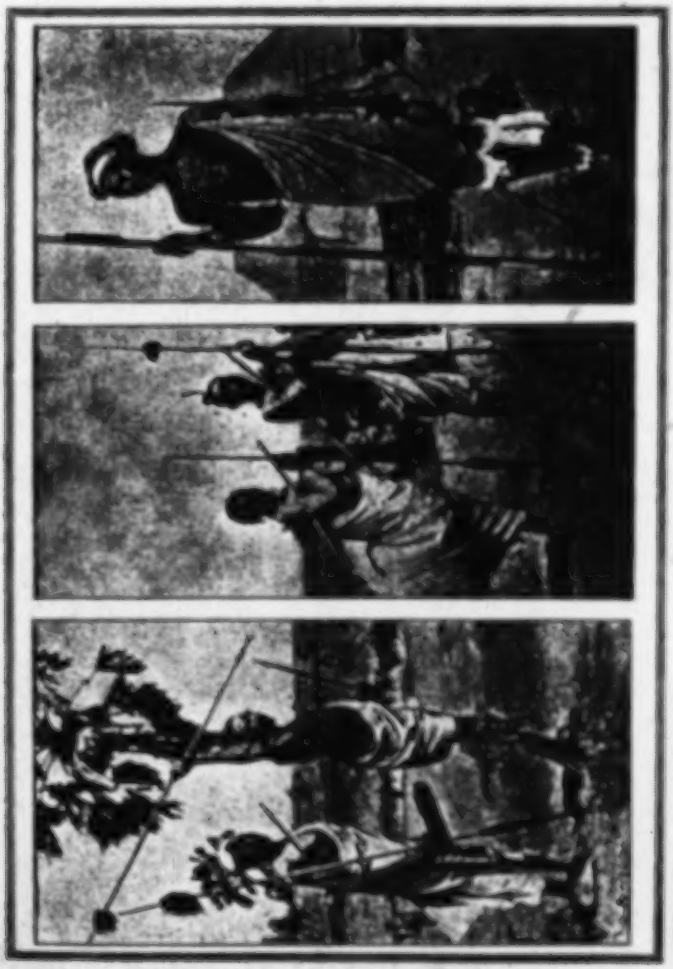
3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



Shilluk Woman in warm for a torch-light, carrying clubs, spears and a "shoulder-shield"

Two men in war

A Shilluk Warrior wears spears and a club; below him, edge of shield-skin. Note the bandage on the head

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[Facing p. LVI]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii]
[frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [565] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Easter-egg

Cherry pie

Soup-plate, profile

Soup-plate, front view

Photos: Fr. F. Spiessbach

Shilluk hair-styles

[facing p. 21]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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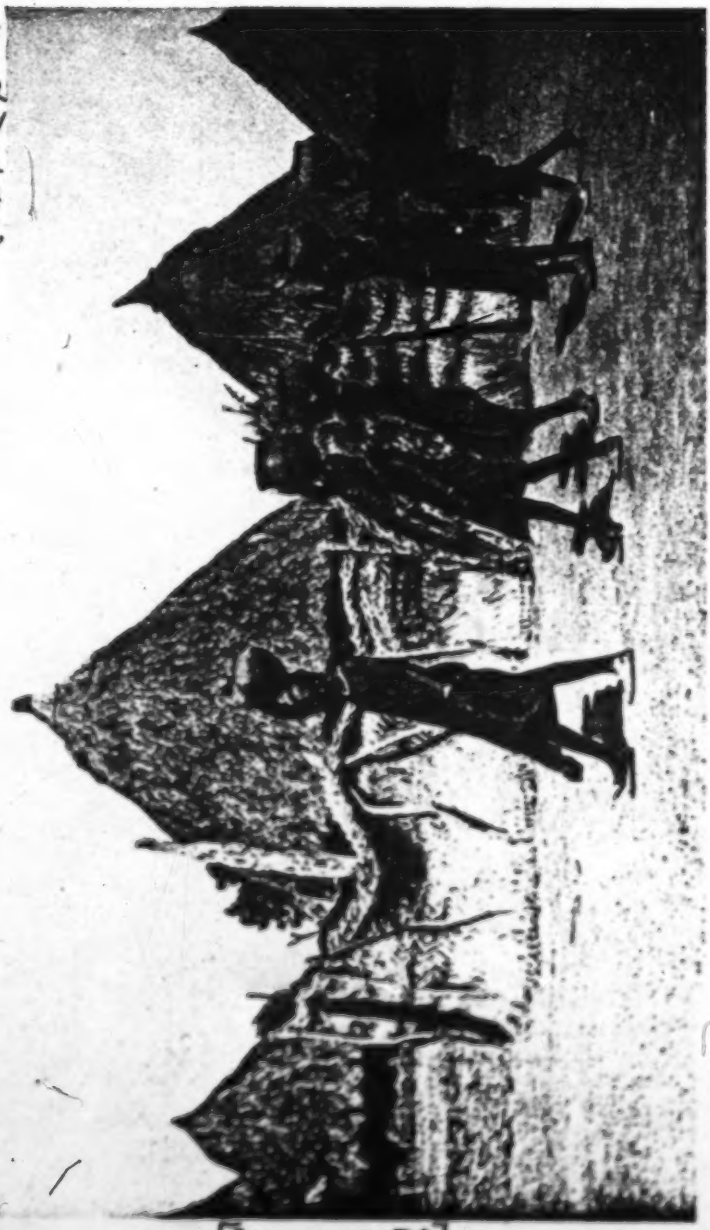

Photo: Fr. F. Spheuler

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

[facing p. 53]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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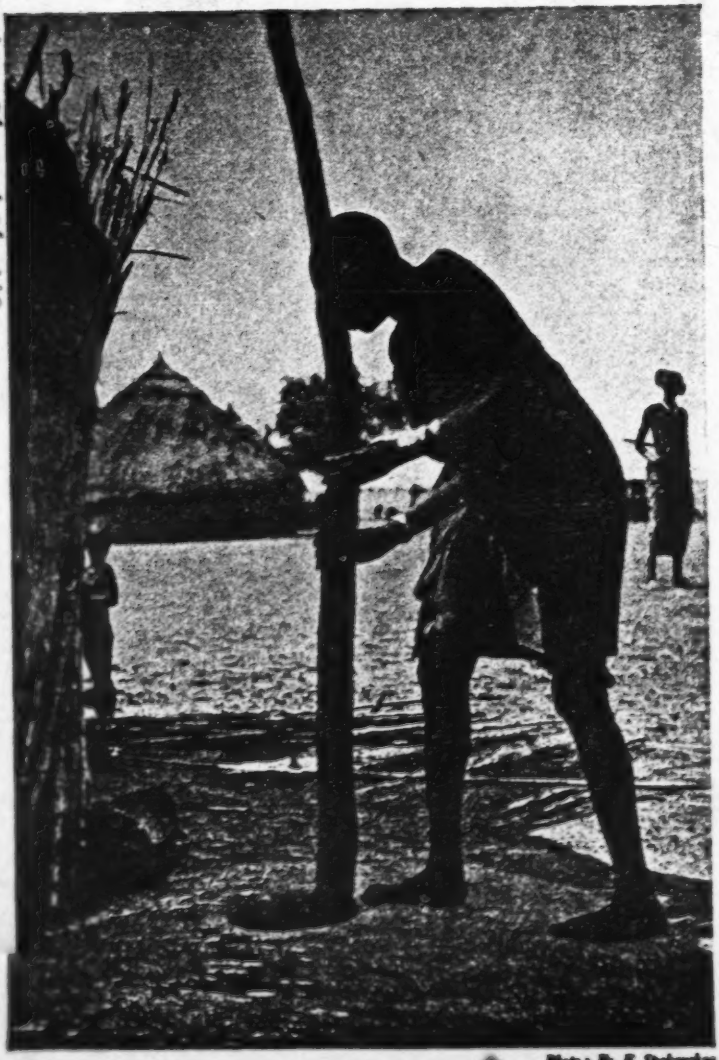

Photo: Fr. F. Spiessler

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Photo: Fr. F. Spokanskas

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p.85]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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1 2

3 4 5

Shilluk types. No. 1 average, 2 aristocratic, 4 "Negroid," 5 woman (unusually broad-faced)

[See p. 38

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have
●144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[558] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is
[462] a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

173 539 114

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Anilfi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was on albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 15 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

The racial difference may be fully understood and explained by Shilluk mythology. Nyikang, the demigod and the Shilluk culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shillukland and erected his headquarters at Nyilual, in Panyang district. Then he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Nuba and Fung, or according to one authority (9) Dongolawys or Berabra. It seems to me that the Fungs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but more reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile. At any rate, Nykang conquered the present Shillukland in a peaceful way sometimes, and by means of force in in those instances where people showed resistance. The people either fled to the Nuba mountains and Sennar, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shilluk citizens and thus incorporated into the Shilluk nation. 144 173

Now the high cephalic index in the north may be attributed to a Nuba influence, more specifically to an eastern Nuba influence, or to a mesaticephalic influence from the Dar Fung Hills. 141 144 174

There is no other nearby area of mesaticephals than the eastern Nuba Hills. The next nearest area of mesaticephals is the Dar Fung mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 400 kilometers northeast of the Shilluk land across the Nile. Here first are some anthropometric measurements from both mesaticephalic areas: 171

	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)
Nuba Hills: (10)					
Fogalo (7)	79	103	76.5	44.5	
Ilyry & Lafofa(32)	76.42	92.26	82.26	46.19	173.82
Lemon (8)	76.88	95.63			
Tira-ol Akhdar, Mandi, Kandrumo Khomo (7)	77.75	92.37	82.42	45.55	169.8
Nuba women (11)	76.30	94.03	83.48	48.23	157.2
Ilyry (10)	75.15	94.4			
Dar Fung Hills: (11)					
Fung (5)	74.6	83.3	84.9	46.5	170
Ingassana (12)	73.1	90.4	82.8	44.3	173
Khoma (7)	73.4	96.3	82.0	45.9	
Udak (9)	77.4	97.0	77.9	43.7	167
Barum (30)	75.2	101.5	83.1	44.4	170
Jum Jum (17)	75.5				
Mohon (43)	79.1	96.0	84.0	47.0	176

Hypothetically we can say that these two areas in the past formed a mesaticephalic belt, now separated through the migration of the dolicocephalic Dinka of the White Nile, on the eastern bank, and the Shilluk and Baggara Arabs on the western bank of the Nile. 144 174

Both areas, within themselves, do not form racial unities, but are more or less refuge areas. Thus they are merely conglomerations of different physical and cultural types which have fled from the plains in front of any conquest. But the most important feature that combines them (not politically, but from our scientific standpoint) is their mesaticephalic character.

144 174 Now it is impossible to suggest that all people fled to the hills because of an instance of superior invasion; some will naturally stay in their land and will incorporate with the new-comers. At first they may well form a caste , they may also be reduced to slavery, but through the factor of time intermarriage will occur, and the conquerors and conquered will fuse into a harmonious unit. This process depends upon the policy followed by the conquerors; it will be allowed to develop if the conquerors accept the aboriginos in the frame of their society. The negative picture will result if the invadors insist upon wholly exterminating the aboriginals. Many factors define the policy of the invadors, but the most important is the numerical factor. If it is a big migrational wave, then there is no question of peaceful incorporation and amalgamation, and if they form a minor wandering wave, they will be keen on the amalgamation **policy** . The latter case was that which we can deduce from the Shilluk legend. They were so keen upon populating the country that they tell us that Nyikang, through his supernatural powers and the help of Dak, his son, caught mysterious people from the river, and changed animals into men to make them their subjects and to incorporate them into their nation.

If this was the case, then we should be able to say that the present Shillukland, before the coming of the Shilluk of Nyikang, was populated by at least a mesticephalic group in the north and a dolicephalic group in the south, culturally and perhaps politically separated. The longheaded group may be the racial substratum of the whole area of the Kilotes of the Sudan.

141 174 3. The further heterogeneity of the Shilluk, which table "D" reveals, is quite understandable. The Shilluk legends and myths tell us that the founder of the nation and his followers came from a far country near "Nam Doun" which means a broad and big river, a lake, a salt sea or a lake shore.

The physical qualities of the royal family members, as shown in table "D", do not give any clue to the real origin of this migration, because these qualities are shared by most of the inhabitants of the bigger area around the Shillukland. Long-headedness is nearly universal in Africa. The tendency to broadness is rare and may be attributed to Armenian (Alpine) influence in the northern half of the continent and to Pigmy influence in the central parts. From other evidences such as their legends and the legends of other Shilluk-speaking tribes, as well as other circumstancial evidences we can speculate on the original home of the Shilluk. Many theories have been introduced to account for the origin of the Shilluk, but here is not the right place to discuss this controversial problem.

4. In table "E" we see further disharmony. The tendency to a higher cephalic index is readily explained if we understand the Shilluk social institutions. The kings marry commoners according to the law of exogamy which is prevalent among the Shilluk. Later on, when the wives of the king are pregnant, they are sent to their villages to give birth. The royal babies are never born in Fashoda , and they stay in the village of their birth under the protection and guidance of the village chief.

We can conclude that the racial heterogeneity of the Shilluk is not simple. Three factors play a role in the ethnic composition of this nation and like many other nations, these different elements are fused into a social and cultural unit.

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, amplified, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

B) The SHILLUK :

131 The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 250 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate
144 that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components: the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the
M3 Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, wielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 The racial differences between north and south within the
685 Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Ibid, pp. 71-78

9) Ibid, pp. 71-78

10) Ibid, pp. 71-78

11) Seligman, p. 49.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king. 141 635

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang come, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when? 144 174

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Dak, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 18) It follows then that any effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland among the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic homes, again around this Nilotic enclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory: 174

A) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in these parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and as a sign of authority". 19) [74]

B) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. 173 174

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18) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rozeiqat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

19) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [933 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

142 516 147

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinos seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [981]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

304 [753]

[1] Five feet ten inches.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

3:Westermann E-5 (3910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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142 56 147 ●

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304 [759]

* See foot-bar Section.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence. 181 181 648 [152]

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly. 576 861 516 276

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *bile kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kwajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiye*, for the *Orero* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jwog* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1] 576 195

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyiwak*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such 195 565 554 614 644

1. *Kaiye* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his [743] torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [754] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s.*) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefor gave judgment
that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX V.

The Character of the Shilluk and some of their Conventions.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which
186 most other features of their character spring. Their intense conservatism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reik's* chief policeman, an intelligent
[24] man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant
● 153 in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyirak* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*akam*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoje and Kajo respectively.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or deposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 168.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [56] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "crowning" of one of the sons of reth Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 22nd, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also sandstick for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of sandstick, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong distinctiveness is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 161

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standing for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the sahas of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [469] [50]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kwgo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *kadi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *kadi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bawak* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bawak* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children, after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bawak* (op. cit., 140). [348]

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akuayo Ruko came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remained silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said, "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing. 173 539*

45. Queen Abudok.

Kpt Dykt ho fat e lkl; e ba rij; ho Chylj wijj nim; rij boyn. Ka tr lpn yi Abdk, ho e ho: é wijr wyn a mum yi lyir rij. A bl kjne: kudni rij! A kudni, a rjni. A kn, pr Abdk, a dwl pn, a mj, a wl, a pjyi yr lp: ho a gnr dwi, a pjyi, ho ajp a ll, a ho pnk. A kl ajn pn, a pjyi, a pj; a kj Bukl, a wni yi fat. A bl kjne: l, Chylj y nj yi kwn rij. A bln ajn kwn rij. A bl: l, kwn rij ry y lyi nj, ho ni pj bi bln pri, fbri ni dwyi dlyi, ho e nj. [] dpt lat lpn, y dpt pl. A bln nwl a dni. — Kwpi Abdk. 539*

In the time of Dykt the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become many, just as the branches of the calabash plant become many in the bush.[3] Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok. 173 539*

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away 643 158 787

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] Loosen a rope to thrash him!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

teeth-baring snarl. Then I bade them a cheery 'Good-morning', and was greeted in turn by a full-throated roar. These preliminaries over, I cast wildly round for something to teach. English! That's what I'll start with; English by the direct method. And heaven knows, never before had a class so unique an opportunity of learning by the direct method; I knew no Shilluk, and it had no English. The setting was perfect. I picked up a book from the table and said 'BOOK'. The boys beamed brightly as though I had performed a smart conjuring trick. I repeated the word and indicated that they were allowed to play too, and was rewarded by a thundered response of 'FOOL'. I showed them a tin box, saying 'TIN'. The answering bellow was 'IIN'. 'TABLE' was rendered as 'ALEFUL' (which I wasn't at that hour of the morning). 'RULER—BOO', 'CHAIR—JEER', 'PEN—PEN', 'PENCIL—FANCY'. And so the merry game went on. When I said 'Stand up', the response sounded like a request from a gangster accompanied by a menacing gesture with a tommy gun.

When at length I had exhausted all the articles in the room, my vocabulary, and myself, I selected the book from the now littered table and asked the brightest looking star in the galaxy what it was. He promptly answered 'Fool'. I tried another boy and he thought it was a 'Fancy'. I waggled the book at a third and he gave his considered opinion that it war a 'Jeer'. 'No, you clown,' I shrieked, 'it's a Book, a BOOK, a BOO—OOOK'. 'Now'—to the whole class—'what is it?' The troupe, game to the last, bayed something that ranged between 'Fool' and 'Coot'. I threw the book at them and fled.

It is interesting after the lapse of a dozen years to see what became of the 'guinea pigs' of that first 'Essay in Elementary English'. Simon is now a respected and happily married Primary teacher in Detwok Central School; Maurice teaches in Lul Elementary School; Bernard, after serving Detwok mission faithfully for years, inherited a dead relative's wife, and now we see him no more. One boy died and two have dropped out of my ken. Two others took full

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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advantage of the superiority that the mission education gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women, the Sisters ('*Thuow*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suor*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place where his children could learn to read and write, but rather a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[119] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Nilneger-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their estuaries, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides these quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest is python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

161 162 [621] 361

POPULATION The population amounts to about 60,000 souls,[1] who live in a little more than 1200 villages, and 10,000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Awadel in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1905) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 15—20 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continuous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwa and Nun, and between Kidwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 155.

161 162

According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

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The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered greatly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60,000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163

Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesized in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

The Shillok, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (3) on the Sudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1917. But the Shillok as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton is a twenty year period was 300 bales of raw cotton, mainly from the Shillok land. It was abandoned and Dura began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of dura all."

Assuming, on the latest census available there are about 80, 000 Shillok.(4)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shillok land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of them are members of the Shillok royal family, and 6 women, one of them is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillokland covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Kodok, and the percentage decreases centrifugally and centripetally. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Jhaiwa, Ban, Fabir (Jebel district), Jebel, Jiri, Jebel (north of Kodok), Kanak, Kokiang, Lol, Ryangar, (near Lol) Mudi (near Jebel), Nilay, Nuay (near Kodok), Opedokta (Jebel Mudi), Pawin, Tarajak, Kaga, Fiam, Ryin-par, Ker, Fangi, Jiar and Ryiget.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Intro and Spectra to Anthropology." (1)
Head length and breadth, face length and breadth, facial and upper facial height, stature and sitting height. On 8 of the men measured I measured also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading callipers, and the anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are mostly identical with those of Professor Seligman (6) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

"Z" Seligman (21)	6.1.	9.1.	9.1.	6.(cm)
	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
Mine (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillokland - 12 of the men measured by me are from Ger (northern Shillok province), and 22 men are from Lwak (southern Shillok province) - we get a very interesting result; it revealed that the Shillok are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

[105] year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[36] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

[64] Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of class:

[565] [64] (i) The *kwareh*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
[64] the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous class, though they may intermarry with the *kwareh* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[56] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to
[792] serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
[795] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564] There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareh*, *ororo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareh*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[564] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
[71] there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
[643] units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 23,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1928 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·3 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·5 and the lowest 1:1·6.

[2] *Ano*: Literally 'descendants of', combining the name of the clan, 'Ano Okolo'—the descendants of Okolo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants on the many shrines of Nyikang.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Shilluk Dialect	Settlements	Approximate number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Mesano	Thwonkit	107	Mesano
	Mesano	90	
	Mesano	943	
	Agoore	99	
	Thur	100	
	Abuor	94	
	Akurwa	94	
Dolal	Nun	170	Dolal
	Arombith	85	
	Dolal Ajak	170	
	Ryirube	85	
	Aruth	37	
Atholwel	Thuro	907	Atholwel
	Dimoth	85	
	Atholwel	399	
	Nyiler	144	
	Fanyikang	90	
	Ogud	901	Abiangyul
Dwerwa	Abiangyul	174	
	Mal	84	
	Burbuk	31	
	Fabio	186	
	Otonge	77	Otonge
	Detwok	140	
	Abil	97	
	Kwoceng	73	
	Acago	77	
	Atado	66	
Gulbuk	Gulo	377	Gulbuk
	Kodok	530	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Gulbuk	926	
	Nyigir	466	

OLD SETTLEMENTS BETWEEN COE AND LEAK.

Shilluk Dialect	Settlements	Approximate number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Fashoda	Wadmac	170	Kwom
	Agoore	110	
	Kwom	101	
	Lol	930	
	Yoll	173	
	Thudong	300	
	Bio	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol	113	
	Nyiager	85	
	Both	63	

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

District (1940)	Settlements	Assumed number of adult males (in 1938)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdis.
Raw boundary between Gen and Lual.			
Ogod —	Fellum — — —	72	Ogod
	Fadit — — —	228	
	Wau — — —	943	
	Ogod Pet — — —	140	
	Ogod Bete — — —	178	
	Ogod Fumuth — —	128	
Malakal —	Malakal Fathuero —	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acup Post —	108	
	Malakal Onde — —	64	
	Malakal Ayoreagan —	70	
	Wiji Malakal — —	94	
	Malakal Thaundonaye	71	
	Olwa — — —	332	Awanjonk
	Awanjonk — —	280	
	Adhidiang — —	109	
Detlim —	Adado — — —	141	Detlim
	Dur — — —	931	
	Thuero Detlim — —	196	
	Owuri — — —	213	Panyidwai
	Ohai Abojop — —	184	
	Ohai Dogo — —	201	
	Fakong — — —	114	Fakong
Panyidwai —	Fale — — —	108	Panyidwai
	Fathuero — —	95	
	Adhidiang — —	107	
	Panyidwai Pet — —	107	
	Fojo — — —	167	
	Abojop — — —	110	
	Odwar — — —	63	
Nyijok —	Nyijok — — —	106	now extinct
	Nyanaan — — —	72	
	Nagdar — — —	176	
Panyikang —	Agonjonk — —	43	Panyikang
	Nyiyar — — —	128	
	Fakwar — — —	80	
	Abanaro — — —	67	
	Odonjo — — —	119	
	Nyihail — — —	94	
	Bur — — —	114	
	Wiinyang — — —	190	
	Dyel — — —	101	
	Wanbo — — —	78	
	Nyiwak — — —	179	
	Dur — — —	97	
	Odong Tugo — —	100	
Tonga —	Dil — — —	96	Nyikang
	Nyiyando — — —	114	
	Dhok Alai — — —	117	
	Yom — — —	355	Tonga (Tung)
	Atiep — — —	143	
	Nyiwado — — —	193	
	Ayachaje — — —	108	
	Poforio — — —	104	

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651

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 190,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [95] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

621
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [162 •
settlements in Shilluk land, each having a population of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult 631]
males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [341]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chieftainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1] It results from the custom of sending pregnant wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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161 162 163

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17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies having four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 582
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [586]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Rok*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for bachelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Rok's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyol dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogko*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

361 311

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The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

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Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

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The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

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Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

[1] Five feet ten inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: heglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

ANIMALS

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rufifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

[1] Khor (Arab) = water course drying up in the rainless season.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 by the *ororo* and *kwareth* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafiti, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Athurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurwic; jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an
123 itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Detwok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Pabiu has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary
[164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-
[249] call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native
[276] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Another well-remembered figure is that of Mother Adalgesa who died in 1946 while still in the prime of life. She had been Mother Provincial in this mission for eight years after serving in Uganda for twelve. Her death was brought about by the long hours she spent in the sun treating those who sent for her aid during the epidemic of relapsing fever. She saved many lives and drew many souls to God by her self-sacrificing charity. She died in hospital in Malakal, thanking God that she was able to die in the mission and not in far-off Khartoum. 'It is only right,' she said, 'that I should die here among the Shilluk, since I have given my life for them.' When her body was brought to Lul for burial, the church was crowded with weeping people. 797* [164]

In 1929 the present convent was built, and later the Fathers' house was rebuilt and a school with five classrooms erected. [346]

Other stations than Lul were gradually established as the work among the Shilluk was extended. In 1904 a mission was opened at Tonga, the site originally given by the king. Father Beduschi was the first Superior, but success was very slow, and after ten years or so he went to work in Uganda. It was not until 1923 that a third mission was established, this time near the village of Detwok, from which it takes its name. The funds for its foundation came from a group of Milanese Catholics who wished to assist a mission in Central Africa, preferably among the Shilluk people. Father Beduschi was recalled to become the first Superior of the new foundation; he was well fitted for it, being well acquainted with the language and customs of the people, but having seen the difference between the people in Uganda and the Shilluk he returned to the scene of his former labours very unwillingly and with great misgivings. On his very last day in Tonga a spear had been thrown at him in an attempt on his life. He went with Father Brambilla and a laybrother, Brother Joshua, who had helped him in the foundation of Tonga and had been there since 1904; their first task was to build huts to serve as house, church and school. The same hostility on the part of the natives met them as it had in Lul and Tonga, and 797* 798

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Father Beduschi wrote that the site of the new mission was unhealthy, and that it had no resources, unless clouds of mosquitoes and flies and armies of white ants could be called resources. As soon as the rains had ended, the new arrivals dug two wells for water, to the amazement of the natives, who could not understand the need for a well when the river was only half a mile away, and who refused to drink the water from the wells, thinking it was bewitched. Father Beduschi managed to gather a few boys together and start a school, but his work was undone by the chiefs, witch doctors, and old people who came and took the children away by force. In other ways, too, ill-luck dogged the new foundation: the few crops they had succeeded in planting in the poor soil failed; the road they had made from the mission to the river was nearly all carried away by floods; a bridge they had built was burned; a great pile of grass gathered for roofing the huts was destroyed by fire.

Father Beduschi had hoped to obtain catechists from Uganda, but when this was found impossible he borrowed some from Lul and sent them into the surrounding villages. He wrote also to the Mother General of the Verona Missionary Sisters asking her to send some Sisters to work in the mission as a present for the Silver Jubilee of his ordination and his coming to Africa. 'Detwok,' he wrote, 'is made up of thorns and crosses; I cannot promise the good Sisters anything but work and trouble; I even promise them disappointments and not consolations, but I do promise them a missionary life, and what more do they desire?' He did not live to see the Sisters arrive, for on November 10th, 1924, he died of blackwater fever, offering his life for the salvation of the Shilluk people. When he was dying, his companion, Father Brambilla, offered up to two shillings for a bottle of milk to give him, but the neighbouring villagers refused to let him have it.

Brother Joshua who was with him both at Tonga and again at the Detwok mission died eventually as a leper. In Tonga he had made friends with a leper in an effort to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the native boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish.

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to build.

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week later. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 the snarling dogs. He and the catechist have not gone far on
* 797 their way towards Kodok, when the shrill wailing of women breaks out in the village they have just left; the man has died. The priest stops for a moment and commends the departed soul to God and then continues on his road.

* 797 In Kodok he meets with a disappointment. It is two p.m. and he had hoped to find his friend the Assistant District Commissioner at home, but he is out on trek in his district and so all hopes of a refreshing wash, followed by a still more refreshing bottle of cold beer and lunch, vanish. He stops for a while and rests in the shade outside the shop of one of the merchants, and is offered and gratefully accepts a glass of tepid, sickly sweet lemonade. At last, with a sigh, he throws away his cigarette and reluctantly pulls himself to his feet, to cover the ten miles that lie between him and a bath, a meal and a luxurious stretch in a deck chair.

Not all sick calls have the same happy ending as that just described. Sometimes the priest makes a long and tiring journey to find that the person he has come to see was suffering from an imaginary sickness, or else has made a miraculous recovery and has gone off to put in some work in his field, or for a day's fishing. Sometimes, alas! he arrives too late, and finds only a newly-made grave.

763 On one occasion I had been wandering through some
* 797 villages in the evening and made a last call, just at sunset, at Pabiu. Here by chance I found a youth, shrunken and wasted
● [164] by tuberculosis and obviously ill beyond recovery. He had been sick, I was told, for the past six months and had recently been brought from a village inland where he had been living for the past several years, in order that he might die in his own village. He was not a Christian, but had been a pupil at the mission school some years previously, and he still remembered some of his catechism, and asked to be baptized. Since he was quite cheerful and lively in spite of his illness, there did not seem to be any immediate danger of death so I promised that I would return the following evening to instruct and baptize him. He assented cheerfully,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 confession was an easy task now, and I gave her Holy
*797 Viaticum and then proceeded to anoint her. As I did so she stirred feebly, tried to raise herself up and twisted her shoulder towards me. 'Father,' she said 'put some there. That's where the pain is.'

*797 Epidemics sometimes visit the district and then the
[731] missionary is very busy indeed. Devastating though they
[164] may be, carrying off both young and old, the strong as well as the weak, they can have a chastening effect on the lazy, indifferent and careless. On one occasion I stood in the dark behind a hut, whilst mosquitoes in their thousands whined and buzzed and bit, hearing a panic-stricken man's confession. Within the hut, his wife, his little daughter and infant son, all newly baptized, lay dying. The sickness had not touched him, but its visitation to his home did what years of coaxing, prodding and reminding had failed to do.

164 A primitive people like the Shilluk fall an easy prey to
744 whatever sickness is going. Not overclean in their persons and insanitary in their habits, they huddle together at night in small windowless huts with the doorway blocked by a heavy grass mat; hence disease quickly spreads from person to person, from hut to hut and from village to village. Medical facilities are limited and an epidemic can get a good hold before effective reinforcements can be sent from Malakal, sixty miles away, to help the overworked Medical Assistant. During my first years at Detwok, cerebro-spinal meningitis was a regular annual visitor. It came when the rains ceased, and with the first showers of the next rainy season it disappeared again, but during the intervening months it did its deadly work and scarcely a day passed without some village mourning its dead. An effective remedy was found, however, in a spinal injection of the famous 'M & B' drug, and the scourge lost much of its terror. After 1942 it failed to put in its annual appearance, and to date Detwok and district has been free of it altogether, although yearly it makes its presence felt in the southern end of the province, and takes a deadly toll in other provinces in the Sudan.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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In September 1944 a new sickness swept through the 164 country. One evening I received a sick call from a village some four miles to the south of Detwok. Just as I was setting out another message came in from a village equally distant from this mission, but to the north. It so chanced that I was alone in the mission at the time so that the two calls from opposite directions put me in something of a quandary, since the rains were on and I could not use a bicycle. However, the call from the south appeared to be the more urgent of the two, so I went there and sent a catechist north to do whatever he could. When I arrived at my destination, I was appalled at what I found. It was not one person who was ill, but a dozen or so, including three in the house to which I had been called. (It was on this occasion that after [797] * I had baptized his wife and children the terrified husband asked me to hear his confession on the spot.) I found the same in the other villages nearby, and when I met my catechist that night he had a similar tale to report from the north. I immediately sent a runner to Kodok to wire the news through to Malakal, surmising that the outbreak was one of cerebro-spinal meningitis, since the symptoms seemed to be similar, though I was puzzled at its appearance during the rains. Prompt help was forthcoming from Mala- 164 kal. The following day a launch brought a doctor and a 744 team of assistants, and the outbreak was diagnosed as relapsing fever. It is a disease carried by lice. The person infected becomes ill and is very seedy for about a week; then he recovers and apparently is as well as ever, but after a short interval he is stricken down again, and unless medical assistance is at hand, death generally follows. Fortunately, medical assistance was at hand, and although, owing to the sickness becoming widespread so rapidly, many succumbed to it, very many were saved thanks to the immediate action taken by the medical authorities.

The major problem was how to stamp out this plague which had originated somewhere round Kaka and advanced south with great rapidity. Squads of soldiers and public health workers were sent to the district and they toured the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

164 villages, boiling, disinfecting or burning anything that could
744 harbour the deadly lice. It was a long struggle, and the sickness had spread south of Lul and managed to get a hold on the Malakal side of the river before it was finally destroyed.

*797 In the mission, we fought long and unceasingly, and
164 happily, not unsuccessfully, to keep the fever at bay. Natur-
744 ally in the school we had always maintained a very high standard of cleanliness. A morning bath for the children had
[515] always been enforced, their clothes had to be washed every Saturday, and classrooms and dormitories were swept and dusted daily. But we multiplied our efforts; the pupils' heads were kept shaved, and their clothes, blankets and mosquito nets were boiled. They were deprived of all beads, bracelets and trinkets—anything indeed where lice could find refuge. Stripped of their adornments for the first time, they appeared to be really naked, and they, and we, lived in a perpetual cloud of D.D.T. powder. As far as possible the villages were put out of bounds and the children's activities confined to the area between the mission and the river. Thanks to all these precautions only two boys went down with the sickness. These were promptly and rigorously isolated and, receiving immediate medical attention, both recovered.

164 Since the passing of the relapsing fever epidemic the district has been free from any serious outbreak of sickness. Every year, however, from November to March, when the really cold North wind comes howling across the country, many people, particularly among the old folk, get pneu-
*[797] monia, and the priest is ever on the alert for the knock on his door and the summons which may take him but ten minutes to answer, or on the other hand may mean a journey of twenty miles or more, and occupy him the best part of the day.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[1] Five feet ten inches.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Comboni thereupon began two Congregations, the Verona Fathers and the Missionary Sisters of Verona. In May 1871 he was made Pro-Vicar of Central Africa, and on January 26th, 1873, left Cairo for Khartoum to take up residence there. He had been preceded by some of his missionaries, and immediately opened stations at Dilling, El Obeid and Berber. In 1877 he was consecrated Bishop and made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, but returning to Khartoum from Rome he found the Sudan desolated by a terrible famine which caused the death of hundreds of thousands of natives and many priests. He was thus forced to abandon his cherished project of the expansion of the mission. Dr. Matteuci, the famous explorer, wrote concerning this:

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> Mgr. Comboni sees in the sad loss of nearly all his missionaries the delaying, for who knows how long, of the realization of his vast projects. In the last few months he had begun an agricultural station on the Blue Nile at Gadaref destined to have a great future; he had made arrangements for the establishment of a station at Fashoda, the capital of the Shilluk country, one of the most barbarous and unhealthy places in Central Africa, and was then preparing an expedition to the Equatorial Lakes which would have gone down in history as one of the most important achievements of Daniel Comboni.

Comboni always had in mind the poor Shilluk whom he had encountered on his journey to Holy Cross, and it was to help them that he planned to open a mission at Fashoda, but the famine postponed indefinitely this design, and the trials of the mission reached a climax with the death of the great apostle himself in 1881. It seemed that shipwreck was near, but the mission weathered the storm, only to come to grief a few months later. In 1881 the Mahdist revolt broke out, and as Dilling, El Obeid and Berber fell to the Mahdi, the priests, brothers and nuns became their prisoners. Many of them died as the result of the treatment they received when they refused to deny their faith and become Moslems;

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9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *padh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *padh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *padh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *padh ñilo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fusion and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *padh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *ayireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nhiyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwayireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang ayireth* Adung, &c.

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyola Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[766] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, 132 principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 433 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have
144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[173 [1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit.,
539 p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed
114 himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.); OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz.:—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yimiti*

[1] These points may be summarily illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; to the Dinka *jok* are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *juok nim* who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 185–208.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] 773 [1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PLATE IX

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Dura-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fenikang, shrine to Deng

[face p. 88

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 776 825 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called 776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. 782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. 825 That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the [753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into [787] the river.

[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant 776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo, 782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined 794 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents ● 171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, [778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron [782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it
796 with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain
[775] some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For
[171] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it
[781] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Papit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Munro by an Egyptian officer—not apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Munro's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bōdo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

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[461] 177

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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house

462 and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating

512 the fields.

FOOD The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kuga)*, roasted,

262 brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102.

[252] Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, limed out with clay. The mill-stones — a

[442] large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from

[372] districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it.

[231] They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted;

• [171] they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

273 BREWING OF BEER A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

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[648]

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

643 [171] [644]

RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Nyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadygt is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Ker. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of Yg̃; at the death of the king from the house of Yg̃ it will be the turn of the house of *Ñoḷok*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Ker, but not to a son of *Fadygt*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadygt*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1]) "king" is in Shilluk *rij* or *ryj*; in older literature the word "bondu" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called mek, which is a contraction of the Arab malik.

but: *ŧal e bɗ̄ŋ̣* the boy is coming *obwoń e kɗ̄ŋ̣* the stranger is going. 193*

Sometimes the subjective noun is placed at the head, the corresponding subjective pronoun following the verb:

ɗ̄ɗ̄ŋ̣ kɗ́ à ɗ̄ɗ́wí a man, when he dies: when a man dies.

8. Verbs who have instead of the second consonant a semivowel.

a) *y*. No *i* is added in the Perfect. The *y* unites with the preceding vowel to a diphthong: *teyŋ̣* to pierce, perfect *toi*.

b) *w*. Here likewise generally no *i* is added: *ɗ̄wŋ̣* to die, perfect *ɗ̄ɗ́u* (also *ɗ̄ɗ̄*). *ńgɗ́wŋ̣* to trade, perfect *ńgɗ́u*, seldom *ńgɗ́wí*.

Sometimes the subjective pronoun is employed twice, before and behind the verb; for the last not the suffixed, but the emphatic or the subjective form are used; note the changes of the tone!

yí rè gwàl yìn why [*re*] are you (so) thin?	*ɗ́ rè gwàl ɗ̀n* why is he (so) thin?
ɗ́ɗ́ rè gwàl ɗ̀ɗ̀n why are they (so) thin?	*wú rè gwàl ùn* why are you (pl.) (so) thin?
ɗ́ rè kɗ́ɗ́ɗ́ why did he go?	*yí rè kɗ́ɗ́* or: *kɗ́ɗ́í* why did you go?
wú bɗ̄n wò we came	*wú rè kɗ́ɗ́ùn* why did you go?
ɗ́ɗ́ kɗ́ɗ́ ɗ́ɗ́ kɗ́ where did they go?	*ɗ́ɗ́ bɗ̄n ɗ́ɗ́n* they came
	wú kɗ́ɗ́ wú kɗ́ where did you go?

If *kɗ́* "and" introduces a sentence, the subject, if a pronoun, always follows the verb, and the object always precedes the verb.

kɗ́ kyɗ́ɗ́ ɗ́ɗ́jɗ́ and I struck the horse	*kɗ́ kyɗ́ɗ́ ɗ́ɗ́jí* and you struck the horse.

Future.

The characteristic of the Future is the particle *ń*,[1] which is placed before the verb. In most cases the present form of the verb is used, but not unfrequently that of the Perfect as well, but in this last case with a slight changing of tone: if the tone is low in the Perfect, it becomes middle in the Future.

yɗ́ ń chàmɗ̀ I shall eat	*wɗ́ ń chàmɗ̀* we shall eat
yɗ́ ń, or *yɗ́ chàmɗ̀* you will eat	*wɗ́ chàmɗ̀* you will eat
ń chàmɗ̀ he will eat	*ɗ́ɗ́ ń chàmɗ̀* they will eat
yɗ́ ń ńɗ̄ɗ̄ I shall laugh	*wɗ́ ń kɗ́ɗ́* we shall go.

As the Present, so too the Future has a second form, with *dà* placed between pronoun and verb: *yɗ́ ń dà chàmɗ̀* I shall eat. There may be (or at least may have been) a difference of meaning between the two forms, but I have found none.

Habitual.

The *Habitual* is formed by putting the auxiliary verb *ńí* "to use to" between subject and the Present form of the verb.

[1] In Masai the Future is formed by suffixing u. Hollis page 59.

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fetched by me, but they have refused. But now come and help me, and I shall give you part of the beans to eat." The cock went, (the hare) put the bag on the cock, and it carried it home. When they came near the house, it threw it down. The cock's back was bruised (from carrying the bag). The hare said, "What is to be done with the back of the cock?" He crushed leaves of a tree and placed them on the sore place of the cock's back. 539*

And there sprang up a large tree (on the sore place of the cock's back, some seeds having got into the wound by putting the leaves on it). The hare saw the tree was very high on the back of the cock. The tree bore fruit; when the fruit was seen by the hare, he said, "Dear me! by what (how) are they to be thrown down?" He took a stone and threw at them. The stone fell into the middle of a river and became an island.

The hare went to plant some vegetables (on the island), and he planted melon seeds. Then there came a traveller, he said, "Give me something to eat (the traveller saw the melons, which in the meantime had ripened)!" But the hare refused saying, "Cousin, I have come in this very moment (so I am not prepared to give you food)." The hare looked back; he saw there were many melons. The hare arose, he took a knife and split a melon. The knife went into the middle of the melon, the hare was perplexed, he said to himself, "Where has the knife gone?" Suddenly it (the knife) cut his (the hare's) head off. He (the hare) went into the melon and found there many people, who were alive. When he was tired, he came out; he found his head carrying firewood. He called it, "You head, come!" But the head refused. He called it again, but it refused. Then he struck it with the flat hand. The head came and returned to its place.[58]

[The Nubians have the same story; here, as in Shilluk, it forms part of a series of tales; only the part which coincides with the story in Skilluk is given here (translated from Leo Reinisch, Die Nuba-Sprache, Erster Teil, p. 232 ss). . . . The young man heaped up the eggs, squashed them, made a wind, and winnowed them, so that the wind blew away the egg-shells, and only the chickens were left. One of the chickens had a wound on its foot. They sent for the doctor, who said, "Take two ardeb of date-seeds, roast them and bind them on the wound, then it will heal. They did so. Now a date-tree grew out of the chicken's foot, it became large and bore fruit. When the fruit were ripe, a boy came and threw a stone at the tree; four fruit fell down. Thereupon the tree became angry, in its anger it fell down and formed an island. The owner of the island sowed sesamum on it; but afterwards he sowed melon-seeds. While they were still sowing, the melon-seds germinated and grew large. Then a 171 539*

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*539

Turkish soldier came and asked the owner, "Give me one of the melons." The man replied, "They are not yet ripe." The soldier said, "If you don't give me one, I shall cut off your head." Then the man went, cut a melon and gave it to the soldier. This one took his knife and stabbed it into the melon; but the knife escaped into the belly of the melon. Then he drew his sword and stabbed into the melon, but the sword too escaped into the belly of the melon. The Turk became angry, pursued the owner of the melon, cut his head off and threw it away. The trunk of the man crept into the belly of the melon. But the head searched its trunk in vain. At last it went away into a barber's shop. Here he had his hair shaved. In the meantime the man (the trunk) crept out of the melon and went away. When he came to the barber's shop, he found his head, took it, placed it on his neck and went his way.]

81. The Camel and the Donkey.

*539 *Jal mǎkɩ e ya da amalɵ, gɩ́ kɩ́ adʒ̄rɵ, gɩ ńɩ́ chɵ́k gɩ́ tyɛ̀tɩ̀ kɩ́ jam. De bogin ńɩ́ chámè gɩ́n, dɵ gɩ́ gwɵ̀ɩ̀ɵ̀ gwɵ̀ɩ̀ɵ. Ka amalɵ ko: bɵ́h! Kɩ̀ne: adʒ̄rɵ! Ka adʒ̄rɵ yɛ̄ɩ́ kɩ̀ne: é! Kɩ̀ne: wá chà ʋ̄! Kɩ̀ne: àwɵ́, wá chà ʋ̄. Amalɵ ko: kɵ́ɵ́ ɵ fárɩ̀ wá, yu (yiɵ) yɛ̄ɩ́? Ka adʒ̄rɵ ko: àwɵ́! yá yɛ̄ɩ́. Ka e ko: fār wɵ!*

Ka gɩ kɵ́ɵ́, gɩ́ chátɩ̀; ka gɩ wɩ́ta kɵ́ɵ́ malɵulɵu; ká mùchɵ̀ ɩ̄ɩ̄ɩ̀ gɩ́n, ɩ́ yà di nam, dí lūm gìr; ka gɩ ko: wa kɵ́ɵ́ɩ̀ di? Ka adʒ̄rɵ ko: kújà! Ka amalɵ ko: wa ɵ kwɵ̄ɵ́ɩ́! Ka adʒ̄rɵ ko: wa kɵ mút?[60] *Kɩ̀ne: ɩ́! Kɩ̀ne: wa fa mut, gik amalɵ. E ko: jwɵ́k dwɵ́ɵ́! wa ɵ wɩ́ɩ́ wɵ́k. Ka gɩ kɵ́ta nam, ka adʒ̄rɵ kɵ́ta bāɵ́ɵ́, kɵ gɩ kwāɵ́ɵ.*

Ka gɩ wɩ́ɩ́ wɵ́k, ka gɩ kɵ́ta wɵ́k; dɵ chuɵ́e gɩ́n mɵdo; muchɵ bɵ ɵ̄ɵ̄ɵ, ká gɩ́ chámè, ka gɩ ńɩ́ butɵ. D̲ɵ́kɩ́ ka gɩ ńɩ́ chāmɵ, ka ńɩ́ yūɵ̄ɵ̀ wɵ́u, ka gɩ ńɩ́ bútɩ̀; kɩ́nau chɵ́ɵ́ kɩ́ chāɵ́ɵ. Ka adʒ̄rɵ chwēyɵ, ka amalɵ chwēyɵ; dɵ ńʒ̄te gɩ́n fa tádʒ̄r; ka gɩ ńɩ́ mātɵ́ɵ́ ɵ́ɵ́t kɩ́ ɵ́ɵ́; ka gɩ ńɩ́ bɵ̄ɵ́ɵ.

Ka adʒ̄rɵ kōbɵ kɩ́ne: mɵ́ɩ́! Kɩ̀ne: ɩ́! e ko: yi cha de gɵ̄gɵ̀ kɩ́ kɵ́ɵ́ madɵ́ɵ́; e ko: wija mūm; e ko: kɵ́ɵ́ de bɵ́ɵ́ɩ̀ yin, e ko: wā de ɵ̄ɵ́u, gik adʒ̄rɵ. Amalɵ ko: yi fatɵ dɵ́ɵ́k? e ko: kwɵ́ɵ́p ńdɵ̀ɵ̀ yin? e ko: fa kúchɩ̀ yin? gik amalɵ. Ka gɩ bɵ̄dɵ chán àkyɵ̄ɩ̀ɵ; adʒ̄rɵ ko: mɵ́ɩ́! — kɵ́ɵ́ chwɵ́ɩ́ɵ́ amalɵ. Amalɵ ko: ɛ̄! E ko: ya da ńwɵ́ɩ́ mɵ́ɩ́ɵ́ɵ́[60] *kɩ́ wija, dɵ ɩ̄ɵ́ɩ́ ɵ́ɵ́ɩ́? Amalɵ ko: bɵ́h! ńwɵ́ɩ́ mɵ́ɩ́ɵ́ɵ́*[60] *ga mɵ̄ ńɵ́?*[61] *Ká è kùdɵ. Ka gɩ nɵ́ɵ́, ká chɵ́ká kwɵ́f kɩ́ne: mɵ́ɩ́! Kɩ̀ne: é! E ko: mɵ́k ɵ́ɵ́ɩ́ e ńwɵ́ɵ́ɵ́ kɩ́ wija. Kɩ̀ne wɩ́ɩ́ chaka wɵ́ɵ́! Kúchɩ̀ yin, kɵ́ɵ́ mak wa, ka wā ńɩ́ pwɵ́t kɩ́ lɵ́ɩ́? Dɵ yí chwɵ́, dɵ da mó kɵ́ɵ́ɩ́. Ka e ko: arí, yá kùt. Ka e kudɵ. D̲ɵ́kɩ́ ka e ko: ya ɵ̄ɵ̄ɵ̀ chám yi gik ɵ́ɵ́ɩ́, wɩ́ɩ́á ńwɵ́ɵ́ɵ́. Amalɵ ko: bɵ́h! Ko: yik chwaki ɵ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ɵ̀ yàu yi tɵ́ɵ́ɵ́ kɵ́ɵ́ɩ́ɵ́ nam. E ko: ɩ́, wɵ́ɩ́ ɵ́ɵ́ɵ́ɵ́, gik adʒ̄rɵ; kɩ́ ńwɵ́ɩ́ mɵ́ɩ́ɵ́ɵ́*[62] *yau! Ka amalɵ ko: ɩ́, ɵ́ɵ́ɵ́ɩ́! ya fɵ́t kɩ́ ɵ́ɵ́, ɵ̄ ɵ bɩ́ kɩ́fa wá bɵ̄ɵ́ɵ́, fatɵ kɩ́fa yá kɵ́ɵ́ɩ́.*

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[9] The "yin" lays stress on the subject: why are *you* so thin (while the hare is fat)?
[10] *bǫ́ǵ*, an expression used most frequently, cannot be well translated into English; it may mean any degree and shade of surprise, very often, as here, angry surprise.
[11] *Dukí* is not only "to-morrow", but simply "the next day".
[12] Instead of "*chwéch yi ɲn*".
[13] from *yi* ɣ.
[14] *kuí*, more frequently *kgí*, the stem for "go".
[15] The hare wanted the hyena to believe that he, the hare, was being punished for his misdoings, and that the hyena, by coming near, might get a thrashing as well.
[16] instead of *yi*.
[17] In order that.
[18] more frequently: *wiło* to arrive.
[19] "beside" = since.
[20] vocative!
[21] commonly: *kudǫ*; here the ǫ is long, as if to express the lengthened waiting for an answer — but all remained silent. [195]
[22] Is he, being great, not entitled to eat you?
[23] To prevent the monkey from secretly running away.
[24] Alluding to some old affair, for which he intended to take revenge now.
[25] Twice the hare escapes the threatened revenge of the hyena, and even injures him severely anew, taking advantage of the greediness of the latter. [171]
The same story is told in Marno, Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weißen Nil, under „Geschichten aus dem Südlande."
[26] the lion, his spear is still with me.
[27] *fa* and *faí* are most frequently used in this way, to emphasise a sentence: is it not so? that is: it surely is so.
[28] vocative! the last vowel with high tone.
[29] "why remains my spear not cooked (forged) by *you*?"
[30] see Grammar.
[31] "a saddle which is not": a saddle of somebody who is not present, somebody's saddle, I do not know whose.
[32] vocative!
[33] instead of: make *yi* ɲu.
[34] one would expect: *yiepe* wun.
[35] one would expect: *yiepe* ɣyn.
[36] "You are finished with your mark". "Whenever I meet you again, I shall recognise you and take revenge." This story of the lion and the fox is also told in Marno, l. c. The Hottentots have it likewise.
[37] He expected the fox to come too, and so to find an opportunity for finishing him.
[38] *pó-ki* . . . . an expression of assertion, the literal meaning is not clear; "I with my children?"
[39] from *łiǵo!*
[40] The fish-spear is a wizard, because "he sees the fish in the water"; he is thrown into the water at hap-hazard, and yet hits the fish.
[41] In dancing the girl selects her companion, not the man.
[42] The story seems to have some mythological relation.
[43] from *dyɔk!*
[44] "and them (the contents) smeared he".
[45] goats are eaten they (by) whom?
[46] a curse; its literal meaning not clear.
[47] "the hare went, he (to) his place".
[48] "he was in difficulty with a place of his going out."
[49] and the fish, and (he) was asked.
[50] In many cases like this the meaning of *chum* can hardly by rendered.
[51] abstain from electing her! ɣ is used here because the act of election lies in the future.
[52] the people ask: "whom shall we elect?" (one among them exclaims), "elect the crow!"
[53] generally the lenk, the "cow house", is the place where strangers pass the night.

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the *gol* 692 leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

643 692 [676] [627] Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, [682] the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

628 643 692 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is [711] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.157.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*, p.162.
(4) Oyler, *S.N.R.* 1920, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-98.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

182 The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
631 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
643 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Debelo settlement while Nyikang and his
541 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

643 All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
669 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

● 171 Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable information, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

56 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
[88] organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *rie* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary *ora* relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is *ora* in the second degree. B, C and D may have an *ora* relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an *ora* relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwolo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and man though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in man owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian influence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Cyler, 1918 (i).

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173 originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

173 There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said
173 that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the
[825] Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

173 Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[171] [1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.
[3] Oyler, 1918 (i).
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.
[5] Ibid., pp. 155 ff., *et al.*
[6] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.
[7] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.
[8] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

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a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 193.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

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643 781 theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 772 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have 776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which [182 every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation 643] is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is [182 concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which 643] they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king 643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[171] [1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks [311] of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Bogara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 228] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Doloib(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°5'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

The Shilluk, owing to their geographical conditions, are more sedentary than the other Nilotic tribes, and there is no great transhumance as among the others. They also are more intent on cultivation, Dura (sorghum vulgare) being the chief crop. They use a shifting cultivation technique; a certain plot of land is cultivated from four to six years and then left for ten to twelve years. An agricultural authority (5) on the Soudan said that "cotton as a cash crop began in 1923. But the Shilluk as well as the other Nilotes, are poor cultivators. The biggest crop of cotton in a twenty year period was 760 tons of raw cotton, mainly from the Shilluk land. It was abandoned and sesame began to take on importance because the country consumes a fairly large amount of sesame oil."

According to the latest census available there are about 80, ooo Shilluk.(6)

Anthropometrics

During my stay in the Shilluk land I have taken anthropometric measurements on forty persons - 34 men, 11 of whom are members of the Shilluk royal family, and 6 women, one of whom is also royal. The persons were all measured at Malakal Town, but they were from different parts of the Shillukland, covering the whole area from north to south. Naturally I have a greater percentage of people representing the central area, i.e. around Malakal, and the percentage decreases northwardly and southwardly. Here is a list of the villages and settlements to which my subjects belong:

Akurua, Nun, Fabin (Detwok district), Achop, Alol, Achag (north of Kodok), Kodok, Golbany, Lul, Nyingar, (near Lul) Padit (near eastern Jau), Kolo, Bouky (n.w. Malakal), Ogod-Butu (eastern bank), Pamath, Thrujok, Kwogo, Fokan, Nyin-yar, Burr, Tonga, Atar und Nyijok.

I have taken the following measurements following the points described and defined in "Notes and Queries in Anthropology." (7)
Head length and breadth , nose length and breadth, facial and upper facial heigths, stature and sitting heigth. On 8 of the men measured I recorded also the minimal frontal breadth and the bizygomatic breadth.

The tools I used were the sliding and spreading calibres, and the Anthropometer.

The results of my measurements are nearly identical with those of Professor Seligman (8) in both cephalic and facial indices and stature, but there is a considerable difference in the nasal index which I am not able to explain.

		C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	S.(cm)
"A"	Seligman (21)	71.3	93.9	83.2	177
	Riad (34)	71.6	85.5	84.5	177.2

From the distribution of the physical characters in different parts of the Shillukland - 12 of the men measured by us are from Gerr (northern Shilluk province), and 22 men are from Lunk (southern Shilluk province) - we got a very astonishing result; it revealed that the Shilluk are not a homogeneous people as far as cephalic index and stature are concerned.

The racial difference may be fully understood and explained by Shilluk mythology. Nyikang, the demigod and the Shilluk culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shillukland and erected his headquarters at Nyilual, in Fanyang district. When he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Nuba and Fung, or according to one authority (9) Dongolawys or Berabra. It seems to me that the Fungs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but more reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile. At any rate, Nykang conquered the present Shillukland in a peaceful way sometimes, and by means of force in in those instances where people showed resistance. The people either fled to the Nuba mountains and Sennar, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shilluk citizens and thus incorporated into the Shilluk nation. 144 173

Now the high cephalic index in the north may be attributed to a Nuba influence, more specifically to an eastern Nuba influence, or to a mesaticephalic influence from the Dar Fung Hills. 141 144 174

There is no other nearby area of mesaticephals than the eastern Nuba Hills. The next nearest area of mesaticephals is the Dar Fung mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 400 kilometers northeast of the Shilluk land across the Nile. Here first are some anthropometric measurements from both mesaticephalic areas: 171

Nuba Hills: (10)	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)
Tegale (7)	79	103	76.5	44.5	
Ilyry & Lafofa(32)	76.42	92.26	82.26	46.19	173.82
Lemon (8)	78.88	95.63			
Tira-el Akhdar, Mandi, Kandrema					
Khoma (7)	77.75	92.37	82.42	45.55	169.8
Nuba women (11)	76.30	94.03	83.48	48.23	157.2
Ilyry (10)	75.15	94.4			
Dar Fung Hills: (11)					
Fung (5)	74.6	83.3	84.9	46.5	170
Ingassana (12)	73.1	90.4	82.8	44.3	173
Khoma (7)	73.4	96.3	82.0	45.9	
Uduk (9)	77.4	97.0	77.9	43.7	167
Burun (30)	75.2	101.5	83.1	44.4	170
Jum Jum (17)	75.5				
Koban (43)	79.1	96.0	84.0	47.0	176

Hypothetically we can say that these two areas in the past formed a mesaticephalic belt, now separated through the migration of the dolicephalic Dinka of the White Nile, on the eastern bank, and the Shilluk and Baggara Arabs on the western bank of the Nile. 144 174

Both areas, within themselves, do not form racial unities, but are more or less refuge areas. Thus they are merely conglomerations of different physical and cultural types which have fled from the plains in front of any conquest. But the most important feature that combines them (not politically, but from our scientific standpoint) is their mesaticephalic character.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have those marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. Those marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes .

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Lande als verschwunden betrachten." (20) During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that theLAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It standsunique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress, (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Moslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [855] [177] [177] [171] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jago's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " While the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 inverted with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief." (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the 621 Shilluk political institutions. (27) Those institutions are more or less matters 643 of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.f Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan. London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligamn, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "C"
(15) see above , table "C", card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[117 (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence 797] of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 50
(26) Ibid, p 50
[171] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Bung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Acholi FK4
Lotuko FJ17

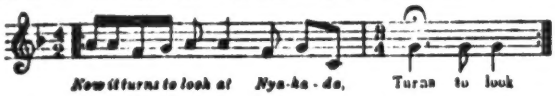
S 524 516

24. *Hoopoe.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing: –

S 524 533 539

Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like: –



At the word "Turns," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird slews its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

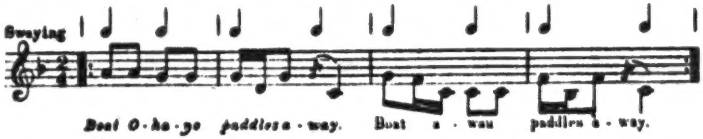
Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Luku-luku-luku!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

S 524 [825]

This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a harmless little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the Boys' game.

25. *Canoe.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side:—

S [533 539]



Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Heigh!" the whole line heels over on to one side. They recover, and heel over on to the other side. They recover, and heel over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

S [17] A C 524 A 533 539

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: –

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*podh*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pac*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pac*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

621 The localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar
613 to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches
582 throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of
614 national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

171 As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the per-
583 formance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the
233 form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in
[177] lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr,
114 Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary
127 account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

58 Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *got*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 23.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nim gier*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [587] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [848]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

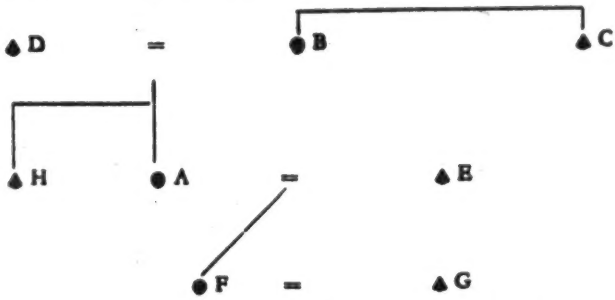
There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 171 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

583 of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the [17] number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother. [686]



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstand- [672] ing from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create [178] reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one [582 592] domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [548] and prostitutes.[2] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [837] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[2] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1935) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden' [177 648 681]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marrige, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> it is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeyo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 55.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation. It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

> . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ24

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yar nim ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yar cie dhano* or *kwor yar cie et*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okeyo* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of *ruth* Kur (1905).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female nyireths

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *nyireth*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nierot* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *nyireths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *nyireths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *nyireths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *nyireths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *nyireths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *nyireth* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwor*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *nyireth* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *nyireth*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyireth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

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644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *spirsh* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *spirsh* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *spirsh* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *rsiks*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *rsik*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *rsiks* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *rsik* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *spirsiks*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *spirsh* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwarsh*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *rsik* is acting as the recognised head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *rsik* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

● 171 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *weglo thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *mut* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

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Though there are differences of detail in the matter of divorce, the general principles are again similar and both the legality of marriage and the legal status of children are established by the same method, the transfer of cattle being the material symbol of the transfer of legal rights. As elsewhere in the Nilotic world, litigation over rights in marriage and parenthood is common in the Shilluk courts; not that the rights and obligations are in dispute but rather that persons refuse to honour them. It is also possible to trace the gradual development and crystallization of custom and usage into customary law now consistently enforced by Shilluk tribunals established by the present Government.

There are also points of contrast. The most obvious of these is the rigidity with which the amount of bridewealth is fixed. Among Nuer and Dinka, where the ratio of cattle to humans is generally higher, the number of cattle claimed in bridewealth is greater but it is also more elastic and, provided certain minimum claims are met, will fluctuate according to the prevailing condition of the herds. By sticking permanently to a fixed number, even a comparatively small one, and regarding any cattle outstanding as an almost perpetual debt, the Shilluk marital system is the cause of many social maladjustments, some of which have already been described. These difficulties may well be aggravated if the population increases while the herds continue to be depleted by epidemics of rinderpest or trypanosomiasis.

Résumé

NOTES SUR LES SHILLUK DU HAUT NIL: DROIT COUTUMIER: MARIAGE ET DROITS SUR LES FEMMES

Les mariages chez les Shilluk sont effectués par l'exécution de plusieurs cérémonies ayant une importance tant sociale que rituelle, qui sont accompagnées par le transfert de bétail représentant le paiement du mariage. Le transfert de bétail figure, également, dans les actions de divorce et détermine le statut légal des enfants, car il constitue le symbole du transfert des droits légaux. Ces caractéristiques des droits de mariage chez les Shilluk sont également rencontrées parmi les Nuer et les Dinka, bien qu'il y ait des différences de détail; plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la répartition, parmi les parents, du bétail qui constitue le paiement du mariage. De plus, la quantité de bétail représentant ce paiement, parmi les Shilluk, est toujours de dix têtes, et les arriérages en suspens sont reportés quelquefois à perpétuité. Ceci est une cause fréquente d'inadaptation sociale et de litige, et les difficultés qui en résultent sont susceptibles d'être aggravées par l'accroissement de la population et l'épuisement des troupeaux par suite de maladie.

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121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of
[171] the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[124] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-
361 scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

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105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *arwo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

[567] (iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past
[712 *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *arwo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
● 171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 23,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 [161 233] and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·3 and 1:0·23. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·3 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *Kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwo* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

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that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *padh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Dalhoug, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *padh*. A more classic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *padh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *padh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ring* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fusion and fission characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize open communities.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *padh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka).

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *wareth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyareth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwaareth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang wareth* Adung, &c.

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631 642 nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.[1]

My own opinion is in accordance with these views. At any rate, if such terms are used, it should be made clear that they are qualified by the considerations already mentioned. In comparison with modern conceptions of an organized State system, or with such highly developed political institutions as are found in some African kingdoms, such as that of the Baganda, the Shilluk system cannot be said to have reached, without external influences, a high degree of rigidity or efficiency. When compared, however, with the acephalous systems of their Nuer and Dinka neighbours, it is apparent that the Shilluk had, even in early times, advanced much farther along the road towards 'politically organized society'.

Homicide and Blood-feuds: The *Reth*'s Rôle as Peacemaker

171 682 A study of the laws of homicide is likely to reveal, not only the nature of the legal system and whether or not a system of public law was in existence in the past, but also whether such law was in fact enforced by the *reth* or his representatives. In an acephalous society like that of the Nuer, and probably among the Dinka as well, we know that homicide was, until the advent of the present Government, treated purely as a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions. Thus an act of homicide would instantly lead to a blood-feud between the two segments of society concerned. A feud could be composed either by retaliation against the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen—which might lead to yet further hostilities—or by payment of an indemnity in cattle equivalent to the life of a man, to restore the equilibrium. We know too that a special functionary existed, the *kwar kwar* or 'leopard-skin chief' of the Nuer and the *bany de ring* or 'Chief of the Spear' of the Dinka. These experts were invited by the participants to intervene and mediate between them and to supervise both the secular and ritual processes of composition and peacemaking according to accepted and conventional patterns. In no sense did they have the authority to impose their demands for peace on the people or forcefully to intervene between them. They were called upon to do so only when the will to come to terms was already there, largely determined by expediency.

We know that among the Shilluk acts of homicide were followed by feuds, often more bloody and lasting than any likely to occur among the Dinka and Nuer. We know too that blood-feuds could be composed by the payment of compensation and the performance of the ritual which accompanies such payments. But here there is a difference. While in Dinka and Nuer society there were many recognized hereditary mediators, among the Shilluk there was only one, the *reth* himself. The functions of the *reth* in the processes of peacemaking are therefore relevant. Was he, like the *kwar kwar* and the *bany de ring*, simply a mediator and ritual expert competent to conduct the negotiations only on the demand of the people themselves, or was he able to intervene between them with an independent and neutral force behind him? In collecting the accepted indemnity, did he hand it over to the injured party as compensa-

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

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tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says:

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. [illegible] form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer [illegible] president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *bang*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947:

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 37.
[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.
[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council [illegible] 1934 (unpublished).

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *col dhano*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wic dhano*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a wano*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *akic* or *akic* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwa* takes the *yang kwini* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *rwath rem* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these myth

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[648 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of
682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical
791 expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

C83 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwoth*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *rudh* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwogo*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *yuub*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry 682 a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo rewo*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the 643 Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 692 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against 114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* [671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 23.

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of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king. 144 635

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang stem, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when? 144 174

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Dak, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 12) It follows then that any effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland aroung the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic homes, again around this Nilotic eclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory: 174

A) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in these parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and as a sign of authority". 13) [M]

B) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. 173 174

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12) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rozeiqat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

13) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

643 776 of his followers. The Shilluk do not say that Nyikang died or passed away, but say -as my informants told me- he was angry with his people, and, in a strong night, was gone. This assumption is necessary for the conception of Shilluk kingship. The idea may be summarized thus:

1. Every king who rules the Shilluk is an incarnation of Nyikang,
2. as the soul of Nyikang is thus incarnated in the body of the king, it would suffer every kind of weakness the body suffers;
3. as this would mean the loss of the protective and guiding spirit of the whole nation, it was necessary that the kings should not be left to die of old age;
4. and thus came what we term the ritual killing of the king.

171 Among the Fung, we have no such idea about kings, and the post of kingship itself. This is due to the fact that the Fung were Moslems, and as it is implied in Islam, there is only One God, and there is no possibility of incarnation, or such would be a return to paganistic practices. No one who wrote about the Fung kings ever hinted at the existance of such an idea. Thus, one of the conditions of divine kingship, indeed the core of this kind of kingship, is lacking among the Fung.

b) The Mode of Accession to the Throne:

643 It is easy to understand the Shilluk notion of incarnation from the way they apply it. The important feature which dominates the installation ceremonies of Shilluk kings is the seating of the king-elect on a special stool brought for the occasion from the Shrine of Nyikang at Akurwa. At first, the wooden effigy of Nyikang is placed on the stool by a priest, symbolizing that Nyikang himself is sitting on the stool; then the effigy is removed and the king is seated. In this way, the [775] soul of Nyikang takes possession of the body of the new king. And after this ceremony, the king is considered a king.

Another important rite in a king's istallation is that a king must pass a month in complete seclusion before going to Fasheda for the seating ceremony, and another ten days in a special place called Aturwie in Fasheda after the seating ceremony. In this time, the king is considered to be in a solemn mood of contemplation, and in communication with his great grandfather, Nyikang, and other ancestors. During this time of seclusion, the king is provided with a girl, who is given to him by a special clan. It was the custom that the king would marry this girl afterwards, but now it is according to his wish. Human sacrifices at the installation ceremony are said to be given up now, but they were practiced in the past. 56)

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56) In former times, it was usual that the king would pass over a bounded old man as he marches towards Fasheda, and the multitude of the Shilluk followers of the king would also tread on this man, and naturally he dies. Now a sheep and bull are used instead of the man. See Seligmann, p. 94, and Howell, p. 196.

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Of the Fung, we have no record about the way their kings were crowned in Sennar. But ceremonies of installing the chief of Jebel Gule were recorded recently, and it is alleged that it is an imitation of what was once the case in Sennar. 59) No human sacrifices were recorded, but the seating of the chief on a stool, and his seclusion in a special hut with a girl for forty days after the seating are recorded, but he is allowed to meet friends after sunset every day. The stool in this recorded ceremony was brought from Jebel Keili, another principality of the Fung kingdom, because the stool of Gule was destroyed during the Mahdiya regime. The stool is guarded by "Nas el 'ada, whom one might apparently describe as the hereditary guardian of the mysteries". 60)

If we accept the alleged similarities between what was the case in Sennar and the ceremony at Gule, it would be interesting to point out that there is no effigy, nor any special symbol seated before the new chief sits on the stool. The lack of such a rite undoubtedly indicates the failure of such comparison between the Shilluk and the Fung. The sitting on the stool would then mean the lawful inheritance of power in the country, just as it is and was practiced among civilized nations. What is really underlying the sitting on a throne, we cannot at the moment venture to say.

e) The Mode of Death of Kings:

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We have stated above that the ceremonial killing of a king would still be in practice, if the Shilluk were given free choice. Shilluk kings were either strangled, clubbed to death, or walled up in a hut until they died.

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Among the Fung, we have no information about king killing, except the inference Bruce gave about a special post in Sennar for a royal executioner. It may have been the case that brothers fought for power in Sennar, but this was a wide phenomenon all over the world. It can be a ceremonial killing, if the whole kingship institution was based upon the idea of incarnating the guiding spirit of the nation in the person of the king. But since this conception was missing in Sennar, so another point of comparison widens the gap between the Fung and the Shilluk.

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59) Chataway challenges the validity of comparing the traditions of Jebel Gule with what was the case in Sennar. He says "Gule ... is mentioned several times by Arkell. While information regarding Fung history and customs may be obtained at Gule, it is essential to recognise that it is a tainted and unreliable source, a point which other observers have failed to recognise". Charaway, p. 114.

60) Arkell, (A), p. 232.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and lost their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, b t with the Fung, a king [171]

72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon
643 being a violation of custom. Tremaux writes that " ... une épée, seul instrument légal en pareil cas (tue un roi)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung,
[411] because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.

114 643 Now the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly from Achmet Sid el Qom, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's statements, we do not know exactly whether Achmet Sid el Qom spoke about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Awad and Mr. Chataway are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 643 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamones cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alledged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the
114 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in
171 alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be
174 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilisations
643 that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

174 There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the older substratum of the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremaux, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 266
75) Seligman, p. 425
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 426.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade. 361 621 [345] [513] [237] [825]

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note. [342] 592 [417]

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead. 592 672 [422] [171] [182]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [177]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organisation is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 693 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [171] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

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5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1923) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walk Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[563] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
[114] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a
171 period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walk Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone. That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in the national polity that this lecture is particularly concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang, the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who led them into their present homeland, conquering it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be in every king and to have passed from king to king down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus a mythological personification of the timeless kingship which itself symbolizes the national structure, a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [62] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chieftainship of settlements. This process, which con- [173] tinues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 793
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [782]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 631
and their association with lineages is, as we have [773]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622
778
[i.e., the King. - Analyst]

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in 643 775
Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa.

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole 643
Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The king- 644
ship belongs to all the people and not to the royal 614
clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang [173] was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on [174] these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The
643 belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
669 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by recent Shilluk history any more than the belief
173 that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

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[114]

has been suggested,[1] but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it. This is the conclusion I have drawn from Father Hofmayr's involved chronicle of the Shilluk kings.[2] It must here be remarked that Shilluk rebellions have not been made against the kingship. On the contrary, they were made to preserve the values embodied in the kingship which were being weakened, or it was believed so, by the individual who held office. They were not revolutions but rebellions against the king in the name of the kingship.

CONCLUSION

The divine kingship, to one, perhaps the best known, of the examples of which I have devoted this lecture, has been extensively written about by ethnologists, particularly in reference to its occur- 121 643

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 64; Prof. and Mrs Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–1. Howell and Thomson (*op. cit.* p. 11 *et passim*) are more reserved.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have
144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is
[462] a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[173 539 114] [1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xiv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Andil, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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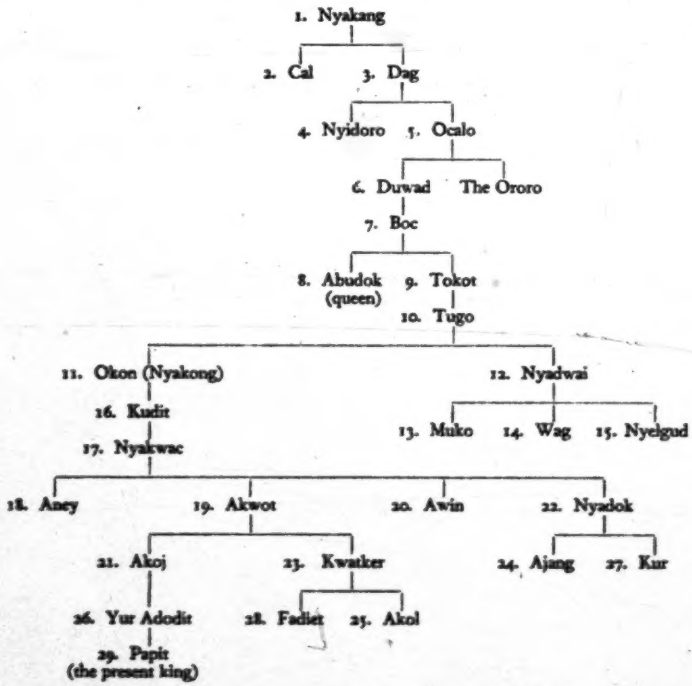
643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on 173 account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, 114 with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



643 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of 173 Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] [1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from 643
which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it 173
may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very [648]
good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised 631
through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which 635
the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to 643
be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old 643
days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps 644
up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
566 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Hessty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached
771 to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—
196

> " He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an
[538] enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five
[173] epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or 643
standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is [173]
no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been 643
assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the 565
fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well- [173]
informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health [886]
of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this [173]
there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt 173
that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or 643
possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, I, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

*539 *būtę. Ka e kōbǫ kịne: Shǫ́lǫ́, nẹ̄nì yán bẹ̄ne! fá fà wà kịfà kwá! yú nẹni kị ria kị dǭch. Ka ḍāṇ ye: wuò wuò wuò bẹ̄ne. Ka ḍeaṅ kạ̄l, ka shwǫp kịfa kōbe rịṭ. Ka ḍǫk kạ̄l, wèkè tyẹ̄ṅ Ńikaṅ. Ka jal ẹni gǫ́ṅ, ka e kẹḍǫ. Ka ḍeaṅ shwǫp, mẹ́n ṭùmà kwǫ́p. Ka rịṭ e kịṭị kị lān mẹ̄kǫ, lān duǫṅ, lāne jāgǫ. Ka tẹ̄rǫ e kẹ̄tù, mẹn kẹḍǫ fōṭe gẹn, mẹn kẹḍǫ fōṭe gẹ́n*

*539 643 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. [778] They are brought from Akuruwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dāk, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man; they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

● 173 614 643 [According to Hofmeyer (Anthropos V, page 333) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okāl: "The Kwa-okāl come from the Bahr el Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, lances, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called nya kwer (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] or: "one day"?
[2] or: "is held fast by"?
[3] vide page 128, 2 a.

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30. The Shilluk kings.

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1. *Ńíkhnḷ*	2. *Dák*	3. *Shál*
4. *Aṅḡńó*	5. *Odák*	6. *Dywgt*
7. *Bwgch*	8. *Ḍókḡt*	9. *Abúḍḍk* (queen)
10. *Túgò*	11. *Okwọn, Okōn*	12. *Ńàdwdi*
13. *Ńàḡḡkè*	14. *Kúdlt*	15. *Ńàkwdchò*
16. *Anḡi*	17. *Akwọt*	18. *Awén*
19. *Akọch*	20. *Ńẹḍók*	21. *Kwaṭkgr*
22. *Ajań*	23. *Kwòyìkwọn*	24. *Yọr*
25. *Akgl*	26. *Kúr*	27. *Padyḡt.*

A. E. S. has the following list (according to Father Banholzer at Lul, and Dr. Giffen at Doleib Hill).

1. *Nyakang*	2. *Dag*	3. *Odage*
4. *Kudit*	5. *Dokodo*	6. *Boj*
7. *Tugo*	8. *Nya Dwai*	9. *Nya Ababdo*
10. *Muko*	11. *Nya To*	12. *Nyakong*
13. *Okun*	14. *Nya Gwatse (Nkwaji)*	15. *Nyadok*
16. *Akwot*	17. *Ababdo*	18. *Awin*
19. *Akoj*	20. *Nedok (Nyadok)*	21. *Kwad keir*
22. *Ajang*	23. *Gwin kun (Kwoe kon)*	24. *Yor Adodit*
25. *Akol*	26. *Kur Wad Nedok*	27. *Fadiet Wad kwad keir.*

31. The Burial of a King.

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Riḡ ka ńj wáńḷ, ńj kiḡe wọt. Ka ḍeań chwọ́p, ka fygnj yéch, ka rêr, ka wumj rẽrọ, ka yẹn dwai, ka gẹ ńḷt, gẹn á tákúgì kgl, ka gẹ kwoń feń. Ka dẹ̄l gni ká gò thdḡ tât tabate. Ka gẹ rumọ kj tādọ, ka riḡ kgl; e kúchè ḡrọ, ka kiḡe wọt, ka ruk kj lāng kwań. Wọmạn arygu ka gẹ kgl, ka gẹ kiḡe wọt; ka mḡkọ mīḡọ wijẹ, ka mḡkọ mīḡọ tygẹ; ka mẹn ḡōṭẹ kj atábọ́ kj dāk, ka ńān ḡōṭẹ kj atābọ kj dāk. Ka wọt mūl, dẹ bụ yẹ mẹn yeje kgle ydmḍ. Ka gẹ bḡdọ wọt, maka dwat arygu. Ká gẹ ṭḡ, ka kōng, ka rei gẹ yúkì tḡnḍ. Ka gẹ kẹlà wiy wọt; riń á ṭūm, ka gẹ dḡńa chū. Ka jāk dwai bḡn wụḡe[1] Tūńọ, ka wụḡe[1] Mwọmọ, jāgí bḡn bḡn. Ka gẹ kẹḍọ, mẹn e kátẹ́ ḍeań; ụ waṇẹ gẹn, ka ḍọk gni chọ́ń kách dkyẹ̀l, ka gẹ chwọp.[2] Ka gẹ kịne: riḡ a wań. Ka ḡrọ ywọń, ka ḍeań mḡkọ yẹch, ka fygn e ńẹ́ń, gn aḡp. Ka shū riḡ kìḡì yech aḡp, ka kóń feń; á kán, ka ywọk ywọk. Ka ḡrọ bḡnọ bḡne bḡne bḡne. Ka tọń shọ́ń gẹ gīr, ka gẹ twọch, ka gẹ kiḡe yi yẹi, ka okọt kiḡe yi yẹi gīr, ka tḡk kiḡe yi yẹi gīr, ka pụki kiḡe yi yẹi, ki tḡmì, ki lḡt. Ka jū kgl, gẹn arygu, mẹn akyẹl ńāne dwch, mẹn akyẹl ńāne jal, jū mọgẹ dḡch, ka gẹ kiḡe yi yẹi, gẹ túbḡ, chyẹń gẹn fá à ḡehọ́, kj tygli gẹn fá à tḡehọ́; mḡkọ ya ṭa yẹi, mḡkọ ya yẹi yẹi. Ka yẹi keau, ka

[1] *wụḡe*; reaching T., and reaching M., i. e. from T. unto M.

[2] generally: *chwọ́p.*

*539 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate."
622 So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came;
687 the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ka jāk riţ Túgò, jāk a pārí, chwgla Ńewājọ. Ka wgţ ka gţ ńí bīnọ, gţ bīr[2] ga wgţe chôt, ka gţ ńí gwgtọ wiy pach kị chāńọ. Ka riţ e kōbọ kịne: bịh, gţ rţ ru wgţ, a rèi gèn gwgţọ? Kịne: tygre pān gni. A gţr pān gni, a Pachōdọ; a dẹge Tugọ yẹjẹ, a kōbị Tugọ kịne: fān gni ụ chīk á pà rīṇá! A bāńe ńí rīṇá ţīdọ yẹjẹ. A rām á jàgò, a kōbị kịne: ka wgda ụ rīṇá, a rīṇá.*

*539 King Tugọ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyewājọ.
643 And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their
●173 heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Pachōdọ. Tugọ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief. [2] From bīdọ "to be".

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king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

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Kɛ́ń kɛ́ţ jē bɛ́ pldḷ, ka jē kɛ́ḍo, ka jē pɛ̄ka peń. Ka pāⁿ ɛ́ni chǫ́ń, ka ḍāp y'[1] pɛ̄chḷ, kine: yā pīdo kúché jám! Kine: kúchè jam kúchè yán![2] Kine: yi nūtí kōpo? Kine: yi mɛ́n an? Kine: yi wóu. Kɛ́ye ɣɛ́t kúchè yán! Kine: kipańo kuche yin? Kine: jal tɛ́ń amɛ́n? Kine: jal tɛ́ń ńate. Kine: kwāń jám! Ka jame kwán. A, ńate, yi re a pɛ̄m? ḍɛ́k paţe dyer? Ka jē kɛ́ţi bɛ́ ǵń. Ka jē kɛ́ḍo, ka riţ e yōt, ka ǵń ǵń kine: wuo, wo chūţi kā ńál àn. Kine: wu kɛ́ma kwɛ́f ańo? Wo kɛ́ma kwɛ́fe ḍɛ́k. Atḷ, ǵńun! Kine: ḷ, wuo, wó bì, cha wo pyéjé ɛ́n ki kwɛ́fe ḍɛ́k, dɛ́ é kyīt, cha ḍɛ́k kújḷ. A chǫ́ńà jt, a chǫ́ń jt, a kɛ́mà kwɛ́p, a kwāń jam, ka ḍɛ́k pɛ̄ka kúché ǵń. Ka jē yēyo, jɛ́k dḹń; dɛ́ chaka kɛ́r yau. É, arɛ́ lōńé ǵń. Kine: wa ţou ya ḍāp; dɛ́ ḍɛ́k kache ǵń kújà, dɛ́ nūtí kōbḷ. Kɛ́ń ɛ́ní ànàn, a bāń kyɛ́dá. Ka riţ e lūkɛ́ chyī, kine: yḷ́, kinau, yi ba wéi jál a kɛ́r! yi re kɛ́re ḍɛ́k tɛ̄rɛ́? Kwɛ́fí rach! kɛ́ţ, chúdí ki ḍāp! jal, ka yi[3] múch ki ḍɛ́k abich. Ka e mūjo ki ḍāp, ka gɛ́ kūlḷ́, ka tyɛ́ń pān ɛ́ní chǫ́ń, kine: yá chúdi ki ḍāp, kɛ́ń ɛ́ní anan. Dḹch! A kɛ́ḍá, a tyɛ́ni mɛ́gɛ́, a chɛ́ngl tyɛ́ń ɛ́ní, a bḷ́n, a tyɛ́re ḍāp tɛ̄rɛ̀ ǵń. Ka gɛ́ yēi chyī, kine: dḹch, wó bà wōt. A kɛ́ţ ǵń, a kōl ḍɛ́k, ka ḍāp mɛ́kè ǵń.

At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said, "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He aid, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said tho the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I so[illegible] owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the [illegible] people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After

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[1] y is here conditional: "when".
[2] "the plans, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".
[3] < yi ḷ "you will".

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V. HISTORICAL TRADITIONS.

36. Nyadwai.

Ńa riţ mẹ̄kọ, chwgłá Ńadwai, ńi māyọ rech. Ka rech mẹ̄kọ dyérẹ̀ yén, jal mẹ̄kọ ńiṅg ba Ogam. A kōbị Ogam kịne: kịpaṅọ? Kịne: baţe ńa riţ? Kịne: ḷ[1] rụ́ń yí mẹn? Wịjẹ dugń! Kịne: dẹ̄ch yàu. A bẹ̄dẹ́.

Ńadwai a rụ́ńe, Ogam ya Mẹ̄ńọ. A lụ́ńí kịne: Ńadwai rẹ̄ńọ́. A kōbị kịne: bẹ̄ń! Ko: a pẹ̄l Ogam! A kōbị Ńadwai kịne: dwai Ogam! A dwáí, a ḷōţé kí ḍọk, a gẹ̄rị pārẹ, a ńọmị mạn, ka pārẹ dẹ̄ńọ. Ka e ńwọlị ńwọl mágẹ̄r. A chwẹ̄lẹ́, a nẹ̄gẹ́ kị ńwọle bẹ̄n yị Ńadwai, a pụţị pārẹ pén.

A certain prince called Nyadwai, was fishing. And he wanted a certain fish, the fish of Ogam (a fish which Ogam had caught). Ogam asked, "Why (should I give my fish to the prince)?" The people replied, "Is he not a prince?" Ogam said, "By whom will he ever be elected? He has such a big head!" The people replied, "Well, all right (do as you think best)." He refused.

But Nyadwai was elected king, while Ogam was at Manyo. There he heard the talk, "Nyadwai has been elected." When he heard it, he said to himself, "Dear me!" (But Nyadwai) said (to himself), "This cursed Ogam!" Some time later Nyadwai sent word, "Bring Ogam!" Ogam was brought; the king gave him cattle, built him a village, he married a woman, and his village became large; he got many children. But one day he was called by Nyadwai, Nyadwai killed him and all his children, and he destroyed his village.

37. Golit.

Ńa riţ Golit ka e lẹ̄nḷ, ka pẹ̄ka wiy Pịjọ, ko: ya dwata yey nam. Ka jaṅe lāgọ[2] e kygdọ kịne: nam yeịg kọnọ kị yá! Kịne ya kyet. A mụ́jị́ ḍẹ̄ḅọ; a wití yạţe pi, a kẹ́ḷẹ́, a pẹ̄ka yey nam bẹ̄ mẹ̄ńḷ kị ḍọk. A mẹ̄ń wẹ̄dẹ, a mágé je lẹ̄n, a kẹ́ḷẹ́; a gịtị Lwanidẹ̄ń, a mágị́ gụ̀n, a kōl ḍeań pach lẹ̄nḷ, a kẹ̄lị jań Ńẹ̄k a chịbị́ gẹ ka, a gẹ̄rẹ̀ pārẹ Ńẹ̄ōk, ńí kẹ̄bọ kị ḍọ ṭẹ̄rọ.

The prince Golit came, and settled at the mouth of the river Pijo; he said (to the chief there), "I want to settle (on the island) in the middle of the river." But the chief who ruled there refused, saying, "I myself like the island in the river, I refuse!" Then the prince gave him a man (slave), and on that the chief sprinkled the boats with water (that is, gave them permission to go on the island). The prince went on the island, and settled down there to steal cows. He sent his son to capture people (and their cattle), he captured all the people

[1] Instead of the usual ḷ.
[2] "the chief of the magistrate", i. e. the ruling chief.

173 *539 there, and after that went to Lwangdeng, and captured this village, he brought all the cows into his village. After that he brought Dinkas of Ngok,[1] and settled them in the place (of the village Lw.), he built them the village of Nyejōk; and those people too used to steal the cattle of the people.

38. Nyimo.

*539 *Ńa rīŋ Ńimo, ge ki ńa rīŋ mīŋo, ka ge ńí chwgl, ka ge ńí ryjch,[2] ka loje wil gin, ka loje Ńimo ńí kīp, kupe yí ńa rūŋ gui. Ka Ńakwach e wīrj, ka ńí dīgg kīŋ.*

Ka pūrg kygr, á thīlr, Otudi, pa wgt Ńakwach. Ka e jūgg e dīch, dg ba war, ka dggg ńí kīp yí ńiwin; a kībí rīŋ kīne: y tich adi? A gīp ki bīni mdīŋo, mgu gīne rg, kīfu ka kīkī; ge[3] ńí kīni gī[3] ín.

173 *539 The prince Nyimo was, together with another prince, invited to a meal. They had their clubs with them, and (in the course of the festival) the club of Nyimo was taken away from him by force, it was taken away by that other prince. When his father, king Nyakwach (who was also present at the festival) saw that, he was very angry,[4] and he went home alone.

He built for his son a big village, Otudi, this was to be the village of the son of Nyakwach. And he (the son) reigned well, but he was a coward. His cattle used to be robbed by his brothers. The king said, "Ah, what is to be done?" He gave him a great number of slaves to protect him, on account of his fear. They were to help him.

39. Nyadoke.

*539 *A rīŋ Nīŋīki, a jīpī, a kībí kīne: á, ya gīra fīra wgk! A gīra pūr Pībī. Weya kīdī bute Dgń! A gīra pūrg Dgń. A kīt gge ki Dgńo, a jīpī, a ńí ngpí lygch, a ńí chānā yí Dgńo, a ńí kwāchī yí Dgńo. Ka Dgń ńí gīp lygch, a kīda rūŋ (rūg) Dgńo. Ka ńí tīk kgt, ka Dgń ńí tījg ki jang, chamí kī wuk, ka kgt ńí mīkī. A ńí kwāí bīr, mgu chīk lygch, ka lyene kīfī yīy bīr, ka Dgńo ńí pīni, a chīpa rūŋ dgch.*

173 *539 Nyadōke was elected. While he was reigning, one day he said, "Well, I will build my village in the bush!" He built the village of Pōbo. Again he said, "Let me reside beside the Nubians!" He built a village in the Nubian country. He lived together with the Nubians, being their king. He used to kill elephants, the Nubians used to ask him for the elephants' meat, he gave it to them, and they ate it. So he was the king of the Nubians. — When the Nubians are without rain, they are accustomed to put on all their adornments, and go out into the

[1] *Ńgk*, A Dinka-District south of the Sobat.
[2] "and they were called, and they were invited."
[3] *ge* relates to the slaves, it has therefore the meaning of a plural.
[4] because his son allowed his club to be taken away from him.

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bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadîke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

Piŋ Ḏííŋ̱ ká à mɔ̱ɲ, mɔ̱ɲ̱ ɔ́ŋ Ḏok, ka ɡɔ̱l yí Ḏíó, Ḏok ní ɔ́ŋ́ ní mɔ̱l wíŋ̱ kit. Ka e ka: ŋɔ̱k, dɛ̱ Ḏok a ɡɔ̱ḻ yɔ́n, ŋ ɡɔ̱k kɔ̱l? (ɛ́ ró (yɔ́) wá ɡɔ́ɔ́k! Ka ɡɔ́ŋ́ rɔ́, ka e ka: yɔ́ŋ kit! Ka kit e yɔ́ɔ́k, ka ɡɔ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ fɔ́n. A mɔ̱ŋ́ Ḏok, a kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́n, a ɡɔ́rí ŋ́ ɡɔ́rɛ́, ŋ́ ɛ́ŋ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́; a ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ní́ɔ́ fɔ́n ɡɔ́ ŋ́ Aɡɔ́ŋ́ɔ́.

A kɔ̱ḻ mɔ̱r, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k ŋ́ kwɔ́ɔ́, ka kwɔ́ɔ́ŋ mɔ̱ŋ́, kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́n, a ɛ́ŋ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɡɔ́rí ɡɔ́ɔ́k, ŋ́ɡɔ́ Awɔ́rɔ́ŋ́ɔ́k. Ka Chɔ́ḻ kɔ́ɔ́ŋ kíɔ́: a rɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ, a rɔ́ɔ́k mɔ̱ɲ? A ka kíɔ́: kɔ̱k! Kíɔ́: Chɔ́l, kɔ́ŋ́ kwɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́n? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̱r, a ɛ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ nɔ́m, ka Chɔ́ḻ e ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí́ ɡɔ́ mɔ̱r kí́ kɔ́ḻɔ́ ɡɔ́rɛ́.

Pɔ́ŋ mɔ̱ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ Oɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka Chɔ́l ní́ kɔ́ɔ́ kí́ ɡɔ́r, ka Chɔ́ḻní́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka rɔ́ŋ́ e rɔ́ɔ́, Chɔ́ḻ dɛ̱ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́; a rɔ́ɔ́ Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ́. Ka Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ e mɔ̱ŋ́; ka lɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka e kɔ́ɔ́, ka e ka: kɔ̱k, wá ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dí? A kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́l Oɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ Ḏííŋ̱, a ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́n kíɔ́: mɔ̱r e kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́l mɔ̱ŋ́ kíɔ́: ŋ́ ɡɔ́k wɔ́? Kíɔ́: ŋ́ ɡɔ́wɔ́ nɔ́m! Kíɔ́: kɔ̱k, Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, dɛ̱ kɔ́ ɡɔ́n? yí kɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kíɔ́: yɔ́ kɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! Kíɔ́: ɛ́ɔ́! A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́. A kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́k, a mɔ́k ɡɔ́ɔ́k Oɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́ɔ́k mɔ̱ŋ́, a mɔ̱ŋ́ Wɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, a kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́ɔ́k mɔ̱ŋ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ yí Aɡɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, a kɔ̱ḻ ɡɔ́ɔ́k mɔ̱ŋ́, a kɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, a ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́k. A kɔ́ɔ́ Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́, a rɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ yí, kí́ í ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka Chɔ́ḻ kíɔ́ kíɔ́: rɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ka kí́ kɔ́ɔ́? Ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ́l, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ e kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka rɔ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka mɔ́r kɔ́ɔ́ kí́ ɡɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ yí. A kɔ́ɔ́ kíɔ́: ɔ́ɔ́ kíɔ́! A kɔ́ɔ́ kíɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ Ḏííɔ́ɔ́l, a mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɡɔ́ɔ́ e kɔ́ɔ́ kí́ mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. A mɔ́ɔ́ Aɡɔ́ŋ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ɔ́, a mɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ḻ kíɔ́: a rɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí́ɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? A ka: kɔ̱k, kwɔ́ɔ́, yíɔ́ɔ́ Chɔ́ḻ! A kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ mɔ̱r, a ɛ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ nɔ́m.

King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adykong.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwok.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.

[2] This shows how Nubian subjects came into the Shilluk country.

[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom. It was to be filled with "holy water" (yí ɡwɔ́k), which was used for different religious rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.

[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

173 *539 The king replied, "Why, ye Shilluks, is that your talk now?" He took the pot and thrust it (angrily) into the river. Thus the pot ("the way to the pot") was lost to the Shilluks in the front of the village of the king.

There was another village, called Ongugg; the Shilluks (of this village) fought with some foreign tribe, and were chased. Another king was elected, but again the Shilluks were chased. Then Akwgt was elected, and Akwgt went out to conquer (this tribe). But his army was defeated. When he came home, he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do?" He came towards Ongugg, and the wives of Dokot, he asked them, „Where has the silver pot been thrown into the river?" Some man replied, "Why do you ask?" He said, "It is to be brought out from the river." The man exclaimed, "Oh dear, Akwot, is that true (is that what you are going to do)? Will you not miss the place where it lies?" The king said, "I shall not miss it." The man replied, "All right." They rowed boats, they rowed them towards the place where they were. Cows were brought, one cow was caught and given to the village of Ongugg, another cow was caught and given to Wajwgk, another was given to Adjkong.[1] Then another cow was brought, and the people went to the river, a prayer was spoken, the cow was speared (sacrificed), and Akwot went to the bottom of the river, he dived under the water; he stayed there a long time; the Shilluks said, "The king is away, he does not come back." The sun was rising, and when it began to sink, the king came from out of the water, he had brought the silver pot from the bottom of the river. He said, "Now raise an army!" The army was to defeat Dingjol (the Dinka country near Rouk). They destroyed it, its children were captured, the cattle was taken away together with the women. He conquered Agar too, he conquered Chai (near Rosaires), he defeated the whole country. When the Shilluks saw that, they said, "What king is that, that he is always continuing in warfare?" He replied, "Oh dear! is that now your talk, ye Shilluks?" He took the silver pot, and thrust it into the river.[2]

41. Nyakwach.

*539 *Ñg Ñakwach ka e jjiñ, ka wgte Ñadwai ndjpi kjpo atjr; ka ainjn wgte wgne Ñadwai ndjpi; ka e chwgtg kjpo: wuna a gjñ ainh, bi qrg! Ka qrg kjwg, ñ kanj tpig; ka e kwgyg, ka ehñjpa kal. Ka e chwgtg kjpo: bi qrg! Ka qrg bin gig. Ka e ka: yñ (yka) pjñ, á bjñ? A chñjn kjpan? Kjpo: wg ufrj! yi ugbn ñg kj jñ? Kjpo: grg (rydg) a ka ndjpi pjn? Kjpo: ka ugbn kj atjr; gjñe ka chgjna wu, a bñin ndjpi pjn. Kjpo: ñjñj ungkg? ñ ñine gpo kj jkpñ, wu, wu ugbñ ndjpñ! Pugr gu, a kaine ndjpe pjn? Kjpo: ññ, ñ, dgrñ! Wg gpñ gpo a fajr fan. Kjpo: Nakwacha, a kanñ chjn kj jkpñ. Wg qr an g chñ yñ ungn? A dwgñ qrg.*

[1] The cows were offered as sacrifices, one by the village Ongugg, and so on.
[2] From that time the silver pot is irreparably lost to the Shilluks.
[3] "wuna to-morrow", that is, in future time.

A kōḅí Nakwach kíne: gír fin ḅí dḭ̄cí. Ka ńamḡa, wgte ńtuń, chwgl ga ńa rīṭ. A chwḷe gɛ (gí) Bachōdɛ: a kɛ̄ gɛn (gin), a ɣɛ́ḅ ḅḭ́ḷí gin, a kwate kwí gin, mɛ̄k jīḅ gin ḅí Bachōdɛ. 539 *

Ka jal wḭ̄ḅɛ e kɛḭ̄ɛ kɛ̄ɛ, ka baśe rīṭ ńí yɔ̄ḅḭ̄, ka kwr ńí kūḷḭ̄, ka ńí chōl. Ka ńí chḭ̄ḅu kūwɛ, ka ńí chōl. A bū́ṭ ko (kūr) ńa rīṭ, ka e ko: bḭ́ḅ! u ṭích adí? ḭ́ dḭ̄ch yau! A chḭ̄ḅu kūwɛ ḅí kwr, a mūk ḭ́ḅk yí rīṭ, a kḭ̄l gɛ Bachōdɛ, ka pach e dḭ̄ṇɛ́ á ḭ́ḅù ḭ́ḅù.

Ka wḭ̄ḅɛ ńal dwɛ́ḅ ka e kɛḭ̄ɛ, ka ḭ́ḅk yɔ́ḅḭ́ yí tḭ̄r, ka ḭ́ḅk kḭ́ḭ́. Ka rīṭ e fḭ̄chḭ̄ kíne: ḭ́ḅk gɛ́ɣ a kḭ̄l? yḭ́k Nakwach. Kíne: bḭ́ḅ, ɣ ńal a gwɛ́ḅ adí? ḭ́, kwɛ́fɛ rach. Dḭ̄ch ou, wei kɛḭ̄ɛ gɛ́ɣ.

A kḭ̄ḷí gɛ́ɣ, a ɣɛ́ṇḅɛ́ wíɣɛ kíne: ḭ́ḅk kḭ̄l yí kḭ́ń? Kíne: kḭ̄ḷá Bachōdɛ. Kíne: ḭ́! a chḭ́ńí wɛ̄ṭɛ, a kīpí gín kíne: ńań ńal gwí! A kɛ̄ ji, a chḭ̄te, ka e rɛ́pío, ka ńan ou ńí wḭ̄ḭ́ rɛ, gɛ ńí kḭ̄ḷí kḭ̄ḭ́; ka ńí pḭ́ḭ́ḅɛ, ka gɛ ńí kōpḭ́ kíne: rńń! A kḭ̄n ńal dwɛ́ḅ, a kḭ̄ḷe gɛ́ɣ, a wḭ̄ḭ́ḅí gín. A kḭ̄ɛ́ɣ pach, a ɣyɛ́ɣ gɛ́ɣ kíne: yū (yūń) gɛ́ḷ, a kḭ́ḅí? ńamḭ̄ɣɛ e ṭḭ́ḭ́ wun adí? Kíne: ɛ wḭ̄ḅ! Kíne: yí mén ùn? Kíne: yí ńal dwɛ́ṇ. Kíne: bḭ́ḅ! wḭ̄ḅń a ṭḭ́ńùn? Ka e ɣwɛ́ḅḭ́, ka ká wɛ́ṭ, ka e rḭ́ɣɛ; e fa chāmɛ́ kí gín chom, e ɣwɛ́ńḭ́. A kɛ̄ɛ́ wḭ́ḅ, a chɛ́ń gín, a kōbí kíne: ńal, bang yín a nɛ́k wḭ̄ḅa? Yí ɣ chḭ́ḅ, ɣḭ́ḭ́ nḭ́ɣí tḭ́ń! Chwḭ́ḷá yín a rɛ́ ńal ńamḭ̄ɣí, dɛ ɛ tōń! Ko: ḭ́, chwḭ́ḷá yín ńal dwɛ́ḅ, a yɛ́ḭ́ díde kwɛ́ɣ! ḭ́, yí rach. A kɛ̄ḭ́ yí ḭ́ḅk, a ńí kɛchí gín, gín ńí kḭ̄ḷḭ́ pín ńḭ́ɣḭ́ḷɛ, a gín ńí kūwɛ.

When King Nyakwach reigned, he killed the children of (his brother) Nyadwaí, because he feared their enmity; and his brothers who had been born by the women of Nyadwaí's village, he also killed. Then he called out, "You, who are my real brothers, you people come!" The people came carrying their spears. When Nyakwach saw that, he was afraid and remained within his enclosure. Again he called out, "Come, you people!" And the people came to him. He asked them, "My children, how is it that you are walking thus (armed)?" They replied, "We are angry, why do you kill people?" He answered, "Why should I not kill them? I killed them because of their enmity, (and do you not remember that) their family chased us away? Therefore I have killed them. If at a future time they should have come to power, surely we should have been killed. Is it not for this reason that I killed them?" The people replied, "Well, eh, all right, their family has perished." Again they said, "Nyakwach, you formerly refused to be elected as king.[1] By whom should we have been avenged (if not by you)?" 173 ● 539 *

The people returned home. Nyakwach said, "Restore the town well; and my nephews, the children of my brothers, shall be called 'children of the king'." He called them (his nephews) to Fashoda.[2] They went, and he picked some from among them, and the rest he took to be chiefs of Fashoda.

A certain man (one of these nephews of the king) went one day and slept with

[1] This seems to point to the preceding story.
[2] The chief town of the Shilluk country, and residence of the king.

●173 *539 the wives of the king. He paid the fine for adultery. But again he did an evil thing, and had to pay a fine. At last the king got tired of this, and he said, "Why, what is that? eh, never mind!" When this man once more did mischief, the king had all the cattle of that (man's) village seized and brought to Fashoda; so the village was left without a single cow.

The eldest son of this man (of the evildoer) went and found the cattle (of his father) in a pasture.[1] He separated those belonging to his father from the rest and drove them home. When the king heard that the cattle were away, he asked, "Why have the cattle been taken away?" So said Nyakwach. (When he heard that this same man's son had taken them) he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do with this boy? eh, his affair is very bad! Well, never mind, let him go with them."

When the boy came home with his cattle, his father asked him, "From where has the cattle been brought?" He answered, "I have brought it from Fashoda." The father said, "All right." He assembled his sons and told them, "Kill this boy!" The people went away, they chased him, he ran away. And the pursuers came close to him, they were just near enough to stab him, then the boy (stumbled and) fell down. They told him, "Run!" (They did not want to kill him). But his eldest brother stabbed him, and killed him. When they came home, the father asked them, "Children, how is it? How did you deal with your brother?" They said, "He is killed!" The father asked, "By whom?" They answered, „By his eldest brother." The father exclaimed, "Why, my son has been killed by you?" He rose up, went into his hut, and remained there. He did not eat any food, he wept. And he came out again and assembled his sons, saying to the eldest, "My son, is it not you who killed my son? Your descendants shall always be killed by the spear! I thought you would protect your brother, and you have killed him!" Again he said, "Oh, I thought, you, the eldest one, had a heart which was wise! no, you are wicked."

Then he went to the cattle, he separated them: some he brought to another village, and some he hid.

42. The False Prophets.

*539 *Wai a kpuj rôr, ka gɛ chɔ́; rây ɔkɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́wɔ́la Ɔ́bɔ̂l, rây ɔkɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́wɔ́la Dɔ̂l, rây ɔkɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́wɔ́la Ñɔ̂ɔ̂ɔ́. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka Ɔ́bɔ̂l ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́wɔ́la ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́

ka puŋ̈ pet, e ŋ̈; ka jal a Okwɛ̈ ka lɛ̈l, ka e ŋ̈; ka jal a Ɗiɗ̈ Ñikwɛ̈, ka e pɔ̈ru. á ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ yiɛ̈ŋ̈; ká lɛ̈l ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈, ka ɔ̈ru ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈. 639*

Ka wudo ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈, ka lɔ̈ŋ̈ e wɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈, a wɔ̈ɔ̈ Ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ yi kɔ̈ɔ̈; a kɔ̈ŋ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ yi ɔ̈ɔ̈ Nuɔ̈r, a ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ lɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ Nuɔ̈r; ka Ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ yi Nuɔ̈r kɔ̈ ŋ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈, ka Ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ ka: kɔ̈ŋ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ yi kɔ̈ɔ̈, ka ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ kɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈. A ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ kɔ̈ɔ̈, a kɔ̈ŋ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈.

At a certain time the "kings" came, they used to dance (the dances of Nyikang); 1173●
one "king" called himself Okwɛ̈, one called himself Dɛ̈k, and the third called
himself Nyikang. And they came (into the villages of the Shilluks); the Shilluks 539*
used to pray to them, calling them "king", — it was in the time of king Ku
—, and the people danced.[1] They (the "kings") went to Fashoda. The king
said, "Why, what is the matter with these kings?" And they (the would-be kings)
went, and took the wives of the king by force. The king was much perplexed,
he was in great confusion. They stole cattle too. Then the king became very angry,
he sang a war-song early in the morning, he tied his bead-necklace round his
neck, put his arm-rings on his arm, fastened bells about his wrist, he took a spear,
he took a gun, and he went, he went towards them. And the man who called him-
self Dɛ̈k he shot with the gun, he fell upon the ground and died. And the man
"Okwɛ̈" was speared, and he died; the man who was called Nyikang fled, he
turned towards the bush. Then the drum was beaten, and the people danced
(for joy).

(About this time) a north wind blew, and the dura was burned, the Shilluks
were seized with hunger. The people went to the Nuer country, to buy dura
of the Nuers. And the Shilluks were beaten by the Nuers, in the time of this
strong famine. The Shilluks say, ("In this time) some were starved, and some
gave away their children for dura." — But when the next dura-harvest was
brought, the people were relieved.

[In the first part of this story it is related, how some impostors pretend to be the ancient kings, who have come into this world again; the people believe in them and pray to them, and the "false prophets" take advantage of this to rob the people, till their proceedings are brought to an end by the king.]

43. The Prince who refused to be King.

*[illegible] ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ Ɔ̈ɔ̈ŋ̈ kɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈. Ka ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ (ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈) kɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈; ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ yi. Ka ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈: ɔ̈ɔ̈ kɔ̈ɔ̈. Ka ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ (ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈) kɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈; ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈ɔ̈ɔ̈ ɔ̈

*539 *ŋyolo. Ko riŋ e wɛrò, ko nàk lɛ̀l ŋí ŋɛr, ko ɡɛ̀k chɔ̀l ŋa ŋyɛ̀r ɔ́ɔŋɔ, lí jì ŋá ŋyɛ̀rɛ; riŋ lɛ̀ɛk; a dɔ̀ŋk chɔ̀ɔk, a chɛ̀ɛ chɔ̀l lí ɡìk, lí jì, a kɔ̀lí riŋ kíɔ: wɔ́ lɛ̀ɡɛ, tɛ́ɛ́ ŋì lɛ̀r.*

173 The eldest son of a king whose name was Alɔ́ki, was brought to be elected
*539 king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, with he called Pwot ("beaten"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I
[68 don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out
301] of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

*539 *Jɔl nɔ̀ŋ Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ Bɔ̀kò, ko e lɛ̀ŋ, chamo riŋ, e chɔ̀ɔ̀k, ko Chɔ̀ŋ yɔ́, nɔ́ŋ ɔ́ɔ ko lɛ̀ɡɔ riŋ ɔ́ɔɔ; wɔ́ yɔ́ lí ŋɔ. Ko jɔl nɔ̀ŋ kyɔ̀ŋ: ì, fɔ̀ŋ riŋ! A rɔ̀ŋ ɡɔ̀ŋ? A chɔ̀ŋ́ɔ́ɔ, yɔ́ kɔ̀ŋ́! Ko jɔl ŋɔ́ e lɛ̀ŋ, ko ŋɛ̀ɛ́ ɡɔ́ ŋɔ́, lí lɛ̀ŋ́ ŋɔ́n. Kɔ́ ŋì lɛ̀ŋ́, ko Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ Bɔ̀kò lɛ̀ŋ́, ko e bɔ̀ŋɔ, ko e ŋɔ́. Ko jɔl ŋɔ́ ko: yí ŋɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́? Mɔ́ yí kɔ̀ɔ́ ŋɔ́n, ɔ́ɔ́ ŋɔ́ɔ riŋ? yí chɔ̀ŋ́ɔ́ ɡɔ̀ kɔ̀ŋ́? Ko ŋɔ̀ŋ ko: ì, wɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́n ŋɔ́ yí ɡɔ̀ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́? Ko Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ-Bɔ̀kò e lɛ̀ŋ, ko ɡɔ́ɔ́ ŋɔ́n, ko ye ŋɔ́yí. Tɔ̀ŋ kɔ̀ɔ́ŋ ŋɔ́n. Ɡɔ̀ŋ ŋɔ́n! Tɔ̀ŋ kɔ̀ɔ́ŋ ŋɔ́n. Ko ŋɔ̀ŋ́ kɔ̀ɔ́ŋ: ŋɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ! Ko ɔ́ɔ́ŋ ŋɔ́ɔ́ ŋɔ́ɔ́ ŋɔ́ɔ́. Kɔ́ ì ŋɔ́ɔ́, ko Chɔ̀ŋ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ: ì, fɔ̀ŋ riŋ! Ko Chɔ̀ŋ ko: ɔ́ɔ́! Ko ɡɔ́ɔ́ ŋɔ́ŋ, e ŋɔ́r.*

A man whose name was Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ Bɔ̀kò, came and wanted to become king.
173 He was a short man. The Shilluks consented, "This man shall be king now, we
*539 are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, Akɔ́ɔ́ŋ Bɔ̀kò came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

[1] Formerly only the king was authorized to wear ivory bracelets.

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akunyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remaind silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said, "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing. 173 539*

45. Queen Abudok.

Kpi Dykpt ka fei e lpli ɛ bɩ rij; ka Chɔlɩ wijɩ mɔm; rij boggɔ. Ka ɩɩrɩ lɩpɩ yi Abɩdɩk, ka ɛ ko: á wijɩ wɩn a mum yi lɩpie rij. A lɩbɩ kjɩe: kwɔti rij! A kwɔti, a rɩbɩl. A kɩlɩ, gɔ Abɩdɩk, a dwai ɩpɩ, a mɔjɩ, a wɔlɩ, a pɩgɩ yɩɩ ɩlp; ka a ɩɩne dugɩ, a pɩgɩ, ka ɔlɩp a chɩgɩ, a ka pɔk. A kɩl ɔlɩm ɩlɩ, a pɩgɩ, a pɩbɩ; a kɩɩ Barkidɩ, a wei ɩɩ fei. A lɩbɩ kjɩe: ɩ, Chɔlɩ ɩ nɩbɩ yi kwo rij. A lɩbie kɩie kwo rij. A lɩbɩ: ɩ, kwo rij rɩ ɩ lɩpɩ wɩgɩ, ka ei ɩɩbɩ ki lɩte pɔrɩ, fɔrɩ ei dɩyi dɩbɩ, ka e nɩɩg. U kpi lat lɩɩn, ɩ kpi pɩl. A lɩbie ɩɩnɩ a ɩbɩ. — Kɩɩ Abɩdɩk. 539*

In the time of Dykpt the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become *many*, just as the branches of the calabash plant become many in the bush." Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok. 173 539*

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away 643 158 787

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] Loosen a rope to thrash him?

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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*539

angrily, she collected certain seeds, dried and pounded them, and brought them to Fashoda as a symbol, to show the Shilluks how they would be surpassed in number and in power by the descendants of the royal family.* This story again shows that the royal family is not originally Shilluk, but of foreign origin. — But perhaps it was simply because she was a woman that the Shilluks did not want her to rule them. In the list of kings given by Banholzer Abodok is omitted.]

VI. WAR STORIES.

46. War.

Ka wo wēlo, ka wo nénd ki yŏ, ka jē dwogo, ka wo wanò yŏ, ka wo yŏtì jal mēko, ga lyau, lyawe leń, ka e ko: wu kgla kgń? Wo kgla fōte bwoń. Kine: wun a ya kgń? Kine: wa yá Penidwai. Kine: fān dáò? Wo ya pache Chén. Kine: yi Agēdo? Kine: àwó! Kine: dēch! A kgl wón, a chip wgn pach mēko, Duwgt, a kgl wón Agēdo, a yŏt jōgo, a ńute yi wgn ki dyèl, a lwòk wón, a nénà ki Bukygń, a bēna dùki, ka wo wanò ki bōrò, a ńute yá ki dyèl; a bgt ēdi yau.

A kewu lńń, a kgī ēro, a kgte leń ki Aēno, a ngk Chólò yi bwoń, a chygte ēro, a witi bwoń Tūńo. Ka Gokwach, jōgo é yòmò. Ka chip feń yì bwòń, kine: dóch yàu, wa fa wāt. A dugk bwoń, a ēńa ki bēle Ńelwāk, tgńa mùchò, a buti ki muchò, a nógé, ka chygt nam, g gir.

A bénd, a pēki Óbáń, a bēdi yau, ka nake dwat adgk, a kgte, a lābé Tūńo, a nógé gòn, a mógé gòn, a dwógé, a ēńe Tāro, a māge Tāro, a bénd, a ēń Kō-Bòlōt, a mógé jū, a giti Wū, a māgi Wū, a giti Ńgk, a mógí Ńgk, a dwogi Ńgk, a pgki Wināwal.

A dēgó fōte Jon, a jòdé, a dwógé, a pēkg wiy Pich, a ēńé pach, a pēka Tedigo, a yēmé Detim, a gwajg ki dgk, ki jì. A kgdo, a dēgi Padeań; a ēbé Dinjol, ka Diinjol é yēmò. A nōge gon, a māge ńwole gon, a kēlé. A māge Mwomo, a dgń pēte Chol, é ūgì yi rōjò (rōjò), dyel bogon, deań bogon, giēne bogon, byel bogin, pyen bogon, kwot bogon, wgt (ygt) bogon, lwak bogon; peń é dēńò, é ńōdō yi rājo.

A rgń rit, rit Akol, a kgte leń, leń Gor, ka Lwak chēte. A bēn bwońo, Alańēro, a ēbe rit, a mógé gòn, a kite jū Bēl, a chāge kín àn, a dēń rite Kū, é jōgò, a bēn Lir, ka gyēne kēlé, ka deań kēlé, ka dyel kēlé. A jāge rit Kū ki jańe dēch; ka dok g ńēńo, ka gyeno ńēńo, ka dyele ńēńo.

A lińe kwop yi bwoń mēko, a bēno, yiga bwoń mádēk, yé bēnò, yé kēto ki Alańēr, ka Cholo ńēto; kine: ńino dáò? yiga Ţórùk, gt ki Nìńìlōt,[1] ye Alańēro nēkè nógò.

Yik bwoń mēko kēlé wak, yiga Bàkādí;[2] ka Bakadi bēno, ka ēńa gat ki Ţóbēt; a ēń gat, ka Chol rgńa pach.

Ka ēro dwogo, ka kwop lēń: Alańēro nógò! Ká bàl gēch, ka Cholo chgńo bàl; chańe mōno. A bēn Turuk, a fēku feń.

We were travelling, we slept on the road, and when the people (whom we had sent to look for the way) came back, we (found out that we) had lost our way. We found a man, a spy, a war-spy. He asked, "Where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the country of the Shilluk people." He asked, "From which district (of the Shilluk-country) are you?" We replied, "From Penyidwai." He (asked), "From which village?" We (replied), "From

[1] that is, English. [2] The Abyssinians.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 the village Chen." He said, "Do you belong to Agōdo? We replied, "Yes, we
*539 do." He said, "All right." He took us and brought us to some other village, Duwat, then he brought us to Agōdo. He found out the chief, who (received us and) killed a goat for us, and then he accompanied us. We slept at Bukyeny. When the next day came, and it had become afternoon, he killed again a goat for me; the people (my companions and I) sat down.

A war signal was given. The people went, and there was a fight at Atāno. Shilluks were killed by the strangers, the Shilluks were chased throughout the country till the strangers came to Tonga. And the chief Gokwach surrendered; he was left alive by the strangers, they said, "All right, we are friends." The strangers turned back, and marched straight towards Nyelwāk. There they turned on an island (in the Nile), and while they were sleeping there, many of them were killed by the Shilluks, and many too were chased into the river, a great number.

After that they came and sat down at Obang; they remained quiet there for three months, then they went and attacked Tonga (again), some of the people they killed, and some they caught as slaves; they returned and marched towards Tāro; they captured Tāro and came marching towards Khor Filus, they caught people there; they came to Wū, they captured Wū, they arrived at Ngok and captured it; from Ngok they returned and sat down at Winyalwal.

They returned to the Dinka country, but there they had no success, and so went back, and sat down at the mouth of the river Pich. They turned to the next village, and then went (across the river) to Tedigo. The chief Detim surrendered, he paid tribute in cattle and men. From there the enemy turned back to Padeang. He cheated (the Dinka chief) Dingjel, and Dingjel surrendered. He was killed, together with his children. The enemies went away and captured Mwomo. While they remained in the Shilluk country, the country suffered very much, there were no goats left, no cattle, no fowls, no dura, no clothes, no shields, no drums, no houses, no cow houses; the land was ruined to exhaustion.

In that time a king was elected, king Akol, he fought a war, the war of Ger, and the people of Lwak (with their king Akol) were chased. Then came the strangers, the Ansare,[1] they outwitted the king and caught him. They arrived at Bel, and remained there. The (Shilluk-) king Ka[2] continued reigning during this time. And the *Lir*-people[3] came and brought fowls, and cattle, and goats. The *king Ka[2] reigned* well, so that the cows, and fowl, and goats became many.

About that time the fame of some other white people was heard of; they were coming, they were very strong white people, they came and fought the Ansare; when the Shilluks heard that, they laughed;[4] and it was asked, "What is their name?" And they turned out to be the Turks and the English. It was said, "The Ansare will surely be killed now."

[1] the people the Dervishes.
[2] = Kur. [3] The Kordofan Nuba from Jebel Eliri.
[4] for joy.

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were Abyssinians. The Abyssinians came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks ran away to their villages. 173 539*

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Ansars have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

47. Tribal War.

Kal akyɛl e bɛno bia pɔl, ka kal akyɛl e bɛnɔ, ka lɛɔ̈ ɛ̈tɛ̈. Ka ɖäŋ e ɛ̈ɖl, ka ɖäŋ ɛ́ɛ́ ɖɔ́ɖ, ka ɖäŋ wɛ̈kɛ ɛ́ɛ́ chɛ̈kɛ̈ ɛ̈tɛ̈, bɛr (bɛ̈ɖɛ) jɛ̈ gɛ gɛ̈r, ka lɛɔ̈ rɛɛ̈ŋ, ka jɛ̈ nɛ̈k akyɛ, ɖäŋ chɔ̈p. Lɛɔ̈ ɖɛ̈ɛ́, tyɛɛ́ a wɛn bia bɛ ɖɛ̈rɛ ɖäŋ, ka gɛ ɖɛ̈rɛ pack. Bɛ ɖäŋ ma ɛ̈tɛ̈ ma ɛ́ɛ́ bɛ̈ɖɛ wɛ̈k kɛ́ wɛr. Jɛ̈ ɛ́ɛ́ bia bɛ ɛ̈ɛ̈bɛ kɛ́ wɛr. Jɛ̈ ɛ́ɛ́ lɛ̈cha wɛ̈t kɛ́ yey !wɛ̈l. 539*

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the warriors scatter. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time. 539* 628

(After a war) the people come to lie in wait during the night.[1] — The people are accustomed to urinate in the house, in a gourd.[2] [514]

48. The War of Nyeker.

Jal mɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ chɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ Ñɛ̈kɛ̈r, wɛ̈ɛ̈ Dɔr, ɖɛ̈k, ɖɛ̈k, ka e kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ, ka tɛ̈ɛ́ɛ Tɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́rɛ kɛ mɛ̈ɛ́ɛ. Ka Tɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́rɛ nɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, ka ɛɛ mɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́. Ka ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ɛ yɛ́ Yɔ̈ɖɛ̈t, ka e lɛ̈ɛ́ɛ kɛ́ lɛɔ̈, ka mɛ̈ɛ́ɛ Diɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́l, ka lɛɔ̈ chɛ̈ɛ̈t yɛ́ Diɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́l; ka lɛɔ̈ ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́kɛ́ nɛɛ̈m, ka lɛɔ̈ nɛ̈k; ka bia pack, ka e ɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ. 539*

Some man whose name was Nyeker, the son of Dor, was very, very brave. He went and turned towards Tengore (in the Dinka country) to capture. He destroyed Tengore and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was imitated by Yodit, he too raised an army and marched against Dingjel, but his army was chased by Dingjel, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. *Yodit went home and reported what he had done.* 173 539*

49. The War of Deng.

Jal mɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ chɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ Dɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, ka fɛ̈rɛ ɛ́ ɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ Dɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́; fɔ Yɔ̈ɖɛ̈t. Ka lɛɔ̈ ɛɛ́ɛ́, ɛɛ́ Yɛɛ́, ka lɛɔ̈ e ɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, ka jɛ̈ wɛ̈k ɛɛ ɛɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́. Ka Ojɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ ɖɛɛ́ɛ́, ka e ɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, ka e ka: lɛɔ̈ ɛɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ mɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, kɛ́ mɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ chɛɛ̈. Ka e mɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́, ka e bɛɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ yɛ́, ka jɛ̈ kɛ̈ wɛ̈k, ka ɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ́ɛ́ 539*

[1] This is blood revenge; if one tribe has more dead than the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.
[2] for fear of being killed when going out.

*539 *gén pâr, ka gɛ nɛ̱k, ka leɪ́ kɛ̱ɲa pack, ka e lɛ̱ɲɛ̱, ka jī nɛ̱k ga pyūr aiwɛ̱ɲ. Ka Dɛ̱ɲ kwachɛ̱, kwachɛ̱ leɪ́, ka tyɛ̱k e lɛ̱ɲɛ̱, ka lɛ̱ɲɛ̱ bɛ̱ɲ́ gɛ̱n, ka fūn gɛ́ e chɛ̱ɲɛ̱. Ka tyɛ̱k chɛ̱ɲɛ̱, ka gɛ̱ nɛ̱ɲɛ̱: a kɛ̱ɲɛ̱, a ɛ̱ɲa wɛ̱k, fōɲɛ̱ rīɲɛ̱ Jaɪ́.*

●173 *539 There was a certain man with the name of Deng, his village fought with Duwat; the name of the village was Yweldit. The war began, it began at the village Yonj, the army fought, and ten men were killed. Then a Dinka man (a sorcerer) was brought, he made a charm, saying, "The war must be fought in the morning, early in the morning." So Deng arose early in the morning, and laid an ambush on the way; and when the people (the enemies) came out, he attacked them and killed (many of) them. The army of the enemy went back into the village, and when they came again, they killed fourteen men of Deng's. Then Deng begged, he begged for auxiliary troops; and an auxiliary army came. With them he went after the enemy, and the village (of Duwat) stopped fighting.

IX. STORIES ABOUT SORCERERS.

67. The Cruel King.

Ka rij wątę Ñwo-Bābę, ka e jāpę, ką́ṅk, e wątę ji, ṅon a ḍochę ki ṅi wątę. 539*
Ka e ko: ṅīr wąt! Ka ṅṅi (wąt) ṅīr. Ka ṅṅi ḍuṅr wāl, ka rij e kąṅa wąt ki ṅon a ḍochę mājūr. Ka rāę ṅni ko: tuk ḍę wąt! Ka Chāl bāṅ. Ka ṅi wurę: Chāl a bāṅ! Ka e ṅ.

Ka rij wątę rjā, chaṅla Ñaṅ, ką́ṅk. Ka jāk dwai; ka e ſṅāṅę kjne: ṅr (rāāj) ówā á wątę(? Jāpo ko: ḍ, kāchā wāṅ! Ka jāk wątę.

A certain king called Ngwo-Babo, reigned; he was very, very cruel; he killed 1730●
people, even women he killed. One day he said, "Build a house!" And a house 539*
was built. When the door of the house was plastered (when it was finished), he went into it together with a young girl. (Then the door was walled up).[1] The king said, "Open the door!" But the Shilluks refused. The king began to sing, but the Shilluks refused; so he died.

And another king was elected, whose name was Nyato, he was very cruel. He caused all the chiefs to come, and asked them, "Why did you kill my cousin?" They replied, "Ah, we do not know." He killed all the chiefs.

68. King Nyadwai trying the Sorcerers.

Ñyā Ñadwai, e japi: a kwāi fēt, a kāji yep fēt, a kąji ṅēr, a ṅāji. 539*
A chāij ḍjwąk, ąjwąyą kjne, a ṅyachi gin, kjne: wątę jāk, yi ḍāl yi ging wā (rā) fēt. Ka ąjwąyą wątę ni kjne, ka ni kjāę, ko: gwāā pach. Ñadwai ko: ṅąk ṅēt! Ka wąn ni kjne, ka ni kjāę, ka ni ko: gwāā pach. A kjn jal Ajwąyą, a kjn jal Aḍąkąi, ko rij ko: ā! A kjn jal Ñjādrą, a kāki kjne: ą, kąl pi! Ka pi kąl; ka e ąją. Ąyi chāię ki pi, ka kyąl kwāāi, kā ā ātmą. Ñadwai ko: wąpi ḍjwąk! Ka ąą ąpā.

Then Nyadwai was elected, and he reigned. One day he had a hole dug into the ground, the wooden wood he ordered put into it, and to set it on fire (and to cover the whole with earth). Then he ordered beans to be brought and to be cooked. He assembled all the witch doctors, and asked them, "You children of chiefs, I do not know what this humming in the earth is?" (meaning the noise caused by the boiling of the beans). One of the witch doctors came, he listened and then said, "That is something bewitching (or cursing) the village." Nyadwai replied, "Sit down there!" Another came listening; he too said, "It is something bewitching the village." Then came the man (the doctor) of Ajwaga, after him

[1] In this way the Shilluk kings are buried. The king wanted to try his people, whether they were faithful to him.

there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

The Settlement (podh)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recognised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, originally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

The chief of the settlement, the *reg*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

614 565 644 *nyireth* and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

565 614 The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

643 [173] [175] The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

622 643 The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

613 622 The *jol dwong pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [773]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [773]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also *the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit*. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of divine kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) Ibid., p.19.

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105 there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuje*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *Juok*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

101 In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those 173 who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most 173 detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the 821 present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, 186 which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

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Differences and divisions between the Shilluk and other Nilotic peoples are attributed to differences between Nyikang and others who are thought to have been once closely associated with him. Differences between the Shilluk and people whose culture and system of thought are quite unlike their own are attributed to an ubiquitous God, *Juok*. Leaving aside for the moment the Shilluk classification of people within their own kingdom, I mention briefly some of the stories referring to the relationship between the Shilluk and some other Nilotes, and between the Shilluk and foreign invaders.

According to one Shilluk tradition,[1] in the original migration from their first homeland, 'the land of Duwat', the Shilluk were with their leader Nyikang, and with them were the Dinka led by Dengdit, the Anuak led by Gilo, and the Luo led by Odimo. There are various versions of this story, and the presence of Odimo in it is inconsistent with other stories about him. The kin relationship supposed to exist between the leaders also varies from one account to another. In this version, the Anuak first broke away, and then the Dinka, and finally, when the Shilluk were on the fringes of the country they now occupy, the Luo turned away towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The story shows some idea of successive developments in a necessary chronological order, and the stories of the relationship of the Shilluk with the Luo contain circumstantial details, some of which are confirmed in independent accounts given by the Luo themselves.[2] These are people who are thought to have been involved in Shilluk history from very early times; we are not given any indication that the Shilluk attempt to account for their existence, but only that they themselves account for their relationship with the Shilluk. It is not so with the stories about white and brown people. One tells, for example, how it was that God (*Juok*) came to help the *turuk*, the Turk or European,[3] rather than others of his sons, the people of Darfur, the Abyssinians, and the Shilluk, who were afraid or refused to approach him.[4] Another version, found also among other Nilotic peoples, attributes the success of the light-skinned people both to superior guile on their part, and to some preference shown them by God. We are also told that when God began to make men, he made them from light-coloured clay, until his hands became dirty towards the end of his task, and he then made the Shilluk, who lost their equality with the light-skinned people.[5] Like other Nilotes, the Shilluk seem to have singled out writing and guns as the gifts with which God gave supremacy to the foreigners,[6] and Shilluk songs recorded by Hofmayr[7] suggest that circumcision has come to stand for much that is contemptible in foreign custom and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 70.

[2] J. P. Crazzolara, 1950, has tried to build up the traditions of the Luo (Lwo)-speaking peoples into a connected history.

[3] Though Turks, Arabs, and Europeans can be readily distinguished from each other by Shilluk, Europeans, particularly when they are officials, are often called *turuk*.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 240.

[5] Bulu, p. 107.

[6] Westermann, 1912.

[7] 1925, pp. 360 ff.

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behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *olwenyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *olwenyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Hoenry, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *yo* pony, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *ral*.

[2] Hoenry, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 5, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo ral*.

[3] See note 1.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

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Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Dowet, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

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[1] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1923, p. 399.

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originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakaj)'.[7]

Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from this original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the feet of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.

[3] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.

[5] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

[6] Oyler, 1918 (i).

[7] Ibid., pp. 155 ff., et al.

[8] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

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emblems.[1] The story shows that, from the earliest times, the Shilluk suppose the kingship to have been a source of rivalry between the sons of the previous king. Nyikang is not thought to have been the elder of the brothers, and there is no account of any superior claim on his part, except that he also had a following. There is no emphasis in the myth on any customary order of succession, and so today any son of a king who has once been installed is theoretically eligible to become king if he can press his claim. In the past, at least, a man could retain the kingship only if he was able to defend himself against rival claimants. Rivalry over who shall be king is intrinsic to the Shilluk type of kingship, and may perhaps be seen as the most extreme form of the separation of the person from the office consistent with hereditary right to succession.

In the course of their wanderings, Nyikang and his followers came to a country occupied by Dimo,[2] where they lived for a while, and Nyikang married Dimo's daughter. She bore children, of whom the most important was his son Dak. Dak then quarrelled with Dimo, whose people wanted to kill him. Nyikang made an effigy of Dak, which was speared in Dak's place by the followers of Dimo. Effigies of Nyikang, Dak, and another son of Nyikang called Cal, are now used, as will be described, in the ceremonies for the installation of the Shilluk king. This is the first mention of an effigy, which was thus an idea of Nyikang. In one story Dak is a mischievous and quarrelsome figure, who grew to a tremendous size. He is also very intelligent, and there are accounts of how he and Nyikang, in contest with Dimo, were able to blind Dimo's people and his cattle, thus forcing Dimo to give up the fire, which he had hidden, and to release the rain, which he had stopped. The significance of this power of Nyikang and Dak to cause blindness will later be suggested. Here we remark that the effigy of Dak, used in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is now a long figure made from bamboos and surmounted with black ostrich feathers, and that Dak is still a symbol of the warlike qualities of the Shilluk king. He is the fighter while Nyikang is the leader. The third son, Cal, who is also represented in effigy in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is made not of ambatch, like Nyikang, nor of bamboo, like Dak, but of rope, and the feathers which form his head are the grey feathers of the female ostrich.[3] He plays a less important part than Dak or Nyikang in the ceremonies. We are told that Cal was a coward, and therefore Nyikang thought it safe for him to remain with him and Dak, while he sent away another of his sons, Bura, because he was as headstrong as Dak.[4] It is said that Cal succeeded his father as king, but did not reign for long and disappeared, to be succeeded by his brother

[1] Hofmayr, p. 14. The emblems then were a skin for slinging across the shoulder of the king, and a bow of some kind. Other emblems were later acquired. The story shows how Shilluk ideas of kingship are bound up with the possession of distinguishing emblems by the king.

[2] Who is sometimes said to be a brother of Nyikang. The relationship varies with the context of the telling of the story.

[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 68.

[4] Oyler, 1938 (b).

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Duk. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Col, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the aggressive, headstrong Duk supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Col. In songs Duk is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Duk's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It may be noted that Duk, in quarrelling with his mother's people and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Duk against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further migration of Nyikang, Duk, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *nadd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the hand of the Sun, and Duk set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 63.
[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*
[3] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Tangaro*, *Tangaro*, or *Ajandjiro*, and other details of the story are said to resemble with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.
[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The chiefly here given follows Hofmayr, 1923, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 139–62.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 30.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxiv-xxv.
[3] Ibid., p. 170.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Duk.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 33.

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which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1928 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

651 Lusk in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each
793 other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'nest'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Lusk and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river, the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the cere-
152 monies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred
173 to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the idea contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

631 Ger and Lusk each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose
616 confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Maonno and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1948, p. 72. [2] Hofmayr, 1912, p. 260.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very unstilled. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk sociology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kor, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1948, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

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776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *Juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [153] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its [143] interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

152 Nyikang and Duk were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account 173 of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear 776 that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of 173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to 776 kill Duk, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Duk's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Duk is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Duk was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Duk show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Duk particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1928 (ii, p. 128. In this account, it is said that Duk made the effigy, though in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 132, Nyikang made the effigy. [142]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necromancy, and they are necromancy because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in winning

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61.

[2] 1912, p. 188.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

The ruling difference may be fully understood and explained by Shillok anthology. Rylang, the Budget and the Shillok nations been, some, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shillokland and created his headquarters at Rylang, in Dwyang district, but to prevented nations and to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Bahr and Bung, or according to one authority (5) Dangkarga or Dorokoro. It seems to be that the Bahr were not really the inhabitants of the land, but were reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile, at any rate, Rylang conquered the present Shillokland in a powerful war expedition, and by means of force to be taken instances their people showed resistance. The people either fled to the N.W. countries and forces, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shillok citizens and thus incorporated into the Shillok nation.

How the high syphilis index in the north may be attributed to a Bahr influence, more specifically to an eastern Bahr influence, or to a north-syphilis influence from the Ian Bung Nile.

There is an other reason why of nonsyphilis that the eastern Bahr Nile. The most evident area of nonsyphilis is the Ian Bung countries which lie within a range of between 200 to 300 kilometers northwest of the Shillok land across the Nile. Here first are some interesting statistics from both nonsyphilis areas:

Bahr Nile (4)	G.I.	G.I.	G.I.	G.P.I.	G.I.(m)
Tegulo (3)	70	67	75.5	68.5	
Ojoy o Lufwit (3)	75.42	92.26	80.25	86.49	73.82
Lyam (4)	76.08	95.43			
Mixed Alur, Jonk, Lugbara					
Ebwoo (3)	71.3	92.33	82.42	85.33	80.8
Bahr mean (14)	75.55	94.23	83.48	88.23	73.8
Ojoy (4)	75.73	94.4			
Ian Bung Nile (14)					
Bung (3)	71.5	85.3	84.5	85.5	73
Jagoman (4)	73.1	92.4	82.8	84.3	73
Ebwo (3)	73.4	96.3	82.1	83.9	
Ubak (3)	73.4	93.6	73.9	85.3	67
Bwoo (3)	73.6	94.5	85.1	86.4	73
Ian Jwo (3)	74.3				
Mean (14)	73.1	96.0	84.0	83.0	73

Hypothetically or not may that there has arrive in the past Fanti a nonsyphilis belt, was expected through the migration of the nonsyphilis Shoko of the Bahr Nile, on the eastern bank, and the Shillok and Reggere people on the western bank of the Nile.

Both areas, Middle Shoko-Jwoo, do not have evident syphilis, but are more or less fully areas. These tribe are easily amalgamated of different physical and cultural types which have first time the phase in front of any conquest. But the east Lugbarbark Fashoda, Ko.1 medicine Ebwo I can positively, but Jwoo are substantial amalgamated to their nonsyphilis neighbor.

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office find in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are closely of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadhola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living further north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, The Lango, Northcote, The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1930; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neurals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Tibbetingolo's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1931) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1909–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is tantamount wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara Khamis: Sabi, whereby several tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Tibbetingolo, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1909) too.

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhum*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nyo ner dhum*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e nam*). In 1922 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman [illegible] someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried, a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and customs of pre-eminence are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services,

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 139-41. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born to such circumstances are known as *ela ed ada* (literally, to see) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwar* takes the *yang kwar* in return for his services; only in the negotiations for peace, the *reth* (not the Shilluk *reth* of blood') and *yang kwar* ('one of the leopard-skins'), receive two cows which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern Dinka there might

(2) To begin with, we just need a quick round of the historical background, implied, as is always the case, in anthropical terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

A) The SHILLUK :

(3) The Shilluk now are a cognate tribe that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 500 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

(4) The physical characters of the Shilluk are merely cognate but they are not Negroes. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) (4) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components: the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shilluk land and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

(4) This component heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-god, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we say will ethnicals of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these ethnicals to his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the east of the present Shilluk country. It is generally reported that after such an event -like coming of a new clan, shifting power to their leader- a state system could be introduced to the country; the newcomers are not the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

(4) The racial differences between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

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8) Seligman, p.10, and p. 38. Also Ibid, pp. 71-72

9) Ibid, pp. 71-72

10) Ibid, pp. 71-72

11) Seligman, p. 48.

of open war in certain cases of Hellab history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the start of electing a new king. [99] 635

The questions now arise: From where did Hykong come, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first rankers of his own family) belong? and when? [99] [94]

The only detectable physical description relating to Hykong which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Hellab was that Hykong was a man of native stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the village of Hykong kept at his shrine at Akuna is relatively shorter than that of Sub, son of Hykong. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, that Hykong's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamito-negro's admixture if they are not pure Hamite. (16) It follows then that any effort to pursue Hykong to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamite homeland among the present Hilotic centers, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamite home, again around this Hilotic centers.

In other words, the possible home of Hykong is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race admixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Hellab mythology, though contradictory: [94]

a) Hykong was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to get his election into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in those parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and as a sign of authority". (17) [94]

b) The original home of Hykong represented a sedentary cultural type, because agriculture was well known. The tradition tells that the brother of Hykong, who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Hykong when he left the country. This meant that Hykong and his followers would perish. But Hykong, when he settled in the present Hellab country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. [93] [94]

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(16) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Red Sea borders. My informants told me that Hykong met the Sennaiyat Suggers Arabs in his second period of wandering.

(17) Arkell, (A), p. 207.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 18th century, a relatively fair complainment 174
mass of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aborigines under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation.

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. [175]
Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the customs law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a RAK DOUR , which means a great river or a lake.

Schweyr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 25, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute strong festhalten". 18)
If this is true, and if we reject the story told to us by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been formed during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and sisters and daughters of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukized" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The nation of the kings-being the incarnations of 643
the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an unexpected proof of the existence of such a nation. Were such an idea is so strongly adhered to such now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk centurions- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still stored in men's mind, and ready to be revived if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally

(16) Schweyr, p. 77

(17) Seligman, p. 183, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practised by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and transported to his domains.

(18) Howell, pp. 129-132. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [176]

(19) The government does not allow it any more. [177]

631

c) The Capital:

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. 692

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but these messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Jokrea where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Funj kingdom and the Arab state of Darfur were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

For the White Nile is an interesting outer course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attractions to sedentary agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

"Le Bahr el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, à droite, sept par l'ouest, sept par le nord, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont une pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (le fleuve) ..." [44]

[44] Brown, 440.

173 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river forays are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many westing expeditions downstream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and loot their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it seems to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 32) south of 13 degrees latitude.

173 We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for ever, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk adventure. Some of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. However, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being "from Omdurman to Tung" 33), those being the present Shilluk borders. But it been more sure, why was it not preserved in the traditions?

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4) The Funj :

173 The Funj kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Kordofan 34), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lemmi, 35) which some historians put on the present Kordofan and Sennar border, between the rivers Tabassi and Khor el Gash, 37)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Sabr, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Funj Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Daya and moved south, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the Atbara rivers, and together smashed Sabr. 38)

33) Westermann, p. 22.
34) Lindblom, p. 191.
35) Beaslly, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northeastern part of the present Kordofan.
36) Crawford, pp. 194-195. A description of Bedawi's journey and how he met Amara in Lemmi. Jebell is (a) trial to reduce the name Lemmi to Lel, a district in the present Kordofan.
37) Beasly's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Sabr.
38) Ibid, p. 208.

I have proposed Jebel Ahmed Agha as a site of the Fung garrison, because it is well protected by the mountain, and the other name was mentioned by Morse as Bafofaej in 1898, by Petherick in 1860 as Jebel Tufan, by the Duke (Angus) of Abo Gelil, as Jebel Tufan, and by Seligman as Jebelu Tufia and Fun. (66) Of interest to us is that Bafofaej means in Arabic The Bank of the Fung. It could imply the tenure of the Fung. 174

The other choice, the present Malakal area as a site for a Fung garrison, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we seem to solid proof that the Fung and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their tradition, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shilukland by absorbing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Gal or Ja pung (67), which are both identical with the people of Sennar, or the Fung. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Fun -a locality a little north of Malakal- between the Fung and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Fung seem to have retired to the north, perhaps to Jebel Ahmed Agha. 173 174

This was the first Shilluk-Fung encounter; a hostile relationship! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and alone hunting, and even of a kind of alliance in warfare. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk slaves and warriors among the inhabitants of the Sennar area, in addition to other slaves from the Bahr Ghazalaine, and other parts of the Nuerland and Nuba Hills. 174

Thus, we may see that the Fung were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded to the Bar Fung area -which is a mountainous area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile basin, which afforded no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and wider inflow of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Sennar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile basin is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Fung settlers, there was no well defined barriers. It was merely a highway, and in a political sense a no-man's land.

6) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship

Among the Shilluk, all authors agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a mythical hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land 673 776

(66) Arkell, (A), p. 208.

(67) Lienhardt, p. 144, see Footnote No 5.

and Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course from the Sobat, but made a shortcut from Abyssinia to the Bahr Gazelle and to Bahr. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Bahr is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fungali extend uninterrupted to the Bahr mountains. In this connection he considered that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Bahr Nile, and had its source in the Fungali-Bahr chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he could unwittingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes?

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173
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Johnston dwells on the statement of Bruce that the Bahr kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Dik el Jem, and after the election of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung. However, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Bahr, the Shilluk word for their central chief, to be transformed to Jem, to Dik el Jem etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the Jiokgat Fung, bilking to Falon, due to the lack of the essential action of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king.

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Crawford, though he does not suggest a Shilluk origin of the Fung, says that there were certain Shilluk connections. He further states "I suggest that the Shilluk connections has not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Funghali region and the people to the east whose inhabitants were partly of any rule of Shilluk origin. These people Bahr, marched down the Blue Nile and founded the kingdom to may have carried with him some of these Shilluk connections ..."(a) Crawford thus suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Bahr, or Jokel about Agho, or Bahr. He is compelled to such an explanation because

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1) he finds that the inhabitants of the Funghali region are "Hamitic, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and to the southward to the land of the Bahrite Nilla". (b)
2) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) to have quite mountainy". (c)

133

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Funghali area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which stretch to the present plateau of pastoris to the river valleys which end long in the eastern escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau.

(a) Crawford, p. 188
(b) ibid., p. 187
(c) ibid., p. 187.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part 1 & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104 194

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golkañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golkany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Colle*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Colle* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with *Acholi*, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 101 [172 197]

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Dowadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pathe Thaw*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang 173

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173 and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[1] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwai and built his own village at Dedign.[2] Since his son Dak made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuö*[3].

Exactly who these *Fuö* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Dometh[4] and driven over the river into the Malun country north-east of Mobut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Funj Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuö*

1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1250. Hillelayt (the Shilluk) however thinks that Chalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates the date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1800 - 1850.

2. In the settlement of Fanyidwai Fat.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Spear of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this steel Blade is still in the *Fuö* country.

4. A village some 15 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

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remnant, *dwine olang*[5]. These blacks in time also became *Colle* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Colle* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Rak*[6] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Duk succeeded him as *Reth*. Duk was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fur*[7] raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Duein. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Duk at the site of the village of Tewaskit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[8]

The period from Duk's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhkir (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[9] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhkir was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhkir who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyilhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhkir. Finally after Kwadhkir had for many years 175 648 649

5. This may be translated "black hatchetmen."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Gwon* means the descendants of Gwon and *Kwar Rak* means the descendants of the (original) *Rak*, that is Nyikang.

7. "parts unknown."

8. Ali Bey Rashi.

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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PUOK).

The word *puok* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than five adult males to others containing less than ten. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be disobedient in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

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or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Rok* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and Atoadwoi the *Kwar Rok* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Rok*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Rok* and others[18] where the *Kwar Rok*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Rok* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Rok* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Rok*.

THE OGBAO.

Ogbao is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Rok* which has been degraded, by act of the *Rok*, to *Collo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Rok* really, but like *Collo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Bydok* who ruled the Shilluk country from Detim in about 1850.

18. *e.g.*, Amurjook.

19. *Tuk ni Rok*.

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who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Rath* served the *Rath*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Rth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Rath*.

The *Bang Rath*, whether *Bang Rath* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Rath* and this has always been the case. Between the *Rath* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Rath* Dhakoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudhok who had previously ruled after the death of Bucc and had resigned to make way for Dhakoth. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave his name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdubok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbaff, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

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sry between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbafi, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 77
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

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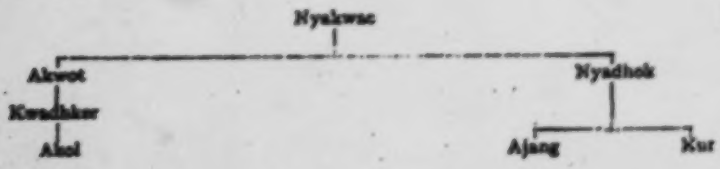
27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles: [73]



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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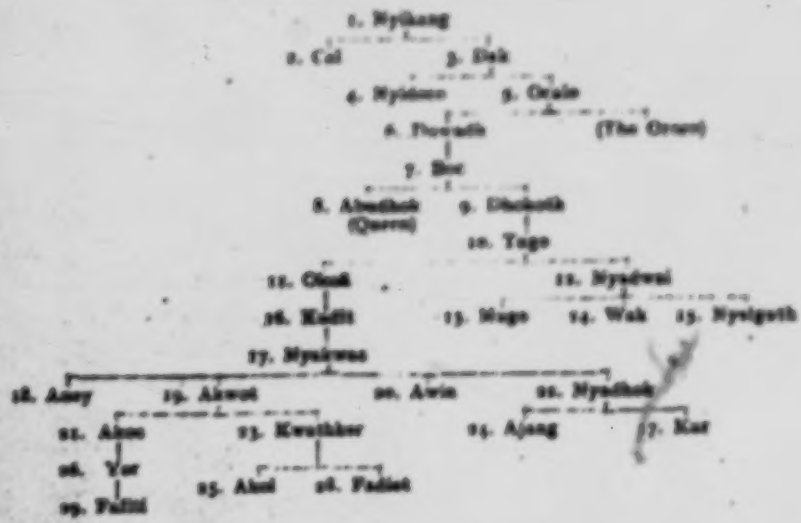
son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[30]. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



30. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwale* taboo.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Duk married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *ebwair* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwar[9] who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwayiorth* Bul Acion of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Division) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(1) Relationships with kinsmen.
(2) Other relationships.
(3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Dong" means Dong's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relations of the same generation:*

Uwi	*Uwia*	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (*i.e.*, classificatory brother).
Nyiwi	*Nyiwia*	Same as *Uwi*, but femine, (*i.e.*, classificatory sister).
Umi	*Umia*	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

9. This is kept highly secret.

[124] [613] 621 [773] 945 quite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figure only. *Debale*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ocwo* from the *Kwar Rok*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhok*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amaliab* who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debale* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimel* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. [622] The *Lau Dwong* is not commonly inherited by an eldest son, or by a [628] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment [615] must be confirmed by the *Rok*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debale* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debale* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debale*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimel*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gikar* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gikar* sprang from *Debale*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son to

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3. *Jago Amaliab* is now dead.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P.P. Howell and W.P.G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 11° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal. These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

364 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces
631 Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of
[614] many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is
[621] the village or *bac*.[2]

665 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups
614 of clans.
644

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement"; *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.
3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.
For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1946) 1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a *follower of some* alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers. 643 776

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fafiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th *reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hoffmeyer and adapted by Seligman and Pumphrey (*Vide* Appendix IV). 173 643

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these: 643

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*. [669]

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and [694]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new reth, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 683 666 [179]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Cole, Ororo, and Bung Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Cole together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bung Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the reth, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clan" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Cole are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [64 694]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Faloje about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Cole. Kwareth, who are descended from some of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1944
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173 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two nearest to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbainy a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Aroprjur just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbainy of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the reth they may have acted as messengers of the reth, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the reth the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix 1. Of the eleven Cclo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbainy, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his [214] lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government or the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the reth's own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the reth found himself unable to cross west of the big *kkor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *kkors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new reth comes to a *kkor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the reth by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *parke mooyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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693 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Duk, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[10] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Duk and Cal. This is brought by the people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of doom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Duk", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

693 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 334 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 392 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

693 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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10. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
772 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
[773] is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
775 at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Duk are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Duk. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Duk makes periodical excursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
643 775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stool[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyger.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 62 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944) 1946
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are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twot* is the word used for the *reik's* messengers.

11. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reik* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reik*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. Our impression of these ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

15. Cerfur, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfur is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is two yards N.E. of Cerfur.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funy" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. P. Munro, "The installation of the *reik* of the Chol", *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *reik* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1944
F.J.1 Shilluk F.J.1

such is the spiritual common of Nyikang and all reths that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 6.13 7.13

10. There are two traditions about Col. We think there must have been two gens of Nyikang called Col. One is said to have been the second reth of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Col, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 7.13 7.13

11. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of reth Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the reth to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of reth Fadiet as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull. For, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 65) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Atepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 7.17 6.13 6.13

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
F323 Shillok F323

APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

The following chiefs compound the electoral college in 1943:—

1. Chief of Dolnelo Kwom (chief of Gol Nyikang).
2. " " Gollwiny " " " Dhiang).
3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tungo.
5. " " Dolal Ajok.
6. " " Bur Nyilim (Alhodwai division).
7. " " Olhoungo (Detwok division).
8. " " Fadit (Wau division).
9. " " Owuliny Ohwa (Malakal division).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fuoyikang.
12. " " Aungo (Detwok division).
13. " " Fadiang (Gollwiny division).
14. " " Yoiny (Fadorda division).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lau dwong* or "high robe of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lau dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lau dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lau dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lau dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

19: Howell & Thomson K, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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APPENDIX IV.

List of Shilluk Reths

As given by Pumphrey (*op. cit.*) and Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* p. 44.

This supersedes the earlier list given by Seligman in "The Cult of Nyikang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk" p. 218.

NOTE.

The spelling has been altered in a few important cases to bring it more in line with the decisions of the *Rejaf* Conference.

The tradition is only sound as far back as reth Tugo (10).

There is a doubt about Cal (2) as to whether he was reth, or whether he stayed behind at the time of Nyikang's migration to become the leader of the Acholi.

[766] The *ocwo* then went to fetch the body from Dolwer. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kajo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[768] On the arrival of the party at Kajo an ox was sacrificed as *ahuik* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *bongo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *bagly* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *ahuik*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [313] afterwards the chief (*jagu*) of the *ocwo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783] to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared [787] to one of the *bongwik* in a dream and had demanded that this unconditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ocwo* were completed and the *kwo Nyikir* took over. *kwo Nyikir* came from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*.[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled less but met far long distances. They stood for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party travelled with the *reth*'s remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *ahuik*. The word is derived from the verb *hullic*, "to cross over." [782]

[2] I was not present at Kajo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight six-foot with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them. [777]

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngo ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information. [773]

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhwogo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
537 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
761 reths. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[778] Of Kwoikan, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikan) *ciu kwy abol cho nyiyang kedi cho wadi nial,*
[778] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pur then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dernin, Fahang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and skin of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yal*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
oromo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[777 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *oromo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fadini, was present on the first day of the *nowo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwoi where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *oromo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

It is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*.

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since.

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice.

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Ethai.*

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 seen that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Dak, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[11] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*gwel*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bung* Nyikango (slaves of Nyikang) and orders them to take this silver to the shrine of Akurwa where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of the raiding party.

[778] "Then the effigy of Dak (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[12] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Dak watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jum* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang) and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany
776 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Dak and the *kwa* Nyikwom.
778 At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Dak, represented in the effigies, came

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[12] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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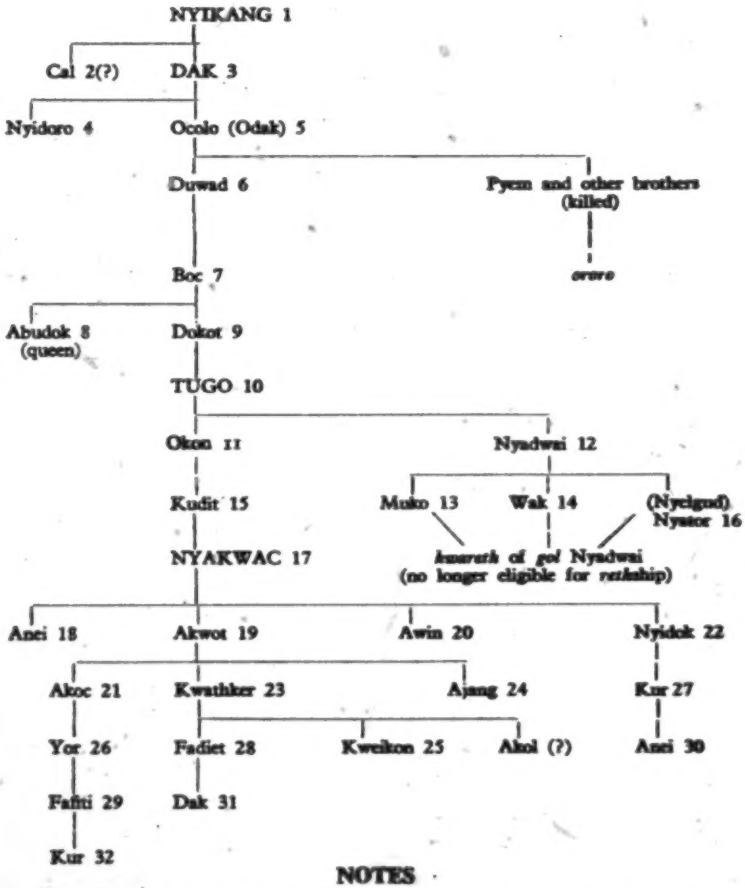
APPENDIX I.
REVISED LIST OF SHILLUK RETHS.



NOTES

173 643 1. Shilluk *reths* prior to Tugo are listed according to tradition, but there are some inconsistencies. Cal, for example, who is said to be a half-brother of Dak, lived at Dinyo near Tonga, but most Shilluk say that he was

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. [643] Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* [114] clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

[114] 3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the [643] throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [576 554]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [576] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 643

[p. 319]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief. 173 [212] [887]

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence. 776

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given. 776 782 539

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. »

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship, 776 769 782

[p. 283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its 174
home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. [197]
This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that
long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half 173
of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, 174
a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its [103]
name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no 643
ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow 173
which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the [825]
Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the [776]
glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his [775]
spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyi- 643
kang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; [793]
their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity [731]
of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in 643 775
Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa.

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole 643
Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The king- 644
ship belongs to all the people and not to the royal 614
clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang [173]
was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on [174]
these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
669 representative and the issue is fought out. It would seem probable that when there is disagreement it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
174 about the merits of the candidates but of local
631 loyalties in which different members of the royal
643 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
644 land. Whether disputed succession in the past was a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact that in earlier times the king ruled from the settlement in which he was brought up or moved from one settlement to another and did not have a fixed residence at the central and neutral point of Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the association of princes with settlements and districts is clearly related to the custom by which they are brought up away from the capital. It is probable that the backing given by north and south to candidates for the kingship in past times arose from the fact that some princes were brought up in the north and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of 171 the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without
174 prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
[556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

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"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 NAME The inhabitants are called: *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄l*, "a Shilluk", plural *ɔgɔ́c cɔ̄ɔ̄l*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fɔ́ɔ́ cɔ̄ɔ̄l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *cɔ̄ɔ̄l* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄g*, "descendants of *kɔ̄ɔ̄g*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national hero of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ɔcɔ̄ɔ̄l*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Azraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyob. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tɔ̄ɔ̄g*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Maaraa Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Maaraa Island, Wad Dakena Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Belker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mɔ̄gɔ̄mɔ̄, Tɔ̄ɔ̄g*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba.

131 ● 174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended further northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Duein; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a tract of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 CLIMATE From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

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The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

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The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa rig* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chiile* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

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565 174 So the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word *Okūńo*, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with *Ńíkūńo*, and means a descendant of *Kūńo*, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dgó*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagir; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 domiciles; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain *rôle* in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Ńadwai*. RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

648 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them. RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the wells at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fa ḍeai* "village of cattle"). RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

174 South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

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174 origin and a common home. The southern mass of the Shilluk speaking people, the Gang, pretend to have come from north (vide Schweitzer, Emin Pascha; Berlin 1898, page 155), and, as will be seen below, the White Nile Shilluks have migrated into their present seats from south; so the original habitat of the whole people will have been in the country situated about the middle of their present seats, that is, along the shores of Bahr el Jebel. Here one division of the Shilluks, the Beri (*Bgri*, also written Beir), are still living. The rest of the Shilluks were forced to emigration probably by the arrival of more powerful and warlike tribes coming from east, viz. the Bari and Latuka, who up to the present time inhabit this country. The Shilluks, being thus expelled from their seats, emigrated in three directions: south, north-east, and north-west. The division wandering southwards are now known as Gang or Acholi, Shuli (on the identity of the names Acholi, Shuli, and *Chōlǫ* vide page 31); the north-eastern branch are the Anywaks (Anuaks). These two branches, viz. the Gang and the Anywak, have practically almost no differences in their dialect; they may be said to speak the same dialect, which differs from the rest of Shilluk dialects by the relative primitiveness of its sounds; to give one example, they have generally preserved *ch* and *p*, where other dialects have adopted the younger corresponding sounds *sh* and *f*. So these two may be regarded as direct branches of the original stock, who both must have branched off about the same time. That Gang and Anywak have been separated from the north-western section at an earlier period than that in which the latter was again divided into different sub-groups (vide below), is evident from the fact that all these north-western sub-groups still know of their common origin, whereas I have never met with a tradition pointing to relationship with the Anywaks and Gang.

The Anywaks have again been divided into three sections, whose residences vide page 30. From the Gang a number of smaller divisions have branched off into south-west, south and south-east: the Lur, (Aluru), Jafalu (*Jafalug*, *Japalug*), Lango, *Ja-Lug* (Nyifwa Kavirondo), Wagaya.

The third division first wandered north-westward, crossing the Bahr el Jebel, and subsequently probably resided in a place situated about the 10° eastern long. and 7° northern lat. That they have settled and lived in this region for a considerable time, is practically proved by the fact that on older maps a number of villages are situated here whose names begin in *Pu*, *Fa*; e. g. Fatil in the Dinka district *Rǫl*; Fayot, Fawer, Fayak, in the Dinka district Kich, and Fagak, in the Dinka district Twi (Twich). *Pu*, *Fa* is a word of the Shilluk language meaning village, home (Many villages in the Shilluk country have this same prefix *pa*, *fa*, vide 80; it is also frequent in the Jur country: Famir, Fabuchak,

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Fashien, and in the Acholi country: Fanyiknara, Fandikir, Faggeir, Fadjulli, Fadibek (from Schweitzer, Emin Pascha). This district is now inhabited by Dinkas, and their occupation of the country no doubt forced the Shilluks to emigrate once more. From here they went in north-eastern direction and thus came into their present seats on the White Nile and Sobat. *These last wanderings were carried on under the leadership of Nyikang;* they form the object of the traditions on pages 158 ff. Another part of this north-western section went westwards and formed the Ber (= Beri, vide 87) and Belanda or rather *Bgr*, vide page 44. The third part of this branch are the Jurs and the Dembos. Jur is a nickname given to the people by the Dinkas, it means "uncivilised tribe", "bushman". They call themselves *Luo*, a name which occurs again among several southern Shilluk tribes, vide 89; by the Bongos they are called Ber (vide above), thus showing in their very names the near relationship they have with other Shilluk divisions. — The Jurs have no cattle, they are renowned as iron smelters.

According to Schweinfurth (page 63) the Jurs themselves say that they are a part of the Shilluk people who (on account of over-population) emigrated from north (i. e. The White Nile region) into their present habitat, and that they call the name of their ancestor Oshuola = *Ochōlo*. But on the other hand, Hofmeyer states that the White Nile Shilluks call the Jurs *Odimo*, that is descendants of *Dimo*. Now *Dimo* is a brother of Nyikang, whom the latter left. All the Shilluk traditions are unique in the assertion that Nyikang did *not* go northwards together with Dimo. So this would mean that the Jurs never wandered into the White Nile country, but went their way directly westward into their present seats.

[The suggestion on the migration of the north-western section, viz. that of the White Nile Shilluks, Jurs, Dembos, Belandas and Bers, as it has been outlined above, is in a remarkable way supported by traditions of the White Nile Shilluks, which Hofmeyer gives; according to these the origin of the nation was in the far east (i. e. east of the Bahr el Jebel). Nyikang led his people *from the east towards north-west*. After a long march *they crossed the Nile* (i. e. the Bahr el Jebel) and came into that region which is now called Bahr el Ghazal. From here the Belanda went westwards, the rest, after some time, travelling farther northwards.]

THE RULING ELEMENT AMONG THE SHILLUKS

While nothing is known concerning the *time* of the earlier Shilluk migrations, we are able to fix the approximate date of the wanderings which resulted in the final settlement of the "Proper Shilluks" on the White Nile and Sobat. Mr. B. Struck, by taking into consideration all the available (written or unwritten) chronicles of African dynasties, has made a calculation on the average duration

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174 of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years thus reached at is between 13 and 14 for each king. Now from the reign of Nyikang, who was the first Shilluk king, till to-day the Shilluks have had 28 to 30 kings; 29 multiplied with 13½ leads back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About this time, then, the Shilluk kingdom was founded, or, in other words, during this period a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks, and made itself the ruling factor among the latter. The first of these leaders and rulers was Nyikang, or possibly Nyikang is only a personification — the heros eponymos — of the foreign element in the Shilluk population. From those early days up to the present never a "Shilluk", i. e. a member of the original population, has been king, solely the "descendants of Nyikang" forming the royal family, from which the king is elected. 174 Even to-day the descendants of Nyikang do not intermarry with the "Shilluks", 565 they live in districts and villages of their own and enjoy certain privileges, thus forming the aristocracy of the nation. Second in rank are those Shilluks which migrated into the country together with Nyikang as his "followers" or "servants." They also possess several social privileges and state functions. The lowest class of Shilluks are the natives found in the country, when Nyikang and his adherents arrived. They may be designated as the "common people", the "subjects" in the state community. The second and third categories, and also the first, have no doubt been mixed by intermarriage. From the earlier centuries of the Shilluk dynasty but scanty historical data are known. The only reports we have are the list of kings (vide page 135), and a considerable store of traditions, dealing with prominent acts of single kings and important events which occurred during their reign. Some of these native records are printed on pages 141 ff.

RELATIONS WITH THE FUNJ

The first time the Shilluks enter history is about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is at the same time when they took possession of their present 174 seats. Beginning at this period they have, during almost two centuries, played an essential part in the history of the *Funj* people. The question of the origin of the Funj is as yet unsettled. In order to introduce the reader into the problem, I shall give a short survey of this remarkable people and their history.

The most common form of the name is Funj or Fonj, and Fung. Funj is in phonetic writing probably *Foń*, ending in a palatal n, and Fung = *Fuń*, ending in a velar *n*. Of these two forms I suppose Fonj = *Foń* to be the older one. Foreigners who are not used to a palatal n standing at the end of a word, find its pronunciation difficult, and frequently substitute *ń* for *ń*, a mispronunciation which I myself have often heard in the Sudan. This Funj, Fonj is probably identical with the Shilluk word *bwoń* "stranger"; in Shilluk as well as in Nubian b and f are interchanged; in Nuer the word for "stranger" sounds *foń*, and in

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the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bonj, Nuer fonj and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "fungo", and the plural "fungi". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* g being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and i that of the plural. The meaning of the word "fungo" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Ptoemphanae of the ancients, and morever compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.)

The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smelting and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Fung, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, Jebels Gereiwa and Rera; on the east, Jebel Agadi and the Fazogli district. Southwards, it extends to the Abyssinian frontier, and including the district of Keili and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Fung were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of Abyssinia, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Funj must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. Sir James Bruce, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts *the identity of the Shilluks and Funj.* In his Travels into Abyssinia he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wed Ageeb, the

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174 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole
101 Gezira. *"This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook"*.[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" .... but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to
[114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his misdoings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shilluks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tegla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar began in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Fung, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Fung tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name

[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

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of Fung. King Basdi Abu Dign, who reigned from 1635—1671, *attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves.* The Shilluks at that time inhabited the country on both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa. Thence he invaded the mountains of Tagale and destroyed Kordofan, where he again took a large number of slaves. On his return to Sennar he built a number of villages in that district for his prisoners. The prisoners named these villages after those they had left, hence the number of villages now near Sennar with names similar tho those in Jebel Nuba, Tagale, and other districts about Kordofan. In time these slaves supplied the kings of Fung with recruits for their armies. — In 1719 a king whose name was *Gaadi Abu Shilluk* ascended the throne.

In the first half of the 18th century the Fungs drove the Darfurians back, which had at that time dominion over the country east of the White Nile as far as the Atbara; the Fungs then again established their own authority on the banks of the White Nile. In 1770 they even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr el Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile, under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fungs were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region.

According to Cailliaud, a French writer, who was in Sennar about 1820, the "Foungi" came from the Sudan, crossed the White Nile and arrived at "Arbaguy" (= Herbagi of Bruce); here a great battle was delivered, in which the Funj were victorious, so that they became lords of the country; "they gave their name to a part of the Sennar kingdom in the Bouroum (= Burun) country, called also Jebel Fungi, *where the soldiers of the mek live*".

R. Hartmann, who visited the country in 1859/60, is of the opinion that the original home of the Funj is in Sennar. "They recruited their (black) soldiers from their military colonies, which were situated at the foot of the Sennar hills, and from Kordofan Nubas." "Between 1499 and 1530 the christian state of Alos (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and *whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks*". *"The Shilluks are relatives of the Funj,* whose intimate allies they were during the conquest of Sennar in the 16th century."

Cailliaud and the A. E. S. as well as Bruce give a list of the Funj kings, which, though differing in severel items, is on the whole consistent. Bruce fixes the beginning of the dynasty in the year 1504, Cailliaud in 1484, and A. E. S. in 1493.

Leaving the question of the provenience of the Funj alone, the following can

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be regarded as sure: 1. The kingdom of Funj was founded in the beginning of the 16th, or at the end of the 15th century. 2. the political influence of the Funj extended at times westward beyond the White Nile, as far as Darfur and Kordofan; consequently the Shilluks must also have been under the dominion of the Funj, as their country is situated on the way to Kordofan. 3. All writers confirm that the Funj have repeatedly transplanted great numbers of Shilluk and Kordofan prisoners into the Funj country, where they were settled, formed large colonies of their own, and finally submerged in the "Funj" nation. It was these large numbers of new settlers who formed the bulk of the Funj armies and enabled them to carry on their great conquests. 4. But it is not at all unprobable that portions of the Shilluk people should have emigrated into Sennar of their own will; the coincidence of the arrival of the Shilluks in the White Nile region and the foundation of the Funj kingdom is remarkable; both events took place about the beginning of the 16th century; at that time the Shilluks inhabited *both* shores of the White Nile as far north as Kawa; consequently they lived in close contact with the people of Sennar, and it seems not unlikely that parts of them should have pushed forward into Sennar, the more so as they had only just arrived in the country and were not yet finally settled; such an emigration would also explain their now being limited to a relatively small district compared with the former much larger size of the Shilluk country. 5. The Shilluks themselves tell in their traditions of repeated and severe fights against the people of Sennar; they call the place where these wars were fought, Chai, and say it is close to Roseires on the Blue Nile, that is *east* of Jebel Gule, where the old capital of the Funj was situated. 6. Cailliaud in his book "Voyage à Méroé, names 50 villages beginning in *Fa*, in the Bertat and Fazoql country on both sides of the Blue Nile; as shown above, *Fa* is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, being an abbreviation of *fa*, *pa* "village". It seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks who emigrated into these regions. 7. The Shilluks living in Sennar called the aboriginal inhabitants "*bwoi* or *fwoi*" (= Fonj, Funj) that is "strangers", just as to-day they call every one who is not a Shilluk: *bwoi* (= *bwonj*), and finally this became the name of the "Funj nation". 8. It is possible that this Shilluk population in Sennar came to political influence and took part in the government of the state. This becomes even highly probable by a very curious remark of Bruce; where he translates the name Fungi by "free citizen" he continues: "Methinks they should not boast of the title "free citizen", because the first name of nobility in this country is that of 'slave', indeed they have no other title except this. If a man in Sennar feels himself not sufficiently respected, he will ask at once: 'Do you not know who I am? Do you not know I am a

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174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and 101 offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

[197] [192]

Funj.	Shilluk.
bunj Arab	*bunni* stranger, Arab
ibibia ant	*bî* white ant
kamas to eat	*chāmo* to eat
ŝaŝ hippo	*ŝaŝ* crocodile
lei giraffe	*lgi* game
jok God	*juok* God
kglu star	*kyglo* star
mine dumb	*mjin* dumb
kaj au to-day	*kach au* this time
ko-song spear	*tgi* spear
luss stick	*loj, loj* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has *not* in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hameg (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hameg continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

The racial difference may be fully understood and explained by Shilluk mythology. Nyikang, the demigod and the Shilluk culture hero, came, with his followers, to the southern part of present Shillukland and erected his headquarters at Nyilual, in Panyang district. Then he proceeded northward to extend his boundary and to found his kingdom, he found the lands on either side of the Nile already inhabited. The aboriginal people are said to have been Nuba and Fung, or according to one authority (9) Dongolawys or Berabra. It seems to me that the Fungs were not really the inhabitants of the land, but more reasonably they were subduing the country, especially the part of it which lies on the right bank of the Nile. At any rate, Nykang conquered the present Shillukland in a peaceful way sometimes, and by means of force in in those instances where people showed resistance. The people either fled to the Nuba mountains and Sennar, or stayed in the land. Those who stayed were not reduced to slaves, but were accepted as Shilluk citizens and thus incorporated into the Shilluk nation. 144 173

Now the high cephalic index in the north may be attributed to a Nuba influence, more specifically to an eastern Nuba influence, or to a mesaticephalic influence from the Dar Fung Hills. 141 144 174

There is no other nearby area of mesaticephals than the eastern Nuba Hills. The next nearest area of mesaticephals is the Dar Fung mountains which lie within a range of between 200 to 400 kilometers northeast of the Shilluk land across the Nile. Here first are some anthropometric measurements from both mesaticephalic areas: 171

	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)
Nuba Hills: (10)					
Tegulo (7)	79	103	76.5	44.5	
Ilyry & Lafofa(32)	76.42	92.26	82.26	46.19	173.82
Lemon (8)	78.88	95.63			
Tira-el Akhdar, Mandi, Kandrom Khoma (7)	77.75	92.37	82.42	45.55	169.8
Nuba women (11)	76.30	94.03	83.48	48.23	157.2
Ilyry (10)	75.15	94.4			
Dar Fung Hills: (11)					
Fung (5)	74.6	83.3	84.9	46.5	170
Ingassana (12)	73.1	90.4	82.8	44.3	173
Khoma (7)	73.4	96.3	82.0	45.9	
Udak (9)	77.4	97.0	77.9	43.7	167
Burun (30)	75.2	101.5	83.1	44.4	170
Jum Jum (17)	75.5				
Koban (43)	79.1	96.0	84.0	47.0	176

Hypothetically we can say that those two areas in the past formed a mesaticephalic belt, now separated through the migration of the dolicephalic Dinka of the White Nile, on the eastern bank, and the Shilluk and Baggara Arabs on the western bank of the Nile. 144 174

Both areas, within themselves, do not form racial unities, but are more or less refuge areas. Thus they are merely conglomerations of different physical and cultural types which have fled from the plains in front of any conquest. But the most important feature that combines them (not politically, but from our scientific standpoint) is their mesaticephalic character.

144 Now it is impossible to suggest that all people fled to the hills because of an
174 instance of superior invasion; some will naturally stay in their land and will incorporate with the new-comers. At first they may well form a caste , they may also be reduced to slavery, but through the factor of time intermarriage will occur, and the conquerors and conquered will fuse into a harmonious unit. This process depends upon the policy followed by the conquerors; it will be allowed to develop if the conquerors accept the aboriginos in the frame of their society. The negative picture will result if the invaders insist upon wholly exterminating the aboriginals. Many factors define the policy of the invaders, but the most important is the numerical factor. If it is a big migrational wave, then there is no question of peaceful incorporation and amalgamation, and if they form a minor wandering wave, they will be keen on the amalgamation **policy** . The latter case was that which we can deduce from the Shilluk legend. They were so keen upon populating the country that they tell us that Nyikang, through his supernatural powers and the help of Dak, his son, caught mysterious people from the river, and changed animals into men to make them their subjects and to incorporate them into their nation.

If this was the case, then we should be able to say that the present Shillukland, before the coming of the Shilluk of Nyikang, was populated by at least a mesticephalic group in the north and a dolicephalic group in the south, culturally and perhaps politically separate. The longheaded group may be the racial substratum of the whole area of the Kilotes of the Sudan.

141 3. The further heterogeneity of the Shilluk, which table "D" reveals, is quite
174 understandable. The Shilluk legends and myths tell us that the founder of the nation and his followers came from a far country near "Nam Doun" which means a broad and big river, a lake, a salt sea or a lake shore.

The physical qualities of the royal family members, as shown in table "D", do not give any clue to the real origin of this migration, because these qualities are shared by most of the inhabitants of the bigger area around the Shillukland. Long-headedness is nearly universal in Africa. The tendency to broadness is rare and may be attributed to Armenian (Alpine) influence in the northern half of the continent and to Pigmy influence in the central parts. From other evidences such as their legends and the legends of other Shilluk-speaking tribes, as well as other circumstancial evidences we can speculate on the original home of the Shilluk. Many theories have been introduced to account for the origin of the Shilluk, but here is not the right place to discuss this controversial problem.

4. In table "E" we see further disharmony. The tendency to a higher cephalic index is readily explained if we understand the Shilluk social institutions. The kings marry commoners according to the law of exogamy which is prevalent among the Shilluk. Later on, when the wives of the king are pregnant, they are sent to their villages to give birth. The royal babies are never born in Fashoda , and they stay in the village of their birth under the protection and guidance of the village chief.

We can conclude that the racial heterogeneity of the Shilluk is not simple. Three factors play a role in the ethnic composition of this nation and like many other nations, these different elements are fused into a social and cultural unit.

OF FUNG AND SHILLUK

Mohamed Riad

121 114 Any one who deals with either the Fung or the Shilluk, historians as well as anthropologists, must say a word about the possible relationship between the two kingdoms. Many pages have been written on this subject by well known writers, but the lack of a good comparative study that would envisage the whole problem in its various aspects is noted in some of these works. Others were motivated by "a prioristic" conceptions, or one-sidedness, or depended entirely upon certain points, or "... fever for verbal similarities". 1)

The last word in the controversy has not yet been said, and most probably will not be said. I do not contend that this paper will put an end to the controversies, but I think that by taking into consideration the historical as well as the anthropological points of view, we can reach a safe stage at which we can build our own point towards this complicated subject.

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A) The PROBLEM :

The story begins in 1790, the year James Bruce of Kinnaird -an English traveller- published a voluminous work 114 describing his journey to discover the sources of the Nile, 175 which took place between 1768 and 1773. In 1772 Bruce was in Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, which was the most important and the most powerful state of the Eastern Sudan in the Middle-Ages. In this city Bruce got a glimpse of history of Kingdoms and tribal movements in this part of Africa. Bruce transmits to us what he heard (and maybe what he imagined) 2) in such a statement:

174 "In the year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 13, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces ..... This race of negroes is in their own country called Shilleek .... At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of

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1) Arkell was so described by Chataway, p.117

2) It is agreed upon that Bruce always imagined many things, and in his writings pictured himself as a hero who escaped dangers through his bravery etc. ... Read a short description of Bruce's character in Crawford, pp. 253-254

"Shillooks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohamedism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organization of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Ashmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazugle, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarise these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Funge and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 424. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).

4) Seligman, p. 423.

5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crawford to a certain extent).

6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Bouseily, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chatoway and Malder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Soba.

7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king. 144 635

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang stem, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when? 144 174

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Dak, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 12) It follows then that any effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland aroung the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic homes, again around this Nilotic eclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory: 174

A) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a steel, the symbol of the throne. A steel in these parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the grant, and often only of the king, and so a sign of authority". 13) [171]

B) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. 173 174

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12) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rezeiqat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

13) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

174 So here is the choice: Nyikang's homeland may be either a civilised state or a semi-civilised state with real kingship, or a pure nomadic type which did not know agriculture, and presumably with a sort of chieftainship. Again there are states with kingship in the North represented by Alwa kingdom with her petty kingdoms in the Gezira, and states with kingship in the East represented by Kaffa kingdom and many other petty kingdoms in south-western Abyssinia. There are also Nomads in the North - in the vast plains of Kordofan and southern Darfur, and in the East represented by the Galla stock. Through future studies we can solve this problem by deciding the possibility of the North or the East as the original home of Nyikang, but this is outside the compass of our present investigation.

Now we come to the third point, namely, when did the migration begin, or when did the foundation of the Shilluk kingdom take place? Naturally, the fixing of such a date will be merely a hypothetical one, built upon the conventional way of dating the period of African kingdoms. The kings list of the Shilluk includes 32 kings up to the present time. Concerning the Shilluk specifically, we have three ways of reckoning the date of Nyikang:

a) by allowing 13½ years for every king as a reigning period 14) and by beginning with king number 31, who reigned until 1951, we get the date of Nyikang at 1533 A.D.

b) by reckoning 13½ years to each king who preceded the king number 23, whose reign began about 1863, the first time the Egyptian government reached the Shilluk country, we get the date of 1566 A.D. as the time of establishing the Shilluk kingdom.

c) the third criterion is getting the mean years of reigning for kings number 23 to 31, whose dates are known to something approaching certainty, and allowing for one king who governed only one year , and then applying this mean to the whole list of the Shilluk kings, we arrive at the date of 1610 as the beginning of Nyikang's rule. This date is the result of 11 years multiplied by 31 kings.

As all these dates are merely hypothetical, and as it is in reality a way of giving only an idea about the time, and not a fixed and a valid date, it follows that to stick to one of those dates, and to build theories upon, it is neither correct nor scientific. What we can say is that about the second half of the 16th century Nyikang founded his rule in the present Shilluk area. If dates give clues to the history of origins, could it have been the case that the upheaval in the Gezira area -the result of the downfall of the Alwa kingdom of Soba about the beginning of the 16th century- had, to a certain extent, something to do with the arrival of Nyikang and his family in the Shillukland? At any rate, we will return to the point of timing the Shilluk migration later on.

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14) "Mr. B. Struck, by taking into consideration all the available (written or unwritten) chronicles of African dynasties, has made a calculation on the average duration of the reign of an African ruler". Westermann, P. LI.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a NAM DOUN , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existance of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converteds- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in men's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77
16) Westerman, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains. [114]
17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [648]
18) The government does not allow it any more.

e) The Capital:

631

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but these messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

"Le Bahar el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, & divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il form autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontant & descendent (Le fleuve) ... " 22)

22) Bruce, 440.

133 From the strategical point of view, this broad, shallow and swampy water course would provide a sort of permanent border to any state east or west of it, as well as a kind of no-man's land, in which case river farers are safe.

174 It is most probable that the Shilluk, perhaps with their leader Nyikang, or alone, undertook many scouting expeditions downstream, and it may be the case that their economic activities as fishermen also took them down stream where they found the good shelters which the Islands provide. Furthermore, the Shilluk may have taken advantage of their safe positions, and of their skill with their canoes, to fall upon wandering nomads by surprise, and lost their cattle on both sides of the river. In this way it came [131] to be that Shilluk villages were reported on the Islands 23) south of 13 degrees latitude.

We do not know whether such settlements were permanent or seasonal, but the existence of such settlements must not at all mean that the Shilluk occupied both sides for sure, or even established Shilluk authority for a single generation. This is quite clear from Shilluk tradition itself. Quoting my informants, I would rather say that Nyikang stayed some years down stream, 173 and then returned. There was no other repetition of such a Shilluk 174 adventure. None of the followers of Nyikang tried to press their claim northward. Moreover, the Shilluk traditions define the country as being 'from Mucmo to Tung' 24), these being the present Shilluk borders. Had it been more once, why was it not preserved in the tradition?

C) The FUNG :

173 The Fung kingdom was one of the most important kingdoms that ever rose in the Sudan. It was the sole heir to the Alwa kingdom. The founder of the Islamic Empire was a man called Amara Dunkas. There is evidence that this Amara was, before founding Sennar, a king of an area which may be defined as corresponding to the present Southern Butana 25), the area where the Abyssinian plateau and the Sudan plains meet. His capital was called Lamul, 26) which some historians put on the present Ethiopian and Eritrean border, between the rivers Takasse and Khor al Gash. 27)

It is agreed that Amara Dunkas did not conquer Soba, the Capital of Alwa, alone, but he was a higher partner with another Arab chief in this great task. The Fung Chronicles tell us that Amara rallied his forces near Jebel Moya and moved north, while the Arabs moved south from their stronghold near the sixth cataract, and together smashed Soba. 28)

23) Westermann, p. XX.
24) Lienhardt, p. 151.
25) Bosaily, p.48, defines the first kingdom of Amara as including the northwestern part of the present Ethiopia.
26) Crawford, pp. 134-142. A description of Reubeni's journey and how he met Amara in Lamul. Arkell in (A) tried to reduce the name Lamul to Lul, a district in the present Shillukland.
27) Bosaily's opinion given to me in a personal discussion in Cairo.
28) Awad, p. 252.

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Now the opinions of different writers on the way Soba fell, form a controversial point. Before summarising these different ideas, it is better to define the elements which played a rôle in this act of history:

a) Alwa kingdom:

The Capital was Soba - a town situated on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile near the present Khartoum. The boundaries of this kingdom must have been reduced much by Arab infiltration in the north, east and west. The Gezira must have been the last property with ill-defined borders to the extreme south.

b) Arab settlers:

These are reported to be living peacefully in the Alwa towns, 29) being a "part of the economic structure" 30) of Alwa.

c) Arab nomads:

These were new-comers, who surged in powerful waves after the ascendancy of the Mamluks and Turks in Egypt. They were more fanatic, and their economic status was as yet unsettled, "their activities being competitive and not complementary" 31) to the Alwa kingdom.

d) The Fung:

A kingdom in the southern Butana and Gezira which was seeking safe and free trade routes to Cairo and the northern world.

The Fung chronicles say that "d" and "c" allied together against "a)" and "b)", and in the decisive battle of Arbagi the Alwan army war routed.

Mr. Chataway says that the Fung were "a leader with an army sent by Dancaz (Abyssinia) to re-establish the older order and relationships (with Alwa? or this part of the Sudan at all?)" 32) His explanation is that Arabs "c)" conquered Soba, and that "d)" united with "b)", and together conquered Arabs "c)", and afterwards, the chief of "b)" was "given a position of great importance" in the Fung kingdom. 33)

To James Bruce and Arkell the elements of the scene were: a) Alwa, b) Arabs, c) Shilluk.

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29) Trimingham, p. 73, and Arkell (A), p. 203. Both translate Ibn Selim description of Soba.
30) Chataway, p. 116.
31) ibid, p. 116.
32) ibid, p. 116
33) ibid, p. 116.

174 According to these two authors, the Shilluk made an attack on the Arabs and defeated them; the Arabs were reduced to a tributary state under the Shilluk. Arkell elaborates on the subject with his European mentality of statesman, and proceeds to say that the Shilluk, by a mastery of diplomacy, changed the injured pride of the Arabs to complete alliance with them, by diverting their attention to a common foe. To such high diplomacy, the Alwa kingdom fell as a sacrifice. 34) Thus, the downfall of the Alwa kingdom was undertaken by a combined Shilluk-Arab force !!

175 We may now proceed to give a short historical outline of the Fung kingdom, leaving this controversial point to be discussed below.

In 1534 Amara Dunkas died, leaving a vast realm which extended northward to the third cataract, including Dongola, and eastward to the Red Sea; but Suakin was a Turkish possession at that time. The White Nile probably marked the western border to latitude 13°, whence northwards the country to the west bank, which comprised Arabs from the Jaalin group, must have been under the rule of the Viceroy of Sennar residing at Gerri. To the south, the Fung border included some provinces of present Ethiopia, namely Gubba, Ganjar, and Fadasi. The border in southern Gezira was not clear, but sporadic hints indicate that the Fung expanded steadily southwards. This point will also be discussed later.

The next expansion of the Fung was during the reign of King Abdul Qader, the second or third king. He reduced Jebel Gule, and converted the inhabitants to Islam. The third expansion was also to the south-west. King Baadi Abu Dign crossed the White Nile in 1642, invaded the Tegali Moslem kingdom and reduced it to a tributary state. He also "attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves". 35)

In Fung history, there were two wars with Abyssinia in which there was no decisive result, except for the routing of most of the Abyssinian king's army in the second war. But these wars are not relevant to our subject.

In the year 1747, during the reign of King Baadi Abu Shillukh, 36) the Fung Empire reached the zenith of its expansion. The whole of Kordofan was won to the Fungs by a man called Mohamed Abu El Keilik. During a battle with the Darfur Army, the Fung were first defeated, "the troops fled, but were rallied by Mohamed Abu El Keilik and his sons, who defeated the Army of the Furs, led

34) Arkell, (A), p.
35) Westermann, p. LV.
36) Westermann, p. LV, mis-spells his name, and writes it as Gaadi Abu Shilluk, probably he was motivated by the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung, and found in the name another backing to the theory, forgetting that by adding "h" at the end, the word would mean -in Sudanese Arabic- the different modes of face scarres used until now in the Arabic Sudan. Abu Shillukh is not a name, but a nickname, and we find it frequent that nicknames were given to many Fung kings, according to their characteristics.

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by Sultan of the Kunjara and Sheikh of the Mesabaat at Shaukata ... 175
On the news of Abu El Keilik's victories and the courage he displayed reaching Sennar, the king appointed him commander-in-chief; he was also made 'Sheikh' of Kordofan, and granted the viziership (of the kingdom) ..." 37)

With the success of Abu El Keilik, the downfall of the real Fung kings began, and from that time on the government was in the hands of the ministers. Abu El Keilik is said to be from the Hamag, a section of Fung subjects we will discuss later. But it is also said that he is of Arab descent, from the Gamu'ia tribe, and his mother was a Hamag. At any rate the kings were deposed at the wish of the ministers, and the last stand of the kings was smashed with great slaughter in the reign of King Adlan II (1776-1788, after which the power of the ministers was undisputed until 1820, when the Egyptian Army put an end to the already decayed Fung kingdom.

The Fung kingdom was, from the very start, founded on an alliance between the Fung leader and the Arab leader of the northern Arab tribes, i.e. a dual system. The kingdom remained so until the very end, and that was the major political division of the country. Within each part of the kingdom there were semi-independent states or chieftainships. In the north there was the Shaiqia, Shendi, and El-Damer. In the south there were Fazogli, Gula, Khashm el Bahr and Keili. The Shukrria, a powerful Arab tribe in the central Butana plains, was to a certain extent independent. It is also said that there were provinces of which we do not know much regarding their political organization and their boundaries. 38) These are Jebel Moya, Abud, both in central Gezira, Beila, and Tewwa in the southern Butana. Sennar itself, while being the capital of the whole kingdom, exercised direct government on the whole of northern Gezira up to the junction of the White and Blue Niles. Gerri was the seat of the viceroys of the northern part of the kingdom, and its direct rule was said to extend on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile as far south as the confluence of the river Binder, and eastwards to the Eritrean border.

As may now be seen, the kingdom was a federation of petty states, corresponding to a large extent to the tribal as well as the geographical units within a large framework of a state under the Fung dynasty.

The racial elements in this kingdom ranged from Negros and Negroids to "Hamites" and "Semites". The broader character of the northern part is undisputedly Caucasian, while the south was an outspoken Negro-land. Reciprocal migrations in both directions, North and South, brought about the present ethnic melange. 174

37) Jackson, pp. 50-51

38) Ibid, p. 102

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174 But an almost continuous influx of nomads, who are of Semitic or Hamite-Semitic origin, brought about the nearly complete annihilation of Negroid elements in the North, except in such refuge areas as Nubia. In the South, the geographical environment and the paucity of the Caucasian blood, in comparison with the Negro element, created a new type, culturally clinging to the northern element, though enterops of the old culture remain in function, modified to the new superstructure.

What is of interest to our present paper is the discussion of three names which are misunderstood, these being Fung, Hamag and Bar Fung.

The Fungi "Bruce gives the singular of the name by 'funge', and the plural 'fungi'. This is a pure Shilluk form, "e" being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and "i" that of plural". 39) Now the Arabic singular form of the word is 'funji فنجي', and the plural is 'funj فنج' with a very slight "e" ي at the end of the word. Did Bruce mix the positions, and instead of writing the singular, write the plural, or vice versa? We have to bear in mind that it was certainly difficult for Bruce to write Arabic, using the Latin alphabet, and so this "e" came at the end of his supposed singular form of the word as a substitute for the Arabic "e" movement, which we call "dammah". At any rate the etymology of the word needs further study, should we not confine the comparison to Shilluk and Arabic only. All authorities on the subject agree that the Fung were a family, not a tribe, which developed numerous offshoots through marriage. The original physical characters, most naturally, will be modified according to the mothers. Thus, we have for example a fair offshoot like Bandi el Ahmer, meaning Bandi the red, due to his white complexion, and we have King Ismail, whom Bruce met at Sennar, and who appeared to him as a typical Negro. So it seems unwise to judge the origin of a family by one instance, if we know that proper Islam does not discriminate races and colours, and accordingly Fung kings married without discrimination, and accordingly different physical types ruled as kings in Sennar.

The Hamag: This name was heard often after the Viziers of Sennar took the real power into their hands, beginning from Mohammed Abu El Keilik, i.e. the beginning of the decadent phase of the kingdom. Seligman says that "Hamag in Arabic means 'ignorant', and is used to indicate a slave or vassal ..." 40) The word in Arabic could mean also an uncultivated, brute, barbarian, disorganized group, wild etc. .... Professor Awad says "In Berun, Arabs call the aboriginal inhabitants 'Nuba' ... (and that) some Arabs give the name 'Hamag' to the tribe of Kanem, this being a nomenclature they were used to in the East (in the Sudan of the Nile Valley)". 41)

39) Westermann, p. LIII.

40) Seligman, p. 416

41) Awad, p. 232.

So it appears that Arabs gave this name to a 'hodge podge' of peoples in southern Gezira. Who are these peoples? "Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that the Hameg are, or were, predominantly Berta-speaking. So-called Hameg are found at Roseires, on Jebel Moya and Jebel Gule, and probably on other hills of which we have no knowledge; indeed Mr. L.F. Nalder writes to us of this 'disappearing race' as formerly occupying a wide area in the Southern Gezira, through Jebel Mazmum and Bali to Jebel Moya and along the banks of the Blue Nile. This is only a fraction of their old territory; in the FUTUH EL HABASSAH, they are said to extend from Shirê to Kassala, a territory now occupied by the Abyssinian people called Bazen ... there is no doubt that the present day representatives of the latter (Hameg) are the mixed population of a number of the hills between the White and Blue Niles. These form groups of more or less arabized Negroids .." 43) Awad says that "the Hameg are the tribes or the peoples upon whom the Fung extended their suzerainty. They are a melange of tribes, and their languages are numerous". 43) He also states that "the peoples (who were comprised in the Fung kingdom) were naturally not from a Fung origin, and it was necessary to differentiate between the class to which the name applies (i.e. Fung) and the other peoples. That is why we see that all these peoples -or the majority of them- are called Hameg; and it is not easy to point out precisely to which of these peoples the name was applied". 44)

To understand the problems more clearly, we have to differentiate between two kinds of Hameg, though their origin may be the same. These two sections are:

a) The Hameg, who accepted Islam as their religion and mixed freely with the other segments of the Sennar kingdom. These, I suppose, are the famous Hameg of the decadent phase of Sennar. Naturally, their Islam is not deep enough to prevent such practices of their old religion and culture. These may be found now in small groups and to whom, it appears, Mr. Nalder's remark can be applied. The cause of the apparent disappearance of this group is quite clear. The process of assimilation is the sole cause for such disappearance, because 1) it has now been long enough after their conversion to Islam that the segments of their old heritage that kept them united, should be broken, and 2) the ascendancy of a Hameg family to power in Sennar may have reinforced the Hameg unity by adding vanity and glory to their tradition. Now it is more than a century, since the Sennar kingdom and the Hameg supremacy gave way, and such political motive is now useless.

b) The Hameg, who remained intact and preserved their old heritage, are those who were to a greater extent out of reach of the direct Fung rule. These are the peoples who took refuge in the difficult

43) Seligman, p. 415/416.

43) Awad, p. 219.

44) Ibid, p. 256.

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174 and relatively poor hills of Southern Gezira, the area nowknown as Dar Fung.

Dar Fung: The name in Arabic means the home of the Fung, but this area has really nothing to do with the Fung home, except that a part of it was included in the Fung kingdom. This nomenclature is merely administrative and could mislead if warning were not given from the start.

This area forms a geographical unit with the Gezira to the north. They are both confined by the White and the Blue Niles; both are plains studded with 'Inselberge', but these isolated mountains and rocky hills are higher, more numerous, and occupy bigger areas in the South than in the North, i.e. in Dar Fung. Seligman writes that "Many of these Jebels are of considerable size, and whenever there is water on or near them, they support settlements which, to judge by the stone implements found on the sites, date back to immemorial antiquity, indeed to the Old Stone Age". 45) This area is bordered by the Abyssinian highlands to the East, and limited to the South by a swampy area, geographically and hydrologically unknown, and mostly uninhabited. From this swampy area, many Khors (seasonal streams) take their source. Between hills, valleys with walls, and khors occur.

As this forms a refuge area, we find the people inhabiting the hills. These peoples do not form a united tribe; they are Negros and Negroids with various different cultures and languages. But on the whole, this area is characterised by the presence of a kind of "throwing stick resembling the Australian non-return boomerang", 46) and the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. The existence of these kinds of weapons are not recorded in any part of the central Sudan and may be taken as a proof of the antiquity of the tribes of Dar Fung. Moreover, the existence of sun worship among the Ingassana tribe is quite queer, and surely indicates foreign influence. The Soba stone in Jebel Gule is regarded as the "steel of kingdom ... upon which every paramount chief (mangil) assumes office". 47) Soba is also perceived by Gule inhabitants as: 1) a great Queen; 2) as their ancestress; and 3) as a deity whom they worship. Soba, it should be remembered, was the capital of the Christian Alwa Kingdom, to which reference has been made above. King killing is also prevalent among many of these tribes, but reference to it will be made below.

Such different cultural traits, still persistent among one or the other of the Dar Fung tribes, indicate, no doubt, different cultural layers, stripped from chronological sequence, and practiced haphazardly in this back-water of humanity.

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45) Seligman, p. 413

46) ibid, p. 413

47) ibid, p. 428.

D) SUMMING UP :

Now we come to our point: What was the actual relationship between the Funge and the Shilluk? 174

In the light which was thrown upon the whole situation from the foregoing survey, and in order not to lose ourselves in minute details, we may fix the points of discussion in the following items:

1) The time problem, i.e. dating the foundation of both kingdoms

2) The space problem, i.e. the Fung-Shilluk boundary

3) The cultural aspects of kingship

   a) the meaning of kingship
   b) the mode of accession to the throne
   c) the mode of death of kings.

4) Evidences of the theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung

5) Conclusion.

1) The Time Problem:

Bruce and Tremaux date the foundation of the Fung kingdom at 1504, Shoucair dates it to 1505, while Cailliaud gives 1484 as the date of founding the kingdom. 48) Now if we apply the conventional way of dating back histories, and assume 13½ years as a reigning period for each king, we get the following dates: 114 174

a) At the time Bruce was in Sennar, namely 1772, the ruling king was Ismail, who appears on the list of the Fung kings as number 20, and who ascended the throne in 1769. Multiplying 13½ years by 19 kings would give 1511 as the beginning of the kingdom;

b) Cailliaud, Tremaux and Shoucair list 29 kings from the beginning of the dynasty until the Egyptian conquest in 1820. This would give us an approximate date of 1428.

Thus, we have a difference of 84 years between a) and b). This hypothetical difference is well accounted for in the real dates we possess. It was mentioned before that the decadent phase of the Funge began about 1765. The total period of the last 10 kings is only 44 years instead of 135 years, making a difference of 91 years, which corresponds to 84 years of difference between a) and b). This is an almost certain result and proves the validity of the 13½ years as a criterion serving our purpose here.

Concerning the Shilluk, we have stated above the dates of 1533, 1566 and 1610 as representing different results of different criterions. From my point of view, I would prefer the date of 1566 as marking the beginning of the Shilluk kingdom, because it is based on the 13½ years criterion, and it is reckoned from a fixed date, i.e. 1863, when the Shilluk tribe and land were incorporated as a province in the Sudan. Furthermore, we know that in the Mahdiya Regime and its aftermath, Shilluk kings were either killed or deposed, thus 174

48) Jackson, p. 98.

174 making it difficult to get a more or less accurate date indicating the beginning of the Shilluk as a unified nation under the present dynasty.

Another point which may give an additional clue to the timing problem, and which supports the idea that the Shilluk are comparatively younger as a kingdom than the Fung, is what Westermann mentions in his book about the Shilluk. He states that "In 1770 they (the Fung) even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr El Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fung were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region". 49) About this time, the kings Naser (1766-1769), and Ismail 1769-1776) were ruling in Sennar, and about that time also Bruce was in Sennar (1772), yet he never mentioned an event of such great consequence !!!

During this same period we read in Hofmayr that Tekot, the king number 9 in the Shilluk list, was a man of militant type, and he undertook so many military expeditions and adventures that the Shilluk nicknamed him 'the Conqueror'. Hofmayr continues: "Bald nach seinem Regierungsantritte hat Tekot Gelegenheit, seine kriegerischen Eigenschaften zu betätigen. Die Stämme der Dinka trafen um diese Zeit Vorbereitungen zu einem Ausrottungskrieg, da die Völker der Shilluk, welche zwischen ihre beiden Abteilungen eingekeilt lebten, ein für sie mächtiges Hindernis bildeten ... Den vom Bahr-el-Ghazal kommenden Dinka gelang es durchzubrechen und sich am östlichen Nilufer anzusiedeln, so dass die Schilluk sich zwischen beiden Dinkazweigen eingekeilt befanden". 50) It is natural that the Shillukland would form the shortest way for a Dinka migration from Bahr el Ghazal to the eastern banks of the White Nile. The wars with the Dinka continued during Tekots reign and those of his successor's. Tekot reigned about 1690 or 1700, according to our method of 13½ years, and from 1670 to 1690 according to Hofmayr. 51) A migration led by a chief like Chakab does not require a century or 70 years to achieve its target, and unless we refute Westerman's date of the coming of the White Nile Dinka, we are obliged to state that the Shilluk are more recent in history than the Fung. Such a migration took place during the time of the ninth Shilluk king, and completed its objective during the nineteenth Fung king's rule, and allowing only a generation (33 years) for the whole process, from the beginning of the migration et its end, we may see that, at most, the twelfth Shilluk king was contemporaneous with the nineteenth Fung king, i.e. the Fung preceded the Shilluk by 40 years at least.

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49) Westermann, p. LV.

50) Hofmayr, pp. 72-73.

51) Ibid, p. 72.

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3) The Space Problem:

It has been stated above in the Fung Chronicles that Amara Dunkas rallied his forces at Jebel Moya, west of Sennar, before launching his final attack against the Alwa kingdom. And henceforth, until the fall of the Fung kingdom in 1820, this area in central Gezira remained the capital, and accordingly the center of power in the Fung history.

To the south and on the Blue Nile, there was another center of power: Fazugli, with a list of kings from 1615 52) onwards until 1820. These kings were vassals of the Sennar kings, and apparently their power extended over the whole Berta-speaking tribes, now mostly in Ethiopia. To the west of Fazugli there was another vassal chieftainship on Jebel Gule, and its power extended to the northwestern group of mountains that form the Dar Fung area. The real date of erecting this chieftainship is much disputed.

The whole of Beni Shangul tribe, and the Fadasi area, now within the borders of modern Ethiopia, were provinces incorporated in the Fung state. On the sheet North, No C 36, Sobat, of the 1 : 1,000,000 of African Maps, Fadasi lies about 9°45' Northern latitude, and 34°45' Eastern longitude. The Beni Shangul tribes are found to the north and northeast of Fadasi.

Arkell says: "After consolidating the kingdom from Sennar, with a relative established at Laich (El-Ais = Kawa) as a governor of their Shilluk relatives on the lower White Nile, the Fung kings seem gradually to have extended their dominion south up the Blue Nile as far as the Abyssinian highlands beyond Beni Shangul and Fadasi, and later east, to include the Beni Amer, and west as far as the Nuba Mountains and the frontiers of Darfur". 53)

Also Mr. Chataway recognizes this state of affairs in the south, stating that the Mekship of Keili was first governed from Disa, a town on the Blue Nile north of Roseires, to be moved later on southwards to Regrieg, and finally to Keili. This Keili lies at 10°50' northern latitude, and 34°20' eastern longitude, and must have exercised power on the whole of the northeastern Dar Fung.

These two evidences show that the Fung were expanding consistently southwards, and this expansion, as Arkell's statement implies, was before the Fung expansion across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and Kordofan. Moreover, this continuous expansion to the south continued through all the Fung history in spite of other expansions to west or east, and in spite of internal conflicts in Sennar. This is proved by Mr. Chataway's

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52) Jackson, p. 104

53) Arkell, (A) p. 247.

174 statement "that the people of these hills (the Burun) were only conquered by the Fung after the viziers had seized power, i.e. just over a hundred years ago". 54)

We can conclude from the foregoing statements that expansion to the south was a constant feature of the Fung policy, be it an intended policy, or just the sequence of events, and the economic and geopolitical reasons which led to it.

Now if we turn to the White Nile Area, the district in which any possible contact between the Shilluk and the Fung may occur, we find only vague material in the Fung traditions about its political status. We know that later on, the White Nile was a crossroad to the Fung governed areas to the west. And from this time also we know that a garrison was stationed at El-Ais, the governor of which was not suffered to leave it. This is quite a logical assumption, because we know that the shortest way across the Gezira is from El-Ais to Sennar, and due to the power of the Darfur kingdom, which was felt strongly on the plains of Kordofan, no better defence line for Sennar could be found than the broad White Nile. So, a military station had to be erected here, and no wonder if the commander of this post was not allowed to leave his duties. This may be the most logical explanation of the state of affairs during the middle to the last parts of the Fung kingdom. But what was the situation in the early phase of the Fung?

It is quite clear that all the Arab tribes on the western bank of the White Nile to at least 13 degrees Northern Latitude were incorporated into the Fung kingdom from the start, or at least loyal to the Abdul-Laah Sheikhs, the viceroys of Sennar in the North. On the eastern banks, the Sennar authority must have dominated till at least 18 degrees Northern Latitude, which is facing the Mekehip of Guio, and separated from the White Nile by a stretch of 80 Kilometers of flat land.

If we remember that the Dinka occupied the eastern White Nile banks comparatively late, 55) and that at this time in the early Fung period, until the middle of the 19th century, slavery constituted an important part of economy, and adding that the eastern as well as the western banks of the White Nile are characterised by their flatness, we get a picture illustrating the situation in the area in at least the first half of the 16th century; numerous slave and ivory expeditions on the part of the Fung up the White Nile basin, with -maybe- a kind of military garrison to secure the safety of these expeditions. What better situation for such a garrison than either Jebel Ahmed Agha on the eastern White Nile bank on the 11th degree Norther Latitude, or the area of the present Malakal, where the various Nile tributaries unitein one main artery?

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54) Seligman, p. 442.

55) See above p.

I have proposed Jebel Ahmed Agha as a site of the Fung garrison, because it is well protected by the mountain, and its elder name was mentioned by Werne as Defafenj in 1840, by Pethrick in 1862 as Jebel Tefan, by the Guda (mayor) of Abu Geili, as Jebel Tiafan, and by Malder as Jebels Teifa and Fam. 56) Of interest to us is that Defafenj means in Arabic The Bank of the Fung. It could imply the borders of the Fung. 174

The other choice, the present Malakal area as a site for a Fung garrison, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we come to solid proof that the Fung and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their tradition, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shillukland by subduing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Cai or Ja puny 57), which are both identical with the people of Sennar, or the Fung. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Wau -a locality a little north of Malakal- between the Fung and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Fung seem to have retired to the north, perhaps to Jebel Ahmed Agha. 173 174

This was the first Shilluk-Fung encounter; a hostile relationship!! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and slave hunting, and even of a kind of alliance in warfare. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk slaves and warriers among the inhabitants of the Sennar area, in addition to other slaves from the Nuba Mountains, and other parts of the Negroid and Negro Sudan. 174

Thus, we may see that the Fung were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded in the Dar Fung area -which is a mountainears area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile basin, which afforded no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and wider influx of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Sennar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile basin is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Fung settlers, there were no well defined borders. It was merely a highway, and in a political sense a no-man's land.

2) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship:

Among the Shilluk, all writers agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a national hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land 643 776

56) Arkell, (A), p. 216.

57) Lienhardt, p. 144, see footnote No 1.

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4) Evidences of the Theory of a Shilluk origin of the Fung:

James Bruce was the first to declare that the Fung were originally a Shilluk northern offshoot, who descended upon the Arabs, defeated them, and erected Sennar as a seat of their new Kingdom.

First of all, it is quite clear from the Journal of Bruce that he was very much interested in the Shangally, and probably confused Shangalla, Shankala, and Shilluk. Once, while in Teawa near Gedaref, he said that "The Fung were originally Shankala or Hamidge", 61) and on arriving at Sennar, he added, "and are, as they are called, Funge, that is Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came to drive out the Arabs under Wad Agib. Of these, the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly pagans even yet." 62)

Further quotations from Bruce give an idea about the mess into which he had fallen. He says that the king of Sennar pretends to be of noble Arab element, "but his wooly hair, and black flat features, show him to be a Shangalla; the particular name Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El-Aice (the White Nile) ... The name of Shankala, given to the true blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The rivel El-Aice is twice as broad as the Nile and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands, in these dwell the Shilook, who reb in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Noba, and Fazuclo, three southern provinces which depend on Sennar". 63)

The Shangalla or the Beni Shangul ardNegres of negroid tribes, living in the river valleys in the mountainous western Abyssinian escarpment. They were included within the Fung kingdom throughout its history.

It would seem that the description of the White Nile, which Bruce names El-Aice, and the description of the people who inhabit the islands of this river, is quite a separate sentence, which has nothing to do with the preceding sentence, in which he returns the Fung to a Shangalla origin. This assumption is validated by the above quotation, in which he says that the Fung are the Shangalla converted to Islam, and defines the Shilluk as the troops of the king. But this again contradicts the famous quotation, in which Bruce asserts that in 1504 a Shilluk migration founded Sennar.

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It is interesting to know that Bruce's statement about the Nile was not correct. He imagined that the Blue Nile was the

133 61) Arkell, (A), p. 220

62) Ibid, p. 220

63) Ibid, p. 220

real Nile, and though he had explored the area of Lake Tana, he did not follow the river's course down the Sudan, but made a short-cut from Abyssinia to the Butana plains and to Sennar. All his knowledge about the course of the Blue Nile out of Sennar is hearsay only, as well as his knowledge about the White Nile. Thus, Bruce perceived that the mountains of Fazugli extend uninterrupted to the Nuba mountains. On this assumption he considered that the White Nile was a little tributary to the Main Nile, and had its source in the Fazugli-Nuba chain of mountains. If he erred in geographical points, could it not be possible that he would accordingly err in the relative positions of the various tribes? 114 174 133

Arkell dwelt on the statement of Bruce that the Sennar kings were lawfully killed by a special officer called Sid el Qom, and after the sanction of a special committee formed by the great officials of the kingdom. He tried to link this habit with the Shilluk divine kings, supporting ultimately the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung. Moreover, he depended much upon verbal similarities as proofs to his theory, such as Kwom, the Shilluk word for their sacred steel, to be transformed to Qom, in Sid el Qom etc. We have shown clearly that any comparison between the Shilluk king-killing and the alledged Fung killing is false, due to the lack of the essential notion of kings as incarnations of the first Shilluk king. 114 173 174

Crawford, though he does not suggest a Shilluk origin of the Fung, says that there were certain Shilluk associations. He further states: "I suggest that the Shilluk association was not derived directly from the Shilluk region on the White Nile, but indirectly from the Fazughli region and the gebels to the west whose inhabitants were partly at any rate of Shilluk origin. When Amara Dunkas marched down the Blue Nile and founded his kingdom he may have carried with him some of these Shilluk associations ..."64) Crawford then suggests that the Shilluk migrated to this area from the White Nile region starting from Melut, or Jebel Ahmed Agha, or Renk. He is compelled to such an explanation because 114 174

1) he finds that the inhabitants of the Fazugli region are "Negroid, and can hardly therefore have come from the north or east, and in the southeast is the land of the Hamitic Galla". 65)
2) that "evidence of place names (in both this area and the White Nile area) is here quite conclusive". 66)

It is quite clear that Crawford does not take into consideration that the whole of the Fazugli area as well as other areas to the north were, in the distant past, a Negro home, which shrank to the present picture of pockets in the river valleys which cut deep in the western escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau,

64) Crawford, p. 156

65) ibid, p. 157

66) ibid, p. 157.

114 and in the hilly offshoots of the Abyssinian highlands represented
174 by the Dar Fung mountains. This shrinkage was due to the everlasting extension of the Hamitic and other Caucasic racial elements towards the south. Secondly, the evidences of similar place names do not mean a Shilluk migration alone, because though the Nilotic percentage in these tribes' languages did reach about 65%, "further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction ... the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%". 67

If the Burun -a tribal group in the Dar Fung area- are included within the Nilotic language group, 68) and if there is a probability that the Dar Fung tribes are similar in their physical attributes to the substratum of the northern Shilluk province, then there is no wonder to see strong resemblances between both areas, and no wonder that many authorities erred in trying to clarify this resemblance by a one-sided Shilluk influence extended to Dar Fung.

On the same ground we can refute Westermann's assumption that "it is possible that this Shilluk population (the Berta and other Dar Fung tribes) in Sennar (probably he means the Fung kingdom) came to political influence and took part in the government of the state". 69) In reality there is need to assume a Shilluk migration, or invasion in this mountainous Dar Fung region, because the Shilluk are a riverain tribe, and on account of a common substratum, physical, cultural and linguistic in both areas.

5) Conclusion:

174 From the foregoing survey it is now clear that there
648 existed a relationship between the Fung and the Shilluk, but it is not a relationship of common origin.

The statement of Bruce about the invasion of the Gezira
114 by the Shilluk is not supported by dates nor by tradition of either
174 the Shilluk or the Fung. The only support comes from the Hamag elders of Jebel Gule, 70) but Mr. Chataway answers this question quite rightly. He states that "The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'abid'. It was then too late to provide a satisfactory nisba for the Hamag, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight". 71)

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67) Seligman, p. 422
68) Butt includes the Burun in the Nilotic language group, and treats them as such in his book.
69) Westermann, p. LVI.
70) See note No 59)
71) Chataway, p. 117.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practised among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon
643 being a violation of custom. Tremaux writes that " ... une épée, seul instrument légal en pareil cas (tue un roi)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung,
[411] because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.

New the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly
114 from Achmet Sid el Qom, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man
643 is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's statements, we do not know exactly whether Achmet Sid el Qom spoke about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Awad and Mr. Chataway are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to
643 try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamones cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alledged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the
114 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in
171 alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be
174 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilisations
643 that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the older substratum of
174 the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremaux, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 266
75) Seligman, p. 425
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 426.

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Strong new invasions from the north always swept the plains, and compelled the older cultures with their practitioners to seek refuge areas. But it is not expected that the whole of the older population will seek new homes; many will stay and, after a time, when the new-comers have forgotten their former superiority and pride, both components will mingle, to a certain extent, freely with each other. After that it is expected that there will be a free reciprocal exchange of cultural elements, modified to the new conditions.

On the basis of such theory, can we explain the fact that it was only in the reign of King Dakin, number 5 in the list of Sennar, and in the reign of King Tugo, number 10 in the Shilluk list, that coronation ceremonies were introduced in each kingdom separately? It would be highly probable to justify such an assumption if we remember that the Fung were incorporating part of the older population, namely the Hameg, into their kingdom, and that the northern part of the Shillukland at least belongs to this old stratum of peoples.

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17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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173 and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[1] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwal and built his own village at Dedigo.[2] Since his son Dak made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuñ*[3].

Exactly who these *Fuñ* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Demoth[4] and driven over the river into the Maban country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Fung Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuñ*

[114 174] 1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1550. Hofmayr (*Die Schilluk*) however thinks that Ocalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600 - 1630.

2. In the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Stool of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stool *Kwom* is still in the Fuñ country.

[712] 4. A village some 25 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Lual*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [174]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [614 644]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first *reth*.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

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IT is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*.

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since. [777]

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice. 174

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Etbai.*

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 of all, pure in colour, of great brilliancy, without flaw or blemish, were but rarely found, and for that reason most highly treasured. They were called *Mar*.

The paths of comparative philology, as pointed out in Vol. XXI, Part I, of this journal, abound in pitfalls for the credulous and unwary, nevertheless, it is tempting to suppose that the luck of the Shilluk, of which *Rath* Dokot so inconsiderately deprived them, was in fact a comparatively rare type of emerald from the Red Sea hills.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its 174
home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. [197]
This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that
long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half 173
of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, 174
a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its [103]
name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

114 *Shilluk People* by Professor Diedrich Westermann,
121 who conducted linguistic research among the Shilluk in 1910, and Father Wilhelm Hofmayr's *Die Schilluk*, largely based on the observations of Father Banholzer and other of his fellow Catholic missionaries, which date from the beginning of the century. Father Hofmayr himself worked among the Shilluk from 1906 to 1916. There has, indeed, long been a considerable body of knowledge about the Shilluk and I would not have considered it profitable to discuss the Shilluk kingship afresh were it not that new light has recently been shed on their social structure, and more particularly on the place of the kingship in it, by officers of the Sudan Political Service. It is significant that two of them studied anthropology before joining the Sudan Service, Mr P. P. Howell at Cambridge, from where he had carried out some research among the Shilluk before joining the Service, and Mr W. P. G. Thomson at Oxford. It is from this literature, and especially from the more recent accounts, that I have drawn the material for my lecture, for though the Shilluk live in a part of the world with which I am very familiar, my contact with them has been slight.

101 The Shilluk are the most northern of the Nilotic
• 175 peoples and have been for centuries in contact

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

FOREWORD

•175 IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that [114] there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that 122 many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

121 An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England
101 would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

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Funj.		Shilluk.	
bunj	Arab	*bwoń*	stranger, Arab
ibibia	ant	*bł*	white ant
kamas	to eat	*chāmǫ*	to eat
ńań	hippo	*ńań*	croc[illegible]
lei	giraffe	*lǫi*	game[illegible]
jok	God	*jwǫk*	God
kglu	star	*kyglǫ*	star
mine	dumb	*mín*	dumb
kaj an	to-day	*kach an*	this time
ko-song	spear	*tǫń*	spear
luss	stick	*loǵ, loǵ*	stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has *not* in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hameg (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hameg continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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fire and sword.

In 1820 the Turkish-Egyptian troops under Ismail Pasha occupied the country and defeated the Funj in the battle of Abu Shoka.

Apart from these expansions towards the Blue Nile the Shilluks of the White Nile have frequently waged wars against the Dinkas and Nuers, of which their traditions tell. More severely they suffered from never-ending raids by Arabs and Turks, undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle and slaves.

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CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK COUNTRY

a) By the Turks. As early as 1820—1830 the Sudan was conquered by the Turko-Egyptian government, and was considered as part of the Turkish empire; but this hardly affected the political situation of the Shilluk kingdom, the Turkish rule not being strong enough to make its influence felt, except in levying at intervals heavy taxes in cattle and corn, and in making slave raids.

b) By the Baggara Selim. In 1861 the Baggara Selim under Faki Mohammed Kher invaded the Shilluk country and plundered it thoroughly. Mohammed Kher married the daughter of the Shilluk king and practically made himself the ruler of the country. —[1] In the same year Sir Samuel Baker started for his expedition into the Sudan. His description of the Sudan at this period gives a melancholy picture of the results of Egyptian rule. He describes the provinces as utterly ruined and only governed by military force, the revenue unequal to the expenditure, and the country paralysed by excessive taxation; the existing conditions rendered these countries so worthless to the State that their annexation could only be accounted for by the fruits of the slave trade. — On this expedition Baker founded the military post of Taufikia on the right bank of the White Nile, near the mouth of the Sobat; this place has since then consistently been continued as a station for troops.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S EXPEDITION

On Ismail Pasha coming to the throne in 1863 orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued and on Baker's return journey in 1865, he found an Egyptian camp of 1000 men established at Kodok in the Shilluk country for the purpose. — Khartum was at that time the headquarters of the slave traders, who carried out their traffic under the cloak of legitimate commerce. The traders organised armies of brigands, and formed chains of stations, of about 300 men each, throughout their districts, which they had leased from Government. Raids were made on native tribes, who were obliged to submit, fly the country, or ally themselves to the slave hunters, to be used against other tribes.

CONQUEST BY THE EGYPTIANS 1871

In 1871 the Shilluk country was finally conquered by the Egyptians and became a province of the Turkish empire.

In 1874 Charles Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and at the close of the same year he could report to the Egyptian Government that the slave trade on the White Nile had received a deadly blow.

[1] The following data have with few exceptions been taken from The A. E. S.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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REBELLION OF THE SHILLUKS 1875

During Gordon's absence in 1875, the Shilluk tribes in the neighbourhood of Kodok rose in rebellion against the oppression of the Government, and, had it not been for the presence of Gessi, an Italian adventurer who had joined Gordon's staff, Kodok would probably have been lost.

DISTURBANCES OF THE MAHDI, BEGINNING IN 1881

A great cause of disturbance in the Sudan was the appearance of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, a native of Dongola; he began his career in 1881. The Shilluks and their country were in many ways affected by these troubles; not only did they with their own troops fight against the Mahdi, but their young men also formed a considerable and valuable part of the Anglo-Egyptian army.

The Mahdists extended their invasions far into the Sudan and took possession also of the Shilluk country. But in 1890 the Shilluks rebelled against their oppressors: an Emir of the Mahdi Zeki, Tumal, was sent thither to quell the rebellion, with a force chiefly consisting of the Gallabat men who had fought bravely against the Abyssinians in 1889. During the whole of 1891 the war against the Shilluks continued, the Mahdists ("Dervishes") on more than one occasion being heavily defeated, and the communications between Omdurman, the residence of the Khalifa, and Bahr el Jebel being completely interrupted. Two steamers had stuck in the sudd in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilluks; desperate efforts were now made by the Dervishes to effect their recapture. In August, 1891, the Nuers were used as allies by the Dervishes, and succeeded in killing the king of the Shilluks. Soon afterwards, however, the Nuers turned against their allies and expelled them from the country south of Kodok, whilst the Shilluks inflicted a severe defeat on their enemy near Kodok, in December, 1891, and again in January, 1893. The war was waged with indecisive results till 1894, when the Dervishes finally crushed the Shilluks and murdered their king's wife. After that the Dervishes merely kept a small tax-collecting outpost at Kodok.

On the 10th September, 1898, Kitchener left Omdurman for the south with five gunboats and troops, and having destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Renk, arrived at Kodok on the 19th, where he found the French expedition under Marchand. He left a garrison at Fort Sobat. This place has been relinquished since as a military post.

On 19th January, 1899, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Egypt, defining the status of the Sudan, and laying down broad principles for its government.

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE KHALIFA 1899

In the same year, on the 24th November, the power of the Khalifa Abdallah, who was the successor of Mohammed Ahmed, was utterly defeated by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Um Dubreika; the Khalifa himself was killed. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish dominion in the Sudan.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS 1898

In summer 1898 an Abyssinian force came down the Sobat. It arrived at Sobat mouth at the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kur Wat Nyedok *(Ńedǫk)* was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadyet Wat Kwat Ker *(Kẹr)*, is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a Britisch officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of comity and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at each station occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 142 members; a boys' school with an enrolment of 210; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage or home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrolment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrolment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrolment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrolment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

175 648 IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be 177 idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

671 692 [648] By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative [114 648] system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

671 We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has [648] acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[113] [1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 640 693 175 643 648

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoe, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti.

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1932. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the 669 175 631 648

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kasgar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

701 have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself
578 is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is
624 appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bany*, like the *nyireth*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

578 On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the
701 matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing
[643] singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

578 I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action
643 against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

175 There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from
628 Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace cere-
[643] mony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

628 These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

10: Riad E-4.5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OF FUNG AND SHILLUK

Mohamed Riad

Any one who deals with either the Fung or the Shilluk, historians as well as anthropologists, must say a word about the possible relationship between the two kingdoms. Many pages have been written on this subject by well known writers, but the lack of a good comparative study that would envisage the whole problem in its various aspects is noted in some of these works. Others were motivated by "a prioristic" conceptions, or one-sidedness, or depended entirely upon certain points, or "... fever for verbal similarities". 1)

The last word in the controversy has not yet been said, and most probably will not be said. I do not contend that this paper will put an end to the controversies, but I think that by taking into consideration the historical as well as the anthropological points of view, we can reach a safe stage at which we can build our own point towards this complicated subject.

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A) The PROBLEM :

The story begins in 1790, the year James Bruce of Kinnaird -an English traveller- published a voluminous work describing his journey to discover the sources of the Nile, which took place between 1768 and 1773. In 1772 Bruce was in Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, which was the most important and the most powerful state of the Eastern Sudan in the Middle-Ages. In this city Bruce got a glimpse of history of Kingdoms and tribal movements in this part of Africa. Bruce transmits to us what he heard (and maybe what he imagined) 2) in such a statement:

> "In the year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahr el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 13, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces ..... This race of negroes is in their own country called Shilleek .... At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of

1) Arkell was so described by Chataway, p.117

2) It is agreed upon that Bruce always imagined many things, and in his writings pictured himself as a hero who escaped dangers through his bravery etc. ... Read a short description of Bruce's character in Crawford, pp. 253-254

10: Riad E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 According to these two authors, the Shilluk made an attack on the Arabs and defeated them; the Arabs were reduced to a tributary state under the Shilluk. Arkell elaborates on the subject with his European mentality of statesman, and proceeds to say that the Shilluk, by a mastery of diplomacy, changed the injured pride of the Arabs to complete alliance with them, by diverting their attention to a common foe. To such high diplomacy, the Alwa kingdom fell as a sacrifice. 34) Thus, the downfall of the Alwa kingdom was undertaken by a combined Shilluk-Arab force !!

175 We may now proceed to give a short historical outline of the Fung kingdom, leaving this controversial point to be discussed below.

In 1534 Amara Dunkas died, leaving a vast realm which extended northward to the third cataract, including Dongola, and eastward to the Red Sea; but Suakin was a Turkish possession at that time. The White Nile probably marked the western border to latitude 13°, whence northwards the country to the west bank, which comprised Arabs from the Jaalin group, must have been under the rule of the Viceroy of Sennar residing at Gerri. To the south, the Fung border included some provinces of present Ethiopia, namely Gubba, Ganjar, and Fadasi. The border in southern Gezira was not clear, but sporadic hints indicate that the Fung expanded steadily southwards. This point will also be discussed later.

The next expansion of the Fung was during the reign of King Abdul Qader, the second or third king. He reduced Jebel Gule, and converted the inhabitants to Islam. The third expansion was also to the south-west. King Baadi Abu Dign crossed the White Nile in 1642, invaded the Tegali Moslem kingdom and reduced it to a tributary state. He also "attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves". 35)

In Fung history, there were two wars with Abyssinia in which there was no decisive result, except for the routing of most of the Abyssinian king's army in the second war. But these wars are not relevant to our subject.

In the year 1747, during the reign of King Baadi Abu Shillukh, 36) the Fung Empire reached the zenith of its expansion. The whole of Kordofan was won to the Fungs by a man called Mohamed Abu El Keilik. During a battle with the Darfur Army, the Fung were first defeated, "the troops fled, but were rallied by Mohamed Abu El Keilik and his sons, who defeated the Army of the Furs, led

34) Arkell, (A), p.
35) Westermann, p. LV.
36) Westermann, p. LV, mis-spells his name, and writes it as Baadi Abu Shilluk, probably he was motivated by the theory of the Shilluk origin of the Fung, and found in the name another backing to the theory, forgetting that by adding "h" at the end, the word would mean -in Sudanese Arabic- the different modes of face scares used until now in the Arabic Sudan. Abu Shillukh is not a name, but a nickname, and we find it frequent that nicknames were given to many Fung kings, according to their characteristics.

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by Sultan of the Kunjara and Sheikh of the Musabaat at Shamkata ... 175
On the news of Abu El Keilik's victories and the courage he displayed reaching Sennar, the king appointed him commander-in-chief; he was also made 'Sheikh' of Kordofan, and granted the viziership (of the kingdom) ..." 37)

With the success of Abu El Keilik, the downfall of the real Fung kings began, and from that time on the government was in the hands of the ministers. Abu El Keilik is said to be from the Hamag, a section of Fung subjects we will discuss later. But it is also said that he is of Arab descent, from the Gammu'ia tribe, and his mother was a Hamag. At any rate the kings were deposed at the wish of the ministers, and the last stand of the kings was smashed with great slaughter in the reign of King Adlan II (1776-1788, after which the power of the ministers was undisputed until 1820, when the Egyptian Army put an end to the already decayed Fung kingdom.

The Fung kingdom was, from the very start, founded on an alliance between the Fung leader and the Arab leader of the northern Arab tribes, i.e. a dual system. The kingdom remained so until the very end, and that was the major political division of the country. Within each part of the kingdom there were semi-independent states or chieftainships. In the north there was the Shaiqia, Shendi, and El-Dumer. In the south there were Fazogli, Gule, Khasha al Bahr and Keili. The Shukrria, a powerful Arab tribe in the central Butana plains, was to a certain extent independent. It is also said that there were provinces of which we do not know much regarding their political organization and their boundaries. 38) These are Jebel Moya, Abud, both in central Gezira, Beila, and Teawa in the southern Butana. Sennar itself, while being the capital of the whole kingdom, exercised direct government on the whole of northern Gezira up to the junction of the White and Blue Niles. Gerri was the seat of the vicaroys of the northern part of the kingdom, and its direct rule was said to extend on the eastern bank of the Blue Nile as far south as the confluence of the river Dinder, and eastwards to the Eritrean border.

As may now be seen, the kingdom was a federation of petty states, corresponding to a large extent to the tribal as well as the geographical units within a large framework of a state under the Fung dynasty.

The racial elements in this kingdom ranged from Negros and Negroids to "Hamites" and "Semites". The broader character of the northern part is undisputedly Caucasian, while the south was an outspoken Negro-land. Reciprocal migrations in both directions, North and South, brought about the present ethnic melange. 174

37) Jackson, pp. 50-51

38) ibid, p. 102

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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remnant, *derimo olang*[5]. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Reth*[6] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Reth*. Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Funj* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Dueim. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the village of Tworokit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[7]

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhker (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[8] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhker was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhker who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years 175 648 669

5. This may be translated "black battalions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Oman* means the descendants of Oman and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

7. "*pothe manyo.*"

8. Ali Bey Kurdi.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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eluded capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Reth Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1875 Romolo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Reth* Kwiekon a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Reth* Kwiekon and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwiekon.

Kodok then became one of the marooned garrisons. A certain Jok Akoc[9] succeeded Kwiekon, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akoc (father of the present *Reth* Fafiti and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Reth*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Reth* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

9. Jok was never officially *Reth* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang. 175 648

Kur Nyidhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummal and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbok to Both at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akoc, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bol Ayuel, Chief of Golbañ, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debalo. The Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyaweilo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyaweilo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [669]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
	Akurwa	94	
Delal	Nun	139	Delal
	Arumboth....	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
	Arueth	57	
Atoduoi	Thuro	197	Athoduoi
	Dimoth	66	
	Athoduoi	310	
	Nyilec	144	Abiangyai
	Fanyikang	50	
	Ogod	101	
Detwok	Abiangyai	174	Oticogo
	Mal	82	
	Burbuk	52	
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Alel	97	
	Kwocung	73	
	Acago	77	
	Ataro	62	
Golbaß	Golo	377	Golbaß
	Kodok	550	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Golbaß	226	
	Nyigir	466	
OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Fasheda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul....	250	
	Yoß	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu....	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol....	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	65	

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Ogod	Fathau	73	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogol Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
	Ogod Famadh	128	
Malakal	Malakal Fathuoro	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobesnyo	71	
	Obwa	357	Awarajuok
	Awarajuok	269	
	Athokong	129	
Dettim	Adodo	141	Dettim
	Dur	232	
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	Fanyidwai
	Obai Abujop	161	
	Obai Dego	101	
	Fakang	214	Fakang
Fanyidwai	Falo	216	Fanyidwai
	Fathuoro	95	
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
	Faju	267	
	Abujop	210	
	Odwar	63	
Nyijok	Nyijok	226	non existent
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Oduojo	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
	Nyilwak	279	
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
Tonga	Dila	96	Nyibang
	Nyijwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	Tonga (Tung)
	Atigo	145	
	Nyibodo	132	
	Ayadhajo	108	
	Fafunjo	104	

103
161
175
177
631

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. [194]

Recent Shilluk History

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[8] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure; he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwathker, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (Note 2) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

8. Fashoda the capital of the *reth* is actually 11 miles upstream of Kodok.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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between the north and the government on the one side and the south on the other. Kwathker was captured and died in chains in Fashoda gaol. Ajang Nyidhok, who had never been tribally installed, was soon deposed also on ground of disloyalty, and the *reth*ship was abolished by the *mudir*.

The experiment of administering the Shilluk without a *reth* did not work, and the troubles of the government were if anything increased. After a massacre of government troops at Kaka in 1875, the experiment was given up, and Kweikwon, a son of *reth* Kwathker was appointed *reth*. Some five years later in 1881, Kweikwon went on an expedition with the *mudir* of Fashoda to attack the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir in the eastern Nuba Mountains. The force was annihilated, and Kweikwon and the *mudir* were both killed.

An interregnum then occurred, until Yor Akoc, having gone to El Obeid and received the blessing of the Mahdi, installed himself in Fashoda. Relations with the Mahdi, however, and his sucessor, the Khalifa Abdullahi, did not long remain cordial. The Shilluk people were expected to provide corn and slaves in abundance, and when *reth* Yor failed to do so willingly, the wrath of the Khalifa descended upon him. The Emir Zeki Tummal set up a fort near Kodok, and ravaged the Shilluk country from top to bottom, eventually capturing *reth* Yor near Tonga and beheading him in the Dervish camp.

Kur Nyidhok, a first cousin of Kwathker, threw in his lot with the Emir, and went to Omdurman to pay homage to the Khalifa, who confirmed him as *reth*, and called him Abd el Fadil. While Kur was away in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, raised a faction, and after a struggle, was prevented by the northern Shilluk from installing himself in Fashoda. *Reth* Kur lasted till 1903, when he was deposed by the present government on the grounds that his rule was unjust and oppressive; he may have been a victim of slanderous reports sent in to Kodok by eligible *nyireth*.

He was replaced by Fadiet, a son of Kwathker, a government nominee.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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Fadiet died in 1917, and once more the Shilluk were divided between Fafiti Yor and Coti the son of the Turkish puppet Ajang, with the south supporting the latter; the government, had to intervene and instal and protect Fafiti by force. 175 643

From this short account it can readily be seen that the customary procedure of the *reth's* election had not taken place undisturbed for nearly one hundred years and perhaps much longer.

The effect of this stormy history in 1943 made it very difficult for the elders to remember what the procedure was in all the details. There was a constant urge to get back to the old tradition, but often quite important items were omitted or forgotten, and had to be done at the last minute in a hurry. Not even Shilluk custom stands still; it varies with the capacities of people's memories and also it is affected by outside influences. It is not a hard and fast pattern into which everything must fit. The Shilluk would like it to be, but are not always equal to the task. Certain aspects of the traditional ceremonies cannot now take place; it is no longer practicable to keep up the traditions of Dak, the son of Nyikang and great Shilluk conqueror. For example in days gone by, two subsections of the Shilluk, Akwabai near Fashoda and Abuor near Kaka, used to raid north to get the various things required in the ceremonies for the installation of the *reth*. There is now a tendency to buy these things in Kosti market. 178 643

The events which we describe fall in to four main periods:— 643

1. The death and burial of *reth* Fafiti Yor and the funeral dances held for him.
2. The election of Anei Kur.
3. The formal installation of *reth* Anei in Fashoda.[9]
4. Subsequent events which have occurred after his installation, which were motivated by a desire to confirm the *reth*, and which throw light on the nature and function of the Shilluk monarchy.

9. During the ceremonies of installation we were ably assisted by other observers, notably Mr. John Longe and the Rev. D. McClure.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *ryireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Empire, the Egyptians once more disappeared from Sudanese history.

For the next 200 years there is a gap in the records of relationship between the two countries, but then we find that the rôles of conquerors and conquered are reversed, and that Sudanese kings have successfully invaded and taken possession of Egypt and reign there as Pharaohs. The Sudanese dynasty in Egypt came to an end when the Assyrian hordes swept over the land in 660 B.C. but it continued in the Sudan itself in two separate kingdoms for nearly another 1,000 years, the one kingdom being destroyed by the Romans in 23 B.C. and the other overthrown by the Abyssinians in 350 A.D.

After this there is another blank in Sudan history covering the next 200 years until in 540 A.D. Christian missionaries reached the country from Asia Minor, having been sent by the Empress Theodora of Constantinople. Christianity spread rapidly over Northern Sudan and survived in that region in the north until the land was overrun by Mahomedans from Egypt in 1340, and in the south—that is, as far south as the country round the junction of the two Niles—until about 1500, when there, too, it succumbed to the ever encroaching tide of Moslemism. The next 300 years is a record of inter-tribal fighting and internecine warfare, as, lacking a powerful central authority, the various petty sheikhs incessantly preyed one upon another. The country was thus reduced to anarchy and was easy spoil for the organized invasion which came from Egypt in 1821.

This date may be said to mark the beginning of the modern history of the Sudan. The invasion was made by Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, then a dependency of Turkey, and thus the conquest was made in the name of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Mohammed Ali lost no time in establishing the country on an organized basis. It was divided into provinces and districts under Egyptian and Turkish officers directed from a Governor-Generalate at the newly founded town of Khartoum, built at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. Mohammed

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Ali's conquest of the Sudan was not for the purpose of bringing peace and prosperity to that unhappy country. He looked upon it as a vast milch cow whose yield was to supply him with the means of realizing his great ambition: the establishment of himself and his descendants as rulers of Egypt and the Sudan, completely independent of Turkey. Hence the primary occupation of the new government was the collecting of revenue in the form of tribute to fill Mohammed Ali's war chest, and of slaves to swell the ranks of the new Egyptian Army he was founding to wage war against his Turkish overlord. Frequent raids were made along the White Nile among the helpless pagan tribes for the purpose of capturing slaves both for recruits for the army and for domestic labour. Mohammed Ali attained his cherished title of independent ruler of Egypt and Governor of the Sudan in 1841, but this achievement did not stay his rapacity or that of his successors and their lieutenants. Indeed during the ensuing years the traffic in human lives reached enormous proportions. Better arming of the slavers' private armies and better organization of the raiding parties enabled them to venture further and further south. Huge parcels of land were farmed out to the merchants who found a rich return for their investments among the hapless people of Southern Sudan. Khartoum became the great slave market and clearing house of the Sudan.

With the accession of Ismael as Khedive of Egypt in 1863 the first attempts were made to suppress or at least to diminish the slave traffic and to formulate some kind of progressive policy for the country. He called to his aid such men as Sir Samuel Baker, Colonel Charles Gordon, Rudolf Slatin and Gessi and appointed them as Governors of Provinces with full authority to stamp out the trade in slaves. That the efforts of these men were not more successful (in one year, for instance, Gordon and Gessi captured sixty-three caravans of slaves) was due not only to the strenuous opposition of the slave merchants themselves but also, and indeed mainly, to the corruption in high places among the Egyptian Pashas, most of whom had a keen financial interest in the business

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and had no intention of being deprived of so lucrative a source of wealth. Ismael's schemes for the betterment of the Sudan included the extension of the telegraph from Egypt to Khartoum, the inauguration of a postal system, the founding of a company to develop the agricultural resources of the country and of a steamship company. His reforms, however, were too few and came too late, and moreover he could not implement his authority with sufficient force to remedy the greatest of all the evils under which the country laboured, the slave trade. Whilst Gordon was at hand the traffic had decreased considerably, but with his recall to England in 1879 and replacement as Governor-General by an Egyptian, it revived immediately and flourished with greater vigour than before.

The unhappy Sudanese, crushed by the oppression of their Egyptian overlords and seething with discontent, were ripe for revolt and wanted only someone who would unite them and lead them in rebellion. A leader was found in the person of Mohammed Ahmed, the son of a carpenter, who had gained a reputation as a religious teacher and ascetic. He declared himself to be the Mahdi, the divinely appointed prophet, and proclaimed a holy war against the foreigners in the Sudan. The movement commenced in August 1881, and spread with surprising rapidity. Lack of appreciation of the situation both at Khartoum and Cairo resulted in the small expeditionary force sent to destroy the insurrection being cut to pieces and in the increasing strengthening of the Mahdists. Kordofan and Darfur provinces were overrun, and when at length in the middle of 1883 the Egyptian Government made a supreme effort to stamp out the rebellion, the Mahdist army easily defeated and almost annihilated the force sent out against it. The whole of the Sudan was now open to the Mahdi.

In February 1884 General Gordon returned to the Sudan with instructions from the British Government to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He arrived too late to accomplish anything, however, and lost his life when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists in January 1885. With the fall of Khartoum

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and the death of Gordon all outside influence on the Sudan came practically to an end. But the troubles of the unfortunate Sudanese themselves were by no means over. They had merely exchanged one tyranny for another. Six months after Gordon's death the Mahdi also died and was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, the Kalifa Abdullah; under him slavery, pillage and rapine quickly revived, revolts among the disillusioned tribes were ruthlessly and bloodily suppressed and anarchy reigned undisputed for the next thirteen years.

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In 1896 preparations were at length completed by the British and Egyptian Governments for the reconquest of the Sudan. A joint Anglo-Egyptian army under the command of Major-General Kitchener, later Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, invaded the country through Egypt, and in a campaign which lasted for two and a half years drove the Mahdist forces steadily before it and finally routed them decisively at the Battle of Omdurman in September 1898. The years of tyranny and oppression were over at last.

The new government of the Sudan took the form of a condominium, that is, a joint administration by England and Egypt by which the two countries pledged themselves to administer the Sudan primarily for the welfare of the Sudanese. The history of the Sudan during the past half century is an eloquent testimony of how well this object has been achieved.

The first step taken was to establish law and order throughout the land. The Governor-Generalate was restored but with the difference that the new holders of this exalted office had a far different conception of their duties and responsibilities than had their pre-Mahdist predecessors. The system of division into Provinces was re-established under British Governors who administered their charge with the assistance of District Commissioners. A police force was created, and gradually peace, order and security was imposed on a land which had enjoyed none of these blessings in all its previous history. Fully alive to the necessity of training the Sudanese in order that he might eventually

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[509] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Comboni thereupon began two Congregations, the Verona Fathers and the Missionary Sisters of Verona. In May 1871 he was made Pro-Vicar of Central Africa, and on January 26th, 1873, left Cairo for Khartoum to take up residence there. He had been preceded by some of his missionaries, and immediately opened stations at Dilling, El Obeid and Berber. In 1877 he was consecrated Bishop and made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, but returning to Khartoum from Rome he found the Sudan desolated by a terrible famine which caused the death of hundreds of thousands of natives and many priests. He was thus forced to abandon his cherished project of the expansion of the mission. Dr. Matteuci, the famous explorer, wrote concerning this:

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> Mgr. Comboni sees in the sad loss of nearly all his missionaries the delaying, for who knows how long, of the realization of his vast projects. In the last few months he had begun an agricultural station on the Blue Nile at Gadaref destined to have a great future; he had made arrangements for the establishment of a station at Fashoda, the capital of the Shilluk country, one of the most barbarous and unhealthy places in Central Africa, and was then preparing an expedition to the Equatorial Lakes which would have gone down in history as one of the most important achievements of Daniel Comboni.

Comboni always had in mind the poor Shilluk whom he had encountered on his journey to Holy Cross, and it was to help them that he planned to open a mission at Fashoda, but the famine postponed indefinitely this design, and the trials of the mission reached a climax with the death of the great apostle himself in 1881. It seemed that shipwreck was near, but the mission weathered the storm, only to come to grief a few months later. In 1881 the Mahdist revolt broke out, and as Dilling, El Obeid and Berber fell to the Mahdi, the priests, brothers and nuns became their prisoners. Many of them died as the result of the treatment they received when they refused to deny their faith and become Moslems;

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segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous settlements to combine for war against other settlements or under the leadership of an outstanding personality, but such combinations were not permanent, or even consistent enough for us to speak of them as political groups. The Turkish Administration tried to give greater consistency to them so that they could be used as administrative units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has done the same and calls them divisions and appoints a chief for each. Previously they appear to have been little more than districts or localities, and the only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of settlements were those of Ger, northern Shillukland, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than an administrative character, and those of Muomo and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern and southern marches of Shillukland, whose functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly, Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

643 kann, und Herr sogar des Eigentums seiner Unter-
114 tanen'.[1] These statements would seem to require
642 some modification. As Mr Pumphrey has pointed
[177] out, it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments.[2] Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.

643 It is true that the more recent authorities imply
114 rather than explicitly state what in their opinion
692 is the position of the king. Mr Howell and Mr Thomson speak of 'the theoretical omnipotence' of the king and of a 'theoretically omnipotent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 150–1.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 18–19.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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773 825 son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness." [1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearthstone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 773 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

114 177 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between [illegible] villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *ligo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

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[461] 177

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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating durra, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[443] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: ŋgwop, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
● 177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

FOOD

The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kuga)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535
This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and durá, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok (*jwòk*) or God; 2. Nyikang (*Ñíkàŋ*), the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo (*àjwɔ̀gɔ́*), the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok (*jwòk*) is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influence. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lieng* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *beuchg* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 782 [177] [193]

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yuf* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwŋŋ*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *uri* and *tipŋ*; *uri* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipŋ* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anpkŋ*; the word is derived from *nŋŋ* to kill; *anpkŋ* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anpkŋ* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jū pū jaŋk*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Nyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Ker. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Yē*; at the death of the king from the house of *Yē* it will be the turn of the house of *Ñeḷok*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Ker, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1] "king" is in Shilluk *rēl* or *ryēl*; in older literature the word "leader" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called *mek*, which is a contraction of the Arab *malik*.

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233 Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never
[492] possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain.
[262] Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be over-
[797 come have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown.
177] Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262

kuʃa a kind of dura-bread or mush.
ɔ̀ɔ̀ʃlí a food of dura.
ɔ̀pʃlí a food of dura.
ɔ̀rɔ̀ʃí a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ɔ̀ɔ̀ʃlí a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ʃ a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
ɛ̀ʃɔ̀ɔ̀ʃí a common dura-food.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk, in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other 171 Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[171] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [114] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 172 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [127] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, [538] abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 193–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. B. Oyler, 1918 (i).

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Luo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of whom the Luo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Luo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are chiefly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign enemies and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous custom, particularly that concerning the election and disposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might explain some apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

114 177 105

Social Organization

614 105 The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about 100 different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate existence.

[1] G. Schweinfurth, 1873, p. 93.

[2] P. Munro, 1918, and Howell and Thomson, 1946.

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	marks R	marks B	marks A	dots	C.I. mm.	C.I. mm.	N.I. mm.	N.I. mm.	S mm.	S mm.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			173.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	86.7	87.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	7.5	87.9			178.2												
D 3	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder / R= right upper arm and shoulder B= Back A= Abdomen

=M= minimum =M= maximum

Tribal Marks.

304 The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of
619 dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had
[114] these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Nuer and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is excepted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metemma, north of Khartoum, as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower
114 incisors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead
184 of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk
304 the royal family alone keep their tooth intact." (17) From the results I have
619 obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:
a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,
b) that some royal members practice it.
304 The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the
● 177 past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to
[753] knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Abgesehen der Mann im Shillukkande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam begannen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Stande als verschwunden betrachten." (20). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUD, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUD is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmayer.(22) But the question is that the LAUD is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It stands unique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 30 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress, (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Muslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Col, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Col sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUD with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jugo's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homestead in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUD "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, a sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.; Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman, C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1930, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligmann, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "G" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "G"
(15) see above , table "G", card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[m 997] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who come under the influence of missions or who was converted to Christianity wear European shirts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 30
(26) Ibid, p 30
[71] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Dung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

175 648 IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be 177 idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

671 692 By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of [648] 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative [114 648] system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

671 We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. [648] A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[113] [1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 110·25; Nuer 112·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 23.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher.

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines and prostitutes.[2] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[2] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1935) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden'

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The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral deity is called Juok. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is Juok but Juok is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he thus exists both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*kwareth*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached and is the human intercessor for mankind with God. Voluntarily by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fortunes of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less clearly, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth*'s divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),[3] though some might resist his more mundane powers.'[4]

The Problem of Authority

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The extent of the *reth*'s authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedures, especially in the past, and an answer must be attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1867 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, since then it has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called '*Indirect Rule*', through the agency of the *reth*. However unsuccessful this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*[5] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang in Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka cult of Deng has sometimes found favour with certain Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though is has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

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is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 640 643

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoc, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti. 175 643 648

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1952. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the [669] 175 631 648

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kagar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

[631] 643 [692]

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tich*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

[177] 643 632 692

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

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Evans-Pritchard points out that:

it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did *not*

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[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.

[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.

[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

tional guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak'. 628 643

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice is tainted with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. [648] 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, untypical of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Later we hear that 'he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added most seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' [114] Then, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were pelted with the stomach contents.

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a murderous or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the guilty and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was *nothing incompatible in it with methods of those days*.'[2] 177 628 643

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1903, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.' 643 648

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition 628 643

[1] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] 'A note on Community Law', dated [illegible] (unpublished). The italics are mine.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognised functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Tiberington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognised indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1931) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1863–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiri when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Beggara *Khamr*: *Ashab*, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Tiberington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1863) too.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 when he is asked to kill a man he may take a sheep, and cleave its head with an axe, and he declares that in the same manner his power has broken the head of the man against whom the charm was worked. They try to impress the people with a sense of the mysterious, and very frequently they have strings stretched in their houses to impress the people who seek their services.

[M 185] The witch doctors exert a powerful influence over the Shilluks. Their influence is always against innovation, and they seek to hold the old order of things. While a medicine man who is just beginning his practice must be successful to gain the confidence of the people, yet when he once has their confidence he can readily explain away all his failures.

Very few Shilluks will admit that they believe in the power of the medicine man, but in spite of their denials they seek him constantly, and their whole manner of life is influenced by the witch doctor. A few are beginning to question the whole system. Once a gourd of God broke when some warriors were being tested before a fight. The grain that had been in it was spilled on the ground. One man pointed to the grain, and said: "Is that God"? Apparently he was the only one of the party, who connected the noise made by the gourd with the grain that was in the gourd.

So long as the Shilluks are dominated by the medicine men, they will make very slight advancement in their mode of thought and their manner of living.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when
821 the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A hoe must be placed in front of the door. If no hoe is in the house then a fish [782] spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a hoe or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary uses after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal agoc, heaven hits). In 342 former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the 821 circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort [766] of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now [177] practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner 342 usually calls a servant of Deń (Bäń Deń). After the servant of Deń 782 arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deń says bring an ox." If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, 821 "I do not ask for this offering, but Deń asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning 792 may become a servant of Deń (Bäń Deń), if he so desires. When they 821 travel they say, "Deń asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deń.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The
782 walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the
821 mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deń. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deń present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deń. While the servants of Deń put the higlig branch (ŷk Deń) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has
824 been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer. One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deń. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An
778 object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

●177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deń is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deń's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwalkher*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643] 567] 565 644 766 [743]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [649] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177] 643 649]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

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ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbaß, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

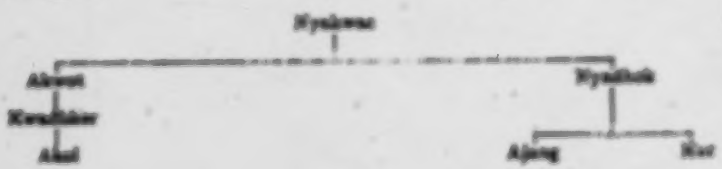
This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akal 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

27. A simplified branch of the *Kwor Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles:

[173]



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177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Lusk and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Lusk-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Lusk," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Lusk by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Lusk. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Lusk" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

177 635 [649] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *lusk*.[26] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

26. The word *Lusk* has three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[19]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

19. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

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[77] 643 648 The *Rath* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

[77] 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Rath*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] [643] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [643] [561] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong [648] chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Rath* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Rath*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Rath's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [612 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Rath* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Rath* direct [613]

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177 422 436 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. [454 564] The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-[684] mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. [182 583] The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products [146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

425 567 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

428 592 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 777 586 646 691 [797]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

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APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Musmo — —	Tiworshit — —	117	Musmo
	Manam — — —	90	
	Musmo — — —	243	
	Agnoro — — —	99	
	Thor — — —	100	
	Abuor — — —	64	
	Akurwa — — —	94	
Dolal — —	Nus — — —	130	Dolal
	Arumboth — — —	88	
	Dolal Ajak — — —	138	
	Nyirufo — — —	88	
	Aruoth — — —	57	
Atodoni — —	Thero — — —	197	Athodoni
	Dimoth — — —	66	
	Athodoni — — —	310	
	Nyilec — — —	144	Abiangyai
	Fanyikang — — —	50	
	Ogod — — —	101	
Detwok — —	Abiangyai — —	174	Otiongo
	Mal — — —	81	
	Burbuk — — —	51	
	Fabiu — — —	161	
	Otiongo — — —	77	
	Detwok — — —	140	
	Abil — — —	97	
	Kwocung — — —	73	
	Acago — — —	77	
	Atero — — —	61	
Golbak — —	Gulo — — —	377	Golbak
	Kodok — — —	350	
	Lemo — — —	145	
	Fadiang — — —	284	
	Golbak — — —	206	
	Nyigir — — —	466	

OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GIR AND LEAR.

Fashoda —	Wadman — — —	170	Kwom
	Agnoro — — —	118	
	Kwom — — —	181	
	Lul — — —	130	
	Yoll — — —	173	
	Thuolong — — —	230	
	Bin — — —	62	
	Fabur — — —	86	
	Bul — — —	113	
	Nyiagar — — —	83	
	Both — — —	63	

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
New boundary between Ger and Luak.			
Ogod —	Fathas — — —	73	Ogod
	Fadit — — —	108	
	Was — — —	243	
	Ogod Pac — —	140	
	Ogod Bute — —	176	
	Ogod Famadh — —	118	
Malakal —	Malakal Fathoero —	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acop Puot —	106	
	Malakal Ocolo — —	61	
	Malakal Ayowangwa —	72	
	Wij Malakal — —	92	
	Malakal Thuorubeanyo	71	
Dettim —	Obwa — — —	357	Awarajook
	Awarajook — —	269	
	Athokong — —	129	
	Adodo — — —	141	Dettim
	Dur — — —	231	
	Thuoro Dettim — —	196	
	Owaci — — —	213	Fanyidwai
	Obai Abujop — —	161	
	Obai Dego — —	101	
	Fakang — — —	214	Fakang
Fanyidwai —	Falo — — —	216	Fanyidwai
	Fathoero — — —	95	
	Adhidhiang — —	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac — —	107	
	Fajo — — —	267	
	Abujop — — —	210	
	Odwar — — —	63	
Nyijok —	Nyijok — — —	226	now existent
	Nyanacan — —	73	
	Nagdier — — —	176	
Fanyikang —	Agunjook — —	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar — — —	128	
	Fakwar — — —	80	
	Akonere — — —	67	
	Odooje — — —	119	
	Nyiluai — — —	94	
	Bur — — —	114	
	Wilnyang — — —	150	
	Dyal — — —	101	
	Wunbo — — —	78	
	Nyilwak — — —	279	
	Dor — — —	97	
	Odong Tugo — —	200	
Tonga —	Dit — — —	96	Nyikang
	Nyijwado — — —	124	
	Dhok Alal — —	117	
	Yom — — —	235	Tonga (Tung)
	Atigo — — —	143	
	Nyibodo — — —	111	
	Ayadhajo — — —	208	
	Pafonjo — — —	104	

103
161
175
177
631

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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APPENDIX V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SHILLUK AND SOME OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which most other features of their character spring. Their intense conservatism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reth's* chief policeman, an intelligent man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyireth* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Dervishes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. [177] It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected [177] with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this.

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. 643 In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the [731] Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die.

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about 643 the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would 766 not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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766 [778] homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasised by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatisation of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

[411 727 439] [177 648]

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 3), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 viously, but was not known to have died). The sons of Fafiti were not serious competitors as it was generally agreed that it was not their turn; there was no doubt about that. The claim of the sons of Fadiet was not so easily settled. The head of the line was invited, with an elder from the same house, to an unofficial meeting, and he agreed to forego any claim for his line at the election, though the Shilluk say that he was given a more or less firm assurance that next time an election was to take place the house of Fadiet would provide the *reth*. Responsible Shiluk opinion accepted this, although we believe that unofficially certain elements among the southern Shilluk (Fadiet's country) would like to have seen a *reth* chosen from one of Fadiet's sons. Had one of them been chosen, we think it would generally have been held to be irregular. There remained the sons of *reth* Kur, who were considered to be more eligible than the others, as their father had been *reth* before Fafiti or Fadiet, and no *reth* had yet been chosen from his children.

It is often said that a *reth* nominates his successor. Fafiti, in his
[17] life time, agreed that that was the old practice before outside influences and governments started to interfere with the Shilluk, and this may well be so, or at least be the tradition, for Fafiti was a mine of Shilluk history. However in the last 100 years or so it has not been done, and Fafiti never intended to nominate his successor. It is clear, however, that a candidate nominated by a dying *reth* is still subject to confirmation or otherwise, by what we may call the "electoral college."

What Fafiti did do was to take under his wing Anei, one of the sons of Kur, and bring him up, as he himself had been brought up by *reth* Kur. Anei was known to be favoured by Fafiti, and he was even given outward signs of recognition by him, such as silver bracelets to designate him as a favourite. At Fafiti's death Anei was not nominated, but it was well known that in fact he was Fafiti's choice. Anei later told us that Fafiti used to say that if he were lucky he would be chosen *reth*. This designation by a popular *reth* would seem to be an important factor in the choice of the new *reth*.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and [173] the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[11] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 324 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[12] 11. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man, went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 648

The *ovoro* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kojo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

On the arrival of the party at Kojo an ox was sacrificed as *ukadk* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pum*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *ukadk*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ovoro* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this unconditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ovoro* were completed and the *kwo* Nyikir took over. *kwo* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*.[4]

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[1] Fr. Huvé informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *ukadk*. The word is derived from the verb *kadke*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kojo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Dobeib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Nyo ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
537 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 reths. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[778] Of Kwoikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikon) *cie keny abai cho nyiwang kedi cho wadi nini,*
[18] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Denim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yal*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyiireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
orero into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[777 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
30a] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nom*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *orero* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, *Kur wad Fadiri*, was present on the first day of the *nowo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwo Nyikir*, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwo Nyikir* then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *orero* and *kwo Nyikir* had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., so at Kajo where the actual bodily

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyaweilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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* 797 [798] Father Beduschi wrote that the site of the new mission was unhealthy, and that it had no resources, unless clouds of mosquitoes and flies and armies of white ants could be called resources. As soon as the rains had ended, the new arrivals [312] dug two wells for water, to the amazement of the natives, • [177] who could not understand the need for a well when the river was only half a mile away, and who refused to drink the water from the wells, thinking it was bewitched. Father Beduschi managed to gather a few boys together and start a school, but his work was undone by the chiefs, witch doctors, and old people who came and took the children away by force. In other ways, too, ill-luck dogged the new foundation: the few crops they had succeeded in planting in the poor soil failed; the road they had made from the mission to the river was nearly all carried away by floods; a bridge they had built was burned; a great pile of grass gathered for roofing the huts was destroyed by fire.

Father Beduschi had hoped to obtain catechists from Uganda, but when this was found impossible he borrowed some from Lul and sent them into the surrounding villages. He wrote also to the Mother General of the Verona Missionary Sisters asking her to send some Sisters to work in the mission as a present for the Silver Jubilee of his ordination and his coming to Africa. 'Detwok,' he wrote, 'is made up of thorns and crosses; I cannot promise the good Sisters anything but work and trouble; I even promise them disappointments and not consolations, but I do promise them a missionary life, and what more do they desire?' He did not live to see the Sisters arrive, for on November 10th, 1924, he [164] died of blackwater fever, offering his life for the salvation of the Shilluk people. When he was dying, his companion, Father Brambilla, offered up to two shillings for a bottle of milk to give him, but the neighbouring villagers refused to let him have it.

[164] Brother Joshua who was with him both at Tonga and again at the Detwok mission died eventually as a leper. In Tonga he had made friends with a leper in an effort to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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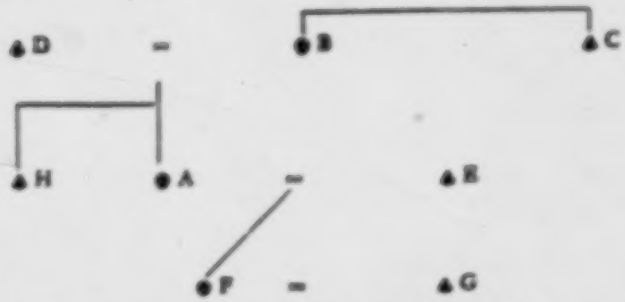
convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the native boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish. 797* [164]

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to build. [177] [332]

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week later. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission 761 643 797* 643 797*

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

583 [671] [686] of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts [672] are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create [178] reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one [592] domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally [592] expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [549] and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [839] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1935) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:
(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.
The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden

[177] 648 681

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

69 Amajok married Nyagoldng for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagoldng gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai et* from Ochou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai et* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though she might have done so.

Anger wad Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Acieth-gwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Acieth-gwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *diel rom*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai et* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not
[613] confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai et* even in a later generation, if no bride-wealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai et* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[591] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai et* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts
[198] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1955, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that
586 they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (*dwak*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen further removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgments of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

The following court case illustrates the procedure.

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwak nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akoot *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoot *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yar nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bridewealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *okeja*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Mayiong *v.* Dogreng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yar ric dhum*)

Dogreng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil, but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is considered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogreng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yar nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprung *Pa Rem* and *Pa Bok* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or collateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, have legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organised.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Mow Colio* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultong*. The daughter of *Kubwi* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultong's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

11: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented with a bull (*Wálk Owono*) as well.* This bull is treated with great care and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets. At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wálk Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaigs to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilisation, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterised by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth : The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth : A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa : Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak : Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro. "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 143 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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Fadiet died in 1917, and once more the Shilluk were divided between Fafiti Yor and Coti the son of the Turkish puppet Ajang, with the south supporting the latter; the government, had to intervene and instal and protect Fafiti by force. 195 643

From this short account it can readily be seen that the customary procedure of the *reth's* election had not taken place undisturbed for nearly one hundred years and perhaps much longer.

The effect of this stormy history in 1943 made it very difficult for the elders to remember what the procedure was in all the details. There was a constant urge to get back to the old tradition, but often quite important items were omitted or forgotten, and had to be done at the last minute in a hurry. Not even Shilluk custom stands still; it varies with the capacities of people's memories and also it is affected by outside influences. It is not a hard and fast pattern into which everything must fit. The Shilluk would like it to be, but are not always equal to the task. Certain aspects of the traditional ceremonies cannot now take place; it is no longer practicable to keep up the traditions of Dak, the son of Nyikang and great Shilluk conqueror. For example in days gone by, two subsections of the Shilluk, Akwabai near Fashoda and Abuor near Kaka, used to raid north to get the various things required in the ceremonies for the installation of the *reth*. There is now a tendency to buy these things in Kosti market. 178 643

The events which we describe fall in to four main periods:— 643

1. The death and burial of *reth* Fafiti Yor and the funeral dances held for him.
2. The election of Anei Kur.
3. The formal installation of *reth* Anei in Fashoda.[9]
4. Subsequent events which have occurred after his installation, which were motivated by a desire to confirm the *reth*, and which throw light on the nature and function of the Shilluk monarchy.

9. During the ceremonies of installation we were ably assisted by other observers, notably Mr. John Lange and the Rev. D. McClure.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two nearest to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbainy a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Atepjur just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbainy of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the *reth* they may have acted as messengers of the *reth*, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the *reth* the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix 1. Of the eleven Cclo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbainy, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government or the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Mumme. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupiers of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the base Nyikwum. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 29th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fadiri, had spent no more. Fadiri's breach with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fadiri had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of three *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *true* Nyikwum and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fadiri set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established customs if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

29:Dempsey M-S (1910-1954) 1955
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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised. 766 [178]

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies. [535] [782] [264]

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but 535 766 [533] [533]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installation of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
[825] sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
[787] following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
[643] where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
[825] this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
[553] If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181.

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [464] [2a]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

461

to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

181
123

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361 HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

233
[556]

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

AFRICA

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE

VOLUME XXII APRIL 1952 NUMBER 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

THE LAWS OF HOMICIDE AND THE LEGAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *RETH*

P. P. HOWELL

INTRODUCTION

PUBLISHED literature on the subject of the Shilluk is considerable[1] and there are also many interesting accounts of specific subjects buried in the files of the Administration. Nowhere, however, is there a complete account of all aspects of Shilluk life. Moreover, there has been a tendency to concentrate on certain aspects, notably the Divine Kingship, to the exclusion of others. In 1941 Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and I published two articles: the first a general summary account of the Shilluk tribe based on Mr. Pumphrey's observations and wide experience; the second a more detailed analysis of one Shilluk settlement,[2] the result of fieldwork carried out in 1937. In 1944 I had the privilege of attending the installation of *reth* Anei Kur and, together with Mr. W. P. G. Thomson, published a full account.[3] Subsequently Mr. Thomson published his 'Further Notes on the Death of a Shilluk Reth',[4] after the death of *reth* Anei in 1943. This, with Professor Evans-Pritchard's Frazer Lecture, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*,[5] represents the total of information published on the subject of the Shilluk in recent years. 114

The Shilluk are an exceptionally conservative people and, perhaps the legacy of centuries of resistance to external aggression, have a natural distaste for innovation. Yet times are changing and it is therefore all the more important that the gaps in our knowledge of Shilluk society as it was during the last few decades, and is now, should be filled. During the last two years I have had occasional opportunities to visit the Shilluk and to continue fieldwork, begun in 1937. The results of these investigations, [181] 12

[1] See Bibliography, pp. 118–19.

[2] Pumphrey, M. E. C., 'The Shilluk Tribe', and Howell, P. P., 'The Shilluk Settlement', *J.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[3] 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor.' By Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., ibid., vol. xxvii, 1946.

[4] Ibid., vol. xxix, part ii, 1948.

[5] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Frazer Lecture 1948 Cambridge University Press, 1948.

[p. 97]

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *buing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 181 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 883

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luaks* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SHILLUK AND SOME OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which most other features of their character spring. Their intense conserva-
186 tism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reth's* chief policeman, an intelligent
[626] man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant
153 in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyireth* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

● 181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said : «I was eaten by lions, the lions 756
were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you 766
know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are 787
strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men 755
servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is [46]
taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village [756]
and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says : «The king is begging you», 756
and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of [766]
burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or 756
at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take pos- 787
session of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some 771
power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that 181
belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the 756
belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time. [181]

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will [462]
at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 793
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [782]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 632
and their association with lineages is, as we have [773]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622
778

i [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jago* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage. 613 621 [182]

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pan dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pan dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pan dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyde myer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2) [611]

The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3) [631]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

631 Muomo Delalajak Athodwoi Detwok Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Detim Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golban, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southern-
[644] most regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Muomo and Tonga.(1) Fashoda,
the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of
[182] the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

614 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

565 This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others,
614 is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their des-
644 cent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [773]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp. 16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Luak, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Dak. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Dak may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Debalo settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

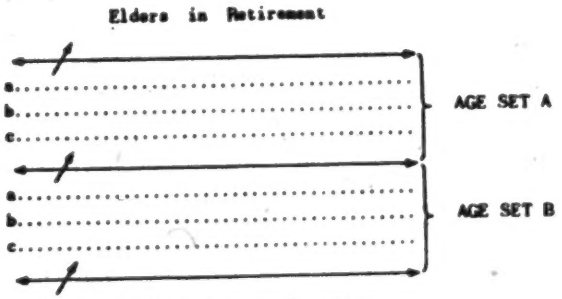
171 Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable information, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

54 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
[881] organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 561
'head', 'neck' and 'middle'.



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the *ngol* or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the 764
men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each 504
sits in a special place and sings its own song.

Age sets emphasize the solidarity of the settlement by organising the 182
generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the 561
settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that 621
they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader (*ban*) is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *deulo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

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emblems.[1] The story shows that, from the earliest times, the Shilluk suppose the kingship to have been a source of rivalry between the sons of the previous king. Nyikang is not thought to have been the elder of the brothers, and there is no account of any superior claim on his part, except that he also had a following. There is no emphasis in the myth on any customary order of succession, and so today any son of a king who has once been installed is theoretically eligible to become king if he can press his claim. In the past, at least, a man could retain the kingship only if he was able to defend himself against rival claimants. Rivalry over who shall be king is intrinsic to the Shilluk type of kingship, and may perhaps be seen as the most extreme form of the separation of the person from the office consistent with hereditary right to succession.

In the course of their wanderings, Nyikang and his followers came to a country occupied by Dimo,[2] where they lived for a while, and Nyikang married Dimo's daughter. She bore children, of whom the most important was his son Dak. Dak then quarrelled with Dimo, whose people wanted to kill him. Nyikang made an effigy of Dak, which was speared in Dak's place by the followers of Dimo. Effigies of Nyikang, Dak, and another son of Nyikang called Cal, are now used, as will be described, in the ceremonies for the installation of the Shilluk king. This is the first mention of an effigy, which was thus an idea of Nyikang. In one story Dak is a mischievous and quarrelsome figure, who grew to a tremendous size. He is also very intelligent, and there are accounts of how he and Nyikang, in contest with Dimo, were able to blind Dimo's people and his cattle, thus forcing Dimo to give up the fire, which he had hidden, and to release the rain, which he had stopped. The significance of this power of Nyikang and Dak to cause blindness will later be suggested. Here we remark that the effigy of Dak, used in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is now a long figure made from bamboos and surmounted with black ostrich feathers, and that Dak is still a symbol of the warlike qualities of the Shilluk king. He is the fighter while Nyikang is the leader. The third son, Cal, who is also represented in effigy in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is made not of ambatch, like Nyikang, nor of bamboo, like Dak, but of rope, and the feathers which form his head are the grey feathers of the female ostrich.[3] He plays a less important part than Dak or Nyikang in the ceremonies. We are told that Cal was a coward, and therefore Nyikang thought it safe for him to remain with him and Dak, while he sent away another of his sons, Buro, because he was as headstrong as Dak.[4] It is said that Cal succeeded his father as king, but did not reign for long and disappeared, to be succeeded by his brother

[1] Hofmayr, p. 14. The emblems then were a skin for slinging across the shoulder of the king, and a hoe of some kind. Other emblems were later acquired. The story shows how Shilluk ideas of kingship are bound up with the possession of distinguishing emblems by the king.

[2] Who is sometimes said to be a brother of Nyikang. The relationship varies with the context of the telling of the story.

[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 68.

[4] Oyler, 1918 (i).

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173 Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the [182 Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the 643] aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-173 Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people 182 and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the 602 loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further 173 migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred 773 when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before cross-821 ing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the herd of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles 643 of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or 773 bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yangaro*, *Tsangaro*, or *Djindjiro*, and other details of the story are said to connect with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The résumé here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 159–61.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix–xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

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772 or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the
773 river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus,
776 all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

776 Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should
[643] die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal.
182 Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk appre-
643 hend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is under-
776 standable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

182 It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the
773 same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who
776 differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., *passim*.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 115.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

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which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

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631 Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each
793 other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river,
182 the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the cere-
173 monies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

631 Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose
616 confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 75. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 402.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

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643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

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776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [753] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its [643] interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

182 643 776 Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of 173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to 776 kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though [114] in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 159, Nyikang made the effigy.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Op. cit., p. 193.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.
[7] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

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643 781 theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 772 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have 776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which [182 643] every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is [182 643] concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king 643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[171] [1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of its occupant, are most clearly recognized. Then the elected king, wearing on his wrists the emblematic silver bracelets and followed by a bearer carrying a fan made from the wings of the saddle-billed stork, comes down from the mound of the shrine at Aturwic; he is lifted on to the sacred stool of Nyikang, and receives the allegiance of the chiefs of settlements, who stick their spears into the ground before him. Though he sits in state as a king, he is admonished by the chiefs and told what is expected of him. At the election of 1943–4, the chief of Tonga said to the king; 'Our job is not to keep order, that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat.'[1] Although he was speaking of a new, administrative situation, we may see here the idea of the king as a source of social order, who fulfils his function merely by existing. The king's office keeps the Shilluk in palpable relation with an ideal order, which they hold to be the true order of their universe. There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk only believe what they see'.[2] In their human king they are also able to see what they believe.

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 71. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 377.

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171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 621 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *podh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in propor-
tion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[221] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary
[883] cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
614 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates
631 in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer
grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk
and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth
of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, super-
imposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the
clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively
simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly
clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the
sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic
habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
182 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
721 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name
of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar*
Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor
is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the
tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and
although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has
ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [631] [36]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

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The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade. 361 621 [345] [513] [237] [825]

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note. [342] 592 [411]

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead. 592 672 [422] [171] [182]

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177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-
[684] mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
[182 system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively con-
583] venient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

429 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhoh*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

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182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *fal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836 684] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

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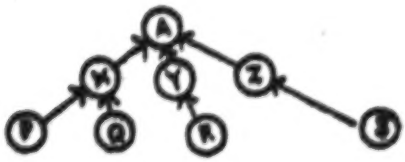
compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182 having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582 that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607 It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613 Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835 and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." [753] 755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

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182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[584] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
768 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,[38] or
[587] they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwar* may be roughly translated as "clan" 614
and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwar* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains [182]
and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain those traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmenta- 613
tion and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Never- [614]
theless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

[p. 47]

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613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

613 614

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

6a1

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

361 484 [182] [678]

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] [Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

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554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Reth*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

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chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

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THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organisation is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 643 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [170] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

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5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1925) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

> "Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

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social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority 182
is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual 561
obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which 614
unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The 622
Jago[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representa- 613
tives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the 643
settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*. 614

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and 561
prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial 613
proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male 621
members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but 182
does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in [701]
warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of 561
puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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7. Chief.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Lual*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[178] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shiliuk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth : The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth : A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa : Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak : Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro, "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 145 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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(P.P.H.)

The funeral dance of the late *reth* was held in his private village on 7th, 8th, 9th of November, 46 days after his death. The dance is known as *wowo* in Shilluk, and is different from that held for other members of the tribe, which is called *ywok*. 766

All arrangements are in the hands of the *kwareth*, and Colo chiefs have no say in the matter at all. At the outset there was considerable argument among the *kwareth* over the form of the dance and the length of time it should last. The new *reth* and the family of Fafiti took one side and some of the *kwareth* chiefs the other. This argument affords an interesting example of how the form of Shilluk tradition becomes blurred from lack of use and the attention which is paid to past precedents. It is worth noting in this context that the dance held in 1913 for *reth* Fadiet lasted for two days only in his private village (*i.e.* the village where he had lived before he succeeded to the throne), and that he had held no dance at all for his predecessor *reth* Kur, no doubt owing to the circumstances attending the end of Kur's reign. This neglect on the part of Fadiet so angered his successor Fafiti, that he hurled the royal drums into the Nile, refusing to beat them for Fadiet, who had not fulfilled his traditional obligations to Kur, and held the dance with Fadiet's own drums. Therefore the dance of Fafiti had to be held with his own drums, for the traditional royal drums no longer exist (Note 5). The *reth* and Fafiti's family maintained that the proper period for a royal funeral dance was four days in the private village of the late *reth*. Other *kwareth* said that it should be two days only in the village of the late *reth* followed by an optional dance in Fashoda lasting four days at the discretion of the *reth*-elect. It should be noted, however, that this claim goes back to events several generations ago, for no dance was held at Fashoda either for Kur or Fadiet and probably not for their predecessors, who died unnatural deaths during the Turkish administration and the Mahdia. The new *reth* declared his intention of holding a dance of four days at Fashoda after the ceremonies at Pareth Fafiti, but at the last minute the counsel of the *kwareth* must have prevailed, for the

[644] 1820 766

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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182 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held
766 at Fashoda at all.

[614] The duties of organizing the dance and of beating the drums fall
766 to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorized persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was notice-
776 able how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return
[644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers
766 came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pothe manyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bugon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to assure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth's* remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *wowo*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

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[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Col.*, S.N.R. Vol. 1. 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. P. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27. 1946, and Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29. 1948.

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fafiti *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom.

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(ii) In the case of his successor Anei *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Dak *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption.

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[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

[2] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Id.*, p. 6 and p. 75.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

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342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradition must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. min.	C.I. max.	N.I. min.	N.I. max.	S min.	S max.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			177.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	88.7	89.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	78.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	70.5	87.9			178.2												
D 3	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder R= right upper arm and shoulder B= Back A= Abdomen

=the minimum =the maximum

Tribal Marks.

304 619 [114] The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Buor and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum , as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

114 184 304 619 The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower incisors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk the royal family alone keep their tooth intact." (17) From the results I have obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:

a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,

b) that some royal members practice it.

304 197 [753] The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debalo, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers were to be seen clustered round Debalo. There followed the usual delay while *kwa* Ojul, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda,[11] were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *kwa* Okelo who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after stepping over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anei and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to motor northwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12:30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Gray antelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, her luggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *laus*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two Government police, stationed at Debalo for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anei on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the *khor* Arepejur was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by eluding its captors and running away down *Khor* Arepejur, from which it was only retrieved with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 by the *ororo* and *kwareth* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming [164 144] owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, *because Kur, as son of Fabiti, is popular in the north while he may be less* so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the [123 184] mound of *Athurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurwic; jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

[411] 184 [576] [631]

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.*

[928]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

643 782 [578]

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

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[771
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Nyikang who is the medium between man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way to participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyikang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The participation of Nyikang in the king raises the kingship to a plane above all sectional interests, whether local or of descent. All the Shilluk share in the kingship, [185] however their loyalties may pull them apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common to all the people: success in war against foreigners and the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, and of those wild beasts which are of service to man. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thomson tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*piny bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shilluks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the investiture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* p. xliii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 when he is asked to kill a man he may take a sheep, and cleave its head with an axe, and he declares that in the same manner his power has broken the head of the man against whom the charm was worked. They try to impress the people with a sense of the mysterious, and very frequently they have strings stretched in their houses to impress the people who seek their services.

[77] 185 The witch doctors exert a powerful influence over the Shilluks. Their influence is always against innovation, and they seek to hold the old order of things. While a medicine man who is just beginning his practice must be successful to gain the confidence of the people, yet when he once has their confidence he can readily explain away all his failures.

Very few Shilluks will admit that they believe in the power of the medicine man, but in spite of their denials they seek him constantly, and their whole manner of life is influenced by the witch doctor. A few are beginning to question the whole system. Once a gourd of God broke when some warriors were being tested before a fight. The grain that had been in it was spilled on the ground. One man pointed to the grain, and said: "Is that God"? Apparently he was the only one of the party, who connected the noise made by the gourd with the grain that was in the gourd.

So long as the Shilluks are dominated by the medicine men, they will make very slight advancement in their mode of thought and their manner of living.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185 ●
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [443]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 advantage of the superiority that the mission education
159 gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

*797 To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little
● 185 or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women,
[759] the Sisters ('*Thwore*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suore*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place
872 where his children could learn to read and write, but rather
*797 a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring
857 could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to
[262] them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in the school, knowing that re-entrance was barred to them 797 *
if they ran away, and sensing what the coldness of their 872
reception at the family dinner table would be if they returned at such a time, elected to stay, and found that actually gozintas and all that could be fun. They remained for that year and came back for more the following year. Numbers grew year by year until the happy day in mid-January 1946 when I had to turn applicants away through lack of room.

At the time of writing the Shilluk have become far more [185] education-conscious, and all our schools can now be filled without any difficulty. Indeed the problem has now become that of finding sufficient room and teachers for all who apply. Even girls are coming forward in increasing numbers. The [562] reader may have noticed that so far there has been mention only of boys. In 1940, girl education was but an idle dream. Now each mission has its separate girls' school in the care of the Sisters, and so the prospects for the future Christianizing of the Shilluk are thereby considerably enhanced.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [464] [221]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuje*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *juak*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Differences and divisions between the Shilluk and other Nilotic peoples are attributed to differences between Nyikang and others who are thought to have been once closely associated with him. Differences between the Shilluk and people whose culture and system of thought are quite unlike their own are attributed to an ubiquitous God, *juok*. Leaving aside for the moment the Shilluk classification of people within their own kingdom, I mention briefly some of the stories referring to the relationship between the Shilluk and some other Nilotes, and between the Shilluk and foreign invaders.

According to one Shilluk tradition,[1] in the original migration from their first homeland, 'the land of Duwat', the Shilluk were with their leader Nyikang, and with them were the Dinka led by Dengdit, the Anuak led by Gilo, and the Luo led by Odimo. There are various versions of this story, and the presence of Odimo in it is inconsistent with other stories about him. The kin relationship supposed to exist between the leaders also varies from one account to another. In this version, the Anuak first broke away, and then the Dinka, and finally, when the Shilluk were on the fringes of the country they now occupy, the Luo turned away towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The story shows some idea of successive developments in a necessary chronological order, and the stories of the relationship of the Shilluk with the Luo contain circumstantial details, some of which are confirmed in independent accounts given by the Luo themselves.[2] These are people who are thought to have been involved in Shilluk history from very early times; we are not given any indication that the Shilluk attempt to account for their existence, but only that they themselves account for their relationship with the Shilluk. It is not so with the stories about white and brown people. One tells, for example, how it was that God (*juok*) came to help the *turuk*, the Turk or European,[3] rather than others of his sons, the people of Darfur, the Abyssinians, and the Shilluk, who were afraid or refused to approach him.[4] Another version, found also among other Nilotic peoples, attributes the success of the light-skinned people both to superior guile on their part, and to some preference shown them by God. We are also told that when God began to make men, he made them from light-coloured clay, until his hands became dirty towards the end of his task, and he then made the Shilluk, who lost their equality with the light-skinned people.[5] Like other Nilotes, the Shilluk seem to have singled out writing and guns as the gifts with which God gave supremacy to the foreigners;[6] and Shilluk songs recorded by Hofmayr[7] suggest that circumcision has come to stand for much that is contemptible in foreign custom and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 14.

[2] J. P. Crazzolara, 1950, has tried to build up the traditions of the Luo (Lwoo)-speaking peoples into a connected history.

[3] Though Turks, Arabs, and Europeans can be verbally distinguished from each other in Shilluk, Europeans, particularly when they are officials, are often called *turuk*.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 241.

[5] Ibid., p. 207.

[6] Westermann, 1912.

[7] 1925, pp. 460 ff.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Heasty, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *ya puny*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Heasty, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

APPENDIX V.

The Character of the Shilluk and some of their Conventions.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which most other features of their character spring. Their intense conserva-
186 tism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reth's* chief policeman, an intelligent
[626] man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant
153 in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyireth* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VI

SHILLUK GOVERNMENT

643 Such is the relation of the Shilluk land to the lands of neighbouring peoples and to the great countries and powers of the modern world. Yet of these latter the Shilluk thinks very little. To him, his country is the world, and its government is all-important to his well-being. That government, and indeed all concept of authority, is centred in the [642] person of the Shilluk king.

'*L'état, c'est moi!*' No French monarch ever uttered that dictum with more assurance than a Shilluk king might have done had he ever heard of it, and thought it worth while to put into words what to him and all the Shilluk was a self-evident truth. Indeed, if a Shilluk were to enunciate his concept of the royal dignity, he would go much further than [642] merely to say that the king is the state, in the sense that he is an absolute monarch who rules his people according to his own dictates, who heeds not, indeed does not need, the advice of counsellors; who merely has to state his wishes for those wishes immediately to have the effect of law. He would indeed claim such despotic power on behalf of his king, though, lest some myrmidon of the Government was within hearing, he would hasten to add that it was no longer exercised and that no modern Shilluk monarch would in fact rule his country in so arbitrary a manner, yet would further aver that the king of the Shilluk is the state, in a way, and to a degree, that no European Monarch ever was; that to say that he ruled by the 'divine right of kings' would be something of an understatement; that he was king, not merely by divine authority and approbation, but that he was a divine king. For every Shilluk king has been and must be a descendant of Nyikang, the great deified hero-king of [186] the Shilluk.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 others were taken to Omdurman and kept there as prisoners for ten years. The missionaries in Khartoum fled to Cairo, there to await the freeing of the Sudan by Anglo-Egyptian forces.

The revolt was suppressed in 1898, and it was only then that it became possible to carry out Mgr. Comboni's desire. In the beginning of December, 1900, Mgr. Roveggio, with Fathers Tappi and Ortwalder, left Khartoum in the mission boat *Redemptor* to explore the possibilities of founding a mission. They had decided to search in Dinka country, but the boatmen made a mistake and landed them on the Shilluk side of the river. Arriving at Fashoda, they sent a delegation to the king who answered that he would come himself to see them, but in the meantime needed a bottle of brandy as he was not well. When the king finally came on board, Mgr. Roveggio asked his permission to begin a mission among the Shilluk. The king consented and gave them a site at Tonga, far to the south. The missionaries then continued their journey to inspect the place the king had given them, and decided to accept it, but on their return they found that he had changed his mind and now wished them to settle at Lul, not far from his residence, as he thought that it would be more to his advantage to have them near at hand. On February 11th, Fathers Tappi and Huber went to live in the new mission station, the first established among the Shilluk.

*797 The beginnings of the mission were exceedingly difficult. ● 186 Father Stang explained later: 'The Shilluk always speak 798 badly of "foreigners", and despise everything which is not Shilluk, and this for two reasons: their pride in their own nation and the great suffering caused them by the Arabs and Mahdists.' The people would not go near the mission, and the old men and women kept away the curious children by telling them that the white men only wanted them as slaves, or would kill them to make poisons out of their blood. On July 7th, 1901, two of the mission huts were set on fire and only the timely arrival of Father Beduschi with supplies on July 24th saved the priests who had been left without shelter and food and tools. Ten years later the same Father wrote:

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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'When Father Tappi and I started the first mission among the Shilluk at Lul, they did not want us; they hated us and twice attempted to kill us.' During the first few months the natives twice attempted to take their lives by throwing spears at them. One of their greatest troubles was the learning of the language, a tongue absolutely unknown to Europeans. The Shilluk could not bear the thought that foreigners should learn their language and did all they could to prevent them from doing so. They answered their questions falsely, and laughed scornfully at the attempts of the missionaries to write down the strange words; twice, too, they set fire to their houses so as to destroy their work. With time this difficulty was overcome, but even when the people could understand them they refused to listen to what they had to say. 'How is it possible,' they asked, 'for there to be anything good in heaven? Even the birds come down to eat so as not to die of hunger. We Shilluk are made to eat and dance; you foolish men can have your heaven.' They ran away from men so cruel as to wear on their breasts a cross with a man fixed to it. Alone in their mud huts, often hungry and often ill with malaria, the missionaries had only their faith and their trust in God to keep them at their posts. The health of the laybrothers became seriously impaired and yet not one Shilluk would come to work for them. To add to their troubles, the rains stopped earlier than usual that year and all their crops were ruined; the work they had done was wasted, and they were left even without seed to plant.

797* 186 798 797*

Little by little, however, the natives began to approach the mission, first out of curiosity to see the work the white men were doing, and then to beg, whilst the king showed his interest by sending occasionally for a bottle of brandy, some money or some other present. At the same time the missionaries began to gain a reputation as doctors and were thus able to make friends with some of the people and baptize some children before they died. In 1903 the king deigned to visit the mission and stayed the night with the Fathers; he ordered the nearby villagers to send milk and instructed

[643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*akon.*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is due, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kojo respectively.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, 233
are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees
hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how [192]
cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal [782]
occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase
a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a [435]
cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also 234
by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The [462]
quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are [415]
washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also
wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the [171]
custom with Dinkas and Nuers. [237]

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at
night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The 343
rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with 233
ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are penned in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off 221
the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when 233
grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of
the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White [462]
Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not unhazardous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England
101 would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true 'nobility'. This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

[197]
[192]

Funj.		Shilluk.	
bunj	Arab	*bunó*	stranger, Arab
ibibia	ant	*lil*	white ant
kumas	to eat	*ekimg*	to eat
nasi	hippo	*nasi*	crocodile
lei	giraffe	*lei*	game
jok	God	*jungk*	God
kglu	star	*kyglg*	star
mimu	dumb	*mije*	dumb
kaj an	to-day	*kach an*	this time
ko-aong	spear	*tgi*	spear
kuu	stick	*kg, kg*	stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has not in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not have borrowed from those languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hameg (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hameg continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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197 consisting in one consonant and one vowel, to which certain elements were added at a later time.

In Shilluk the characteristics mentioned above can easily be traced:

1. the stems are monosyllabic; see 61;
2. though the majority of the words do not consist in one consonant and one vowel, it is shown in 68 that a number of stems can be traced to the original primitive form;
3. the language has no inflection; the vowel-changes occurring in the verb and noun, which come near to what might be called inflection, are most probably of Hamitic origin. The nouns have no class-prefixes;
4. grammatical gender is absent; the rudiments of it which do exist, are of Hamitic origin;
5. Intonation dominates in the language.

Comparative Lists of Words.

197 Their object is to show in a number of words:

a) the identity of Shilluk proper and its dialects or divisions.

192 b) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Niloto-Sudanic languages, viz. Dinka and Nuer.

c) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Eastern Sudan languages. Of these Nuba is treated in the list; it has a good number of words in common with Shilluk; in other Eastern Sudanic languages such common words are rarer.

d) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and Bongo; this language, though having its habitat amidst the Shilluk languages, shows remarkable connections with Central Sudanic languages, particularly with Bagirmi. Some of the Bongo-words which it has in common with Shilluk, may of course be loan-words.

e) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and a Niloto-Hamitic language, viz. Bari.

f) the genealogical relation of Shilluk and some other Eastern Sudan languages to the Western Sudan-languages.

a)—e) are comprised in one group; f) forms a group for itself. Both groups might without difficulty have been multiplied, but the examples given will suffice.

[In order to show more fully the affinities in vocabulary between the Niloto-Sudanic and the Niloto-Hamitic group, a number of words common to languages of both groups are given in their Hamitic form in the *Dictionary*. It will be seen that the conformities with Shilluk are more nume-

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

rous in the Bari-Masai than in the Nandi-Tatoga group. The Dictionary contains also some hints regarding the very few words which are identical in Shilluk and in the High Niloto-Sudanic group.] 1917 192

In the comparative lists some letters are used, which do not occur in Shilluk, and need therefore an explanation.

ǫ is the German ö in nötig "necessary"; it is pronounced in rounding the lips as if pronouncing an o and then saying an e. — Mitterrutzner's ȧ I render by ǫ. ~ is the mark for nasalization: ã is nasalized a as in French an "year". ǵ is a palatal g, it sounds almost like j. In Nuer and Anywak the pronunciation of final mute consonants and even of y is in certain cases followed by a pressing of the larynx, so that the consonant sounds very abrupt, and is sometimes hardly audible. These sounds are rendered by ': *E, y'*, etc. (Some divisions of Shilluk as well as Masai and Nandi have the same sounds; see Johnston page 888.) — Kitching frequently writes "*or*" at the end of a word, where other languages have ǫ; I suppose that here "*or*" simply expresses ǫ, "*or*" being frequently used by English speaking authors for ǫ.

Most of the authors quoted do not distinguish *o* and ǫ, *e* and ɛ, some not even long and short vowels; none has marked interdental sounds; thus the differences between Shilluk and the other languages look greater than they really are, the difference being only one of orthography.

The following remarks belong to the second group only.

ɨ, ɨ́ are narrow vowels; ɨ, í are wide vowels.

ḍ and ḷ are cerebral sounds; they are formed a little further back in the mouth than where the usual d and l are articulated.

ḳ is a transformed *k*; the changes which it undergoes in certain languages are different from those of the usual *k*.

χ is the German ch in "ach".

v is the English v.

ɨ is an i with rounded lips, as in German "übt".

ẃ is ɨ with a following short y.

First Group.

Shi. *bgr* long	Any. *bat* arm	Ju. *bɨt* sharp, pointed
Ga. *bor* long	Ju. *bat* arm	Any. *bɨdi* sharp, pointed
Ju. *bār* long	Ja. *bāt* arm	Di. *bit* fish-spear
Di. *bar* long	La. *bāt* arm	Nr. *biṭ* fish-spear
Nr. *bgr* long	Shi. *bɨṭ* fish-spear	Shi. *dbích* five
Shi. *bit* arm	Ga. *bit* sharp	Ga. *abích* five
Ga. *bat* arm	Ju. *bɨdi* fish-spear	Ju. *abích* five

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

197 Any. *abíyù* five
Ja. *abīch* five
192 Al. *abi* five
Ba. *bu* five

Shi. *bǭdǫ* artist, smith
Ju. *bōdo* artist, smith
Bo. *bǫro* artist, smith
Ba. *bōdo* artist, smith

Shi. *būl* drum
Ga. *bul* drum
Ju. *būl* drum
Any. *būl* drum
Nr. *būl* drum
Ja. *būl* drum
La. *būl* drum
Al. *wūl* drum

Shi. *bur* ashes
Ga. *buru* ashes
Ju. *bur* ashes
Nu. *oburti* ashes
Bo. *buruku* ashes

Shi. *butǫ* to lie down
Ga. *buto* to lie down
Ju. *budo* to lie down
Any. *butǫ* to lie down
Di. *but* to waylay

Shi. *byǫ́l* dura
Ga. *bel* corn
Ju. *bǫl* dura
Any. *byǫ́l* dura
Nr. *bǭl* dura
Di. *bel* dura

Shi. *chāk* milk
Ga. *chak* milk
Ju. *chak* milk
Any. *chāk* milk
Nr. *chāk* milk

Di. *cha* milk
Nu. *ichi* milk

Shi. *chāmǫ* to eat
Ga. *chamo* to eat
Ju. *shame* to eat
Any. *chama* to eat
Nr. *cham* to eat
Ja. *chamo, chygmǫ* to eat
La. *samǫ* to eat
Di. *cham* to eat

Shi. *chul* penis
Ju. *shul* penis
Any. *chul* penis
Nr. *chul* penis
La. *sūl* penis
Al. *chūl* penis
Ba. *toluto* testicles
Nu. *sorot* penis
Di. *chul* penis

Shi. *chuń, chwiń* liver
Ga. *chwin* liver
Ju. *shwiń* liver
Nr. *chwoń* liver
Di. *chwen* liver

Shi. *chūńǫ* to stop
Ga. *chuńo* to stop
Ju. *chuń* to stop
Any. *chūńǫ* to stop
Nr. *chuń* to stop

Shi. *chwǫr* vulture
Ga. *ochur* vulture
achut vulture
Ju. *achut* vulture
Nr. *chwǫ́r* vulture
Di. *chwor* vulture

Shi. *ádǭk* three
Ga. *adek* three

Ju. *adak* three
Any. *àdǫ́gǫ̀* three
Ba. *bu-dǫk* eight, that is: five and three
Ja. *adek* three
La. *adek* three
Al. *adek* three

Shi. *ḍāk* pot
Ga. *dak* pot
Ju. *dak* pot
Any. *dak* pot
Nr. *ṭǭk* pot
Ba. *dāk* pot

Shi. *ḍāṇ* man
Ga. *dano* man
Jur. *dano* man
Any. *ḍāṇ* man
Ja. *dāṇǫ* man
La. *danǫ* man
Al. *danǫ* man
Di. *ran* man
Nr. *rān* man

Shi. *ḍǭk* mouth
Ga. *dok* mouth
Ju. *tio* mouth
Any. *ḍǭk* mouth
Ja. *dōk* mouth
La. *dǫk* mouth
Al. *dǫk* mouth
Di. *wtock* mouth
Nr. *ṭǫk* mouth
Nu. *ak* mouth
Bo. *ndu* language
Ba. *ka-tok* mouth

Shi. *gǭjǫ* to beat
Ju. *goi* to beat
Any. *gwai* to beat

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Ja. *gūjǫ* to shoot
Bo. *gbe* to beat
Ba. *gwai* to beat

Shi. *ogwal* frog
Ga. *ogwal* frog
Ju. *ogwal* frog
Any. *ogwal* frog
Nu. *guglati* frog

Shi. *gwok* dog
Ga. *gwok* dog
Ju. *gwok* dog
Any. *gwok* dog
Ja. *gwok* dog
La. *guōk* dog
Al. *guōk* dog
Di. *jo* dog
Nr. *jǫ̀k* dog
Ba. *dyoń* dog

Shi. *gyēnō* hen
Ga. *gweno* hen
Ju. *gyeno* hen
Any. *gwenǫ* hen
Ja. *gweno* hen
La. *gwēno* hen
Al. *gwēno* hen
Bo. *ńgono* hen

Shi. *jɛ̄* people
Ga. *jī* people
Any. *jō* people
Bo. *jī, ǵī* people
Ba. *gwes* tribe

Shi. *jwǫk* God
Ga. *jok* demon
Any. *jwǫk* God
Ju. *jwok* fortune
Ja. *jwoyi* ghost
La. *ǫk* God

Al. *jǫk* God
Di. *ajyek, ajǫk* demon
Ba. *ajwok, jwek* demon

Shi. *kābǫ* to take away
Ga. *kabo* to bring
Ju. *kābi* to bring
Di. *kap* to bring, take
Nr. *kāp* to take

Shi. *kādǫ* salt[1]
Ga. *kado* salt
Ju. *kada* salt
Any. *kadǫ* salt
Nr. *kàdè* salt

Shi *kāgǫ* to split
Ga. *kak* to split
Nu. *kage* to split
Ba. *kagu* to split

Shi. *kɛ̄ch* bitter
Ga. *kech* bitter
Ju. *kɛ̄ch* bitter
Any. *kɛch* bitter
Nu. *kag-al* sharp
Di. *kech* bitter
Bo. *ke* bile

Shi. *kich* bee
Ga. *kich* bee
Ju. *kich* bee
Any. *kich* bee
Ja. *kīch'* bee
La. *kits* bee
Al. *kīch* bee
Di. *kyech* bee
Nu. *kit, kuti* bee
Ba. *chi, chiwo* bee

Shi. *kǫt* rain
Ga. *kot* rain
Ju. *kǫt* rain

Any. *kǫt* rain
Ja. *kōt* rain
La. *kǫt* rain
Al. *kǫt* rain
Nr. *kǫt* rain, God
Ba. *kudu* rain

Shi. *akur* pigeon
Ga. *akuri* pigeon
Di. *kurs* pigeon
Nr. *kùr* pigeon
Nu. *kuru* pigeon
Ba. *gure* pigeon

Shi. *kwālǫ*, *kwgtǫ* } to steal
Ga. *kwalo* to steal
Any. *kwgtǫ* to steal
Ja. *kwalǫ* to steal
La. *kwalo* to steal
Di. *kwal* to steal
Nr. *kwal* to steal
Ba. *kola-nit* theft

Shi. *kwgnǫ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwgn* to count
Di. *kwen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

Shi. *kwāńǫ* to swim
Ga. *kwańo* to swim
Ju. *kwań* to swim
Any. *kwal* to swim
Nu. *kuǵe* to swim

Shi. *kwɛ̄rg* cotton
Ga. *wara* cotton
Ju. *wara* cotton
Ba. *wara* cotton

[1] salt made of grass-ashes.

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Shi. *kwārǫ* grandfather
Ga. *kwaro* grandfather
Ju. *kwā* grandfather
Di. *kǫkwar* grandfather
Nr. *kwāro* chief
Ba. *ńa-kwari* grandchild

Shi. *kwārǫ* red
Ga. *kwar* red
Ju. *kwar* red
Nr. *kwār* red
Nu. *kor-gos* yellow

Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kǫgo* leopard
Ba. *koka* / *kwaru* } leopard

Shi. *kwǫn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwǫn* bread
kwǫn bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwǫn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

Shi. *dkyęl* one
Ga. *achel* one
Ju. *akyęlo* one
Any. *àchyęlǫ* one
Ja. *achyel* one
Al. *achyel* one
Bo. *kotu* one
Ba. *bu-ker* six = five + 1

Shi. *kyęń* horse
Ga. *kana* horse
Ju. *akaja* donkey
Any. *okwęń* horse
Ja. *kańima* horse
Bo. *akasa* horse
Nu. *kach* horse, donkey
Ba. *kaine* horse

Shi. *lachǫ* to piss
Ga. *layo* to piss
Ju. *alach* urine
Any. *la* to piss
Ja. *lāch'* urine
La. *lās* urine
Al. *lāch* urine
Di. *lach* to piss
Ba. *lode* urine

Shi. *lǫi* game
Ga. *le* game
Ju. *lai* game
Any. *lǫi* game
Nr. *lęi* game
Ba. *lai* game

Shi. *lāmǫ* to pray
Ga. *lamo* to sacrifice
Di. *lam* to pray
Nr. *lam* to pray
Bo. *loma* God
Ba. *lǫm* to insult

Shi. *lęń* war
Ga. *lwen* war
Ju. *lwiń* war
Ja. *luen* war
Any. *leń* war
Bo. *lań* gun

Shi. *alilit* bat
Ga. *olik* bat
Any. *aligá* bat
Di. *alich* bat
Ba. *lukululi* bat

Shi. *lwōkǫ* to wash
Ga. *lwoko* to wash
Ju. *lwok* to wash
Any. *lwǫk* to wash
Di. *lǫk* to wash
Nr. *lak* to wash
Bo. *dogu* to wash
Ba. *lalaju* to wash

Shi. *māch* fire
Ga. *mach* fire
Ju. *mach* fire
Any. *māyǫ* fire
Ja. *mach'* fire
La. *māch* fire
Al. *māch* fire
Di. *mai* fire
Nr. *māch* fire

Shi. *mǭdǫ* to drink
Ga. *mato* to drink
Ju. *māde* to drink
Any. *māḏǫ* to drink
Ja. *madǫ* to drink
La. *matǫ* to drink
Di. *mat* to drink
Nr. *mǭt* to drink

Shi. *māgǫ* to catch
Ga. *mako* to catch
Ju. *mau* to catch
Any. *mak* to catch
Di. *mwǫk* to catch
Nu. *māge* to catch, steal
Ba. *mok* to catch

Shi. *mǭnǫ* to hate
Ga. *mon* to hate

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Di. *man* to hate
Nu. *mōne* to hate
Ba. *man* to hate

Shi. *mgt* slow
Ga. *mot* slow
Ju. *māde* slow
Di. *māt* slow
Nr. *mgt* slow
Bo. *mēt* slow
Ba. *madai* slow

Shi. *ngng* to sleep
Ga. *nino* to sleep
Ju. *nen* / *nendo* } to sleep
Di. *nin* to sleep
Nr. *nygn* to sleep
Nu. *nalū* / *nēre* } to sleep

Shi. *ngng* to see
Ga. *neno* to see
Any. *ngna* to see
Ja. *neno* to see
Nr. *ngn* to see
Nu. *nale* to see

Shi. *ńai* crocodile
Ga. *ńai* crocodile
Ju. *ńai* crocodile
Any. *ńai* crocodile
Ja. *ńai* crocodile
La. *aki-ńai* crocodile
Al. *ńai* crocodile
Di. *ńai* crocodile
Nr. *ńai* crocodile
Bo. *ńaia* crocodile
Ba. *li-ńai* crocodile

Shi. *ńājg* to know
Ga. *ńeyo* to know

Ju. *ńgo* / *ńaya* } to know
Ja. *ńeyo* to know
Any. *ńg* to know
Nr. *ńgch* to know

Shi. *ńiỵ* what?
Ga. *ańor* what?
Any. *ńiỵ* what?
Di. *ńo, ńu* what?
Nr. *ńu* what?
Ba. *ńio* what?

Shi. *pei, fei* earth
Ga. *pin* earth
Ju. *piń* earth
Any. *fei* earth
Ja. *piń* earth
La. *piże* earth
Di. *piń* earth
Nr. *pei* earth

Shi. *pi* water
Ga. *pi* water
Ju. *pfi, fi* water
Any. *pi* water
Ja. *pi* water
La. *pi* water
Al. *pi* water
Di. *pi* water
Nr. *pi* water
Ba. *piom* water

Shi. *fgńg* to divide
Ga. *poko* to divide
Ju. *pai* to divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Bo. *eke-bake* to divide

Shi. *rōjg* fish
Ga. *rech* fish
Ju. *rēyo* fish

Any. *reo* fish
Ja. *rech'* fish
La. *rech* fish
Al. *rech* fish
Di. *rēch* fish
Nr. *rech* fish
Nu. *ka-rē* fish

Shi. *rgmg* blood
Ga. *remo* blood
Ju. *remo* blood
Any. *rgmg* blood
Ja. *remg* blood
La. *remu* blood
Al. *remo* blood
Di. *ryam* blood
Nr. *rygm* blood
Bo. *trama* blood
Ba. *rima* blood

Shi. *rīńg* meat
Ga. *rińo* meat
Ju. *rińo* meat
Any. *rīńg* meat
Ja. *rińg* meat
La. *rińo* meat
Al. *rińo* meat
Di. *riń* meat
Nr. *rīń* meat
Nu. *arich, arfi* meat

Shi. *rōdg* thirst
Ga. *orwor* thirst
Ju. *ryau* thirst
Any. *ryo* thirst
Di. *rou* thirst
Ba. *rodu* to wither

Shi. *rgmg* sheep
Ga. *romo* sheep
Ju. *rōmo* sheep

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197 Any. *rǫmǫ* sheep
Nr. *rǭm* sheep
192 Bo. *rǫmbō* sheep

Shi. *rǭmǫ* to meet
Ga. *romo* to meet
Ju. *romo* to meet
Di. *rom* to meet
Nr. *rōm* to meet
Ba. *rum* to meet

Shi. *rugǫ* to dress
Ga. *riko* to dress
Di. *ruk* to dress
Ba. *ruk* to dress

Shi. *wūm* nose
Ga. *um* nose
Ju. *hum* nose
Ja. *um* nose
La. *um* nose
Al. *um* nose
Any. *óm* nose
wum nose
Di. *um* nose
Nr. *rum* nose
Bo. *hǫmo* nose
Ba. *kume* nose

Shi. *áryàu* two
Ga. *aryor* two
Ju. *aryau* two
Any. *àréàu* two
Ja. *areio* two
La. *ariǭ* two
Al. *ariǭ* two
Di. *rou* two

Nu. *ora, ore* twenty
Ba. *ǫri* two
bu-ryǫ seven = five + two

Shi. *t̪ǭk* (to be) hard
Ga. *tek* hard
Ju. *t̪ǭk* hard
Any. *t̪ǭk* hard
Di. *tyek* hard
Bo. *tigo* hard

Shi. *t̪ǭn*, pl. *t̪ǫnǫ* small
Ga. *tidi* small
Any. *tēn* small
Ja. *tēn* small
Nu. *tin, tūń* small
tod small

Shi. *t̪ǫwǫ* to die
Ga. *tor* to die
Any. *t̪ǫu* to die
Ja. *tǫ* to die
La. *tó* to die
Di. *tou* to die
Ba. *tuan* to die

Shi. *wārǫ* shoe
Ga. *war* shoe
Any. *war* shoe
Di. *war* shoe
Nr. *wár* shoe
Nu. *kwarī* shoe

Shi. *wǫr* night
Ju. *war* night
Any. *wǫrǫ* night
Ja. *wǫr* night

Nr. *wǭr* night
Nu. *awar* night

Shi. *wēkǫ* to give
Ga. *weko* to give away
Di. *yek* to give
Ba. *yek* to give

Shi. *wǭlǫ* to travel
Ga. *wel* to travel
Ba. *wala* to travel

Shi. *wiṅǫ* bird
Ga. *wiṅo* bird
Ju. *wiṅo* bird
Any. *wǭyǫ* bird
Ja. *weṅǫ* bird
La. *wēn* bird
Al. *wiṅō* bird
Ba. *kwen* bird

Shi. *wōrǫ* to sing
Ju. *wǫr* song
Ga. *wer* song
Ja. *wir* song
La. *wer* song
Al. *wer* song
Nu. *owe* to sing
Ba. *yoyu, yolo* to sing

Shi. *yǭi* boat
Ga. *yeya* boat
Ju. *yei* boat
Any. *yǭi* boat
Ja. *ṅjie* boat
La. *yede* boat
Al. *yei* boat
Bo. *yēi* boat.

Second Group.

The words in the first line designate the "original Sudanic form", which has been gained by comparing the sounds of a word in the different languages, and thus finding out those sounds which may be considered as the most primi-

tive. This "original Sudanic form" is of course merely hypothetical. For more on this see my "Sudansprachen", from which the greater part of these words are taken.

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S. bịa to come

E. *vá* to come
bá to come
T. *ba* to come
ǫbra coming into the world
G. *ba* to come
bla coming into the world
Y. *ba* shall, should
Ibo *bia* to come
Isoama *bia* to come
Eafeng *ba* to come
Abouré *va* to come
Alaguiang *va* to come
Avikam *ba, iba* to come
Mékyibo *ba* to come
Di. *abi* prefix of future
Nu. *bi* prefix of future
Shi. *bi, bia* to come
Any. *bi* prefix of future
Nr. *bi* prefix of future
Ga. *bino* to come

S. bụagi to fear

E. *vṹ* to fear
Ef. *bak* to fear
Shi. *bõkǫ* to fear
bwõkǫ to frighten
Any. *bwǫk* to fear

S. bụla open place

E. *ablǫ* open place
F. *abǫ-ntsi*, *abrǫ-ntsi* } main street, open place
G. *blǫ* street
V. *bar* large, open place
Nu. *bud* place before the house
Di. *bur, abora* market place
Shi. *bụra* open place

S. ga place

E. *gà* place
T. *ǫka* this place
N. *ga* this, that
Nu. *aga, agar* place
Shi. *ga* this
agak these

S. gaga cowrie

E. *àgàgà* cowrie
Di. *gak* cowrie
Shi. *gãgǫ* cowrie
Ga. *gage* cowrie
Nr. *gak* cowrie
Bo. *gaki* cowrie

S. gụaṅị antelope

E. *gbàgbà* antelope, "unicorn"
G. *ìmaṅ*, *ìma*, *ìmaṅma* } antelope, "unicorn"
Y. *agbaṅ-rere* "unicorn"
Shi. *aṅwak* waterbuck

S. kụagi, kụaḷị to embrace

E. *kplà* to embrace
T. *kwaṅ* to wind around
G. *kplã* round about
Ef. *ukwaṅ* winding
kpaṅ to fold (hands)
Y. *kpṹ* to carry on the back
Nu. *kat* to envelop
Di. *kwak* to embrace
Shi. *kwakǫ* to embrace
Ga. *kwaka* to embrace

S. kụagi, kụiagi leopard

E. *kpṹ* leopard
T. *etvi* leopard
Ef. *ekpe* leopard
V. *kori* leopard
N. *ǫkũ* leopard
Ku. *uṅka* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kǫgo* leopard
Ba. *koka* leopard
kwaru leopard

S. kụaṅị bread, pudding

E. *akplṹ* pudding of maize
Shi. *kwǫn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwǫn*, *kwǫn* } bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwǫn* bread
Bo. *koã* bread

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S. ḵyanị to count, read

E. *χlẹ̄* to count, read
T. *kaṅ*, *kane* } to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara, karaṅ* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwgnọ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwgn* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nḷú, nḷua to lick, suck

E. *ḍọ́* to lick, suck
ḍúḍọ́ to lick
Y. *adun*, *adgn* } taste
Nu. *duge*, *dach* } to lick
Shi. *ḍōḍọ* to suck, lick

Shi. *ḍwōḍọ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagị to divide

E. *afā* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afā* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pgṅọ* to divide

S. pụu to beat

E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwōdọ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. ṭiagị to be hard

E. *sẹ̄* to be hard, strong

Di. *chẹk* to be hard
Shi. *tẹ̄k* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *tẹ̄k* to be hard
Any. *tẹ̄k* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tịị hand

E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyẹ̄nọ* hand
Ju. *shyeno* hand
Any. *shygnọ* hand

S. tịị to bear a child; wife

E. *ashi* wife
Ku. *shi* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash, ashi* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chi* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Óchólọ* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chọ́l*, or *wate Chọ́l* "children of *Chọl*"; their country: *fọ́ọ̀ chọ́l;* their language: *ḍọ̀ chọ́l*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bgr*, by the Nuers: *Tẹ̄t*.

The *Anyoaks* call themselves: *Anwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Báḷḷk*, by the Dinkas: *Pálḷk*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jāne;* they are called by the Shilluks: *ójdṅọ̀* pl. *jdṅì;* by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánạ̄t* a Nuer man, pl. *Kọgánạ̄t;* their language: *ṭọk Nā̄t;* they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuẹ́r*, by the Dinkas: *Núẹ̀r;* by the Arabs: *Nuẹ́r* or *Nawár*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Luọ or Luọ, by the Shilluks they are called Odimọ, "descendants of Dimọ", by the Bongo: *Bẹ̄r*. The Belanda call them-

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selves *Bgr*. Belanda is a Bongo word, *landa* = stone, hill; so Belanda is probably "hill-country".

The Nubians are in all three languages called: *Dgi*, from "Dongola". According to Schweinfurth in Golo the Nubians are called Turuku, in Jur Oturu, in Bongo Turu; these names are doubtlessly derived from "Turk".

The Bahr Zeraf is called in Shilluk: *Oigl*, in Nuer: *Fgu*, in Dinka: *Piau* The Bahr Jebel is called in Shilluk: *Kēr;* in Dinka: *Kēr*, in Nuer: *Konam;* the Khor Filus is called in Shilluk: *Olūt*, in Dinka: *Pelūt*, in Nuer: *Pulūt*.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed 754
by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring [192]
or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees.

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three 754
different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one 826
testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful.

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at 845
birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone [847]
has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her [844]
first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the woman's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say : «What is it?», If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask : «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer : «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, 672
a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely 845
say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband 847
can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [63] [36]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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614 are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twot* is the word used for the *reth's* messengers.

643 12. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter [114] explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

192 643 13. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

778 14. Our impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

643 15. Cerfuc, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfuc is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 200 yards N.E. of Cerfuc

778 16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

173 778 17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funy" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

000 18. P. Munro. "The installation of the *reth* of the Chol". *S. N. R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

643 778 19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

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[For information on the grammar of the Shilluk language, see Category 116, pp. 7-15, 23-29, 46-94, and 198. --Analyst]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, wia .	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *wa*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *wa* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *waja* and *ma* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ora*) *wa*.
Maiya . .	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wat (pl. *wide*)	Son.
Nyura . .	Children.
Uwa . .	Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.
Nyiwa . .	Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.
Umia . .	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother as a polite form of address.
Nyimia . .	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Ma . .	Mother's sister.
Uma . .	Son of *ma*.
Nyima . .	Daughter of *ma*.
Na . .	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Una . .	Son of *na*.
Nyina . .	Daughter of *na*.
Waja . .	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Uwaja . .	Father's sister's son.
Nywaja . .	Father's sister's daughter.
Mia . .	Father's brother's wife.
Oka . .	Sister's son.
Nyuka . .	Sister's daughter.
Kwa . .	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wanga . .	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Kwara . .	Son's children, daughter's children.
Ora . .	(m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa*. (w.s.) Husband's *umia* and husband's *uma*.
Yara . .	The *uwa* of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *cimada* is more correct.
Nuka[1] . .	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

[1] This word must not be confound with *nyuka* "sister's daughter". To the Shilluk the words were so different that they could not understand why we confound them. We have made a difference in spelling, but the difference—extremely difficult for the untrained ear to detect—may either be vocalic or in the initial consonant, as there are three different *n* sounds in Shilluk.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective
adv. = adverb
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Authors Quoted"
interr. = interrogative
n. = noun, also verbal noun
prep. = preposition
rel. = relative
v. = verb
v. a. = verb active
v. n. = verb neuter
verb. n. = verbal noun

f. = and the following
* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. *ódjo-ódjo* means: *ódjo* is the singular, *ódjo* the plural
< means: is derived from
> means: changes into.

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

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Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Alur	Ju. = Jur
Any. = Anywak	La. = Lango
Ba. = Bari	Nu. = Nuba
Bo. = Bongo	Nr. = Nuer
Di. = Dinka	N. = Nupe
E. = Ewe	Shi. = Shilluk
Ef. = Efik	T. = Tiv
G. = Gã	Y. = Yoruba
Ga. = Gang	V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (*Nyifwa*).

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FIRST SECTION: THE SOUNDS.

THE VOWELS.

Enumeration of the Vowels and their Pronunciation.

●194 The *quality* of vowels is marked by signs *below* the letters, the *quantity* is marked by signs *above* the letters. *Long* vowels are marked by a line, thus: ā = long *a*. All vowels which have no mark above, are *short*.

a is the pure short "Italian" a, the same sound as in English father, only *short*, while a in father is long. The short pure a does not exist in English, but in French, as ami, and in German hatte. Ex.: *kal* fence, *mak* catch!

ǫ is a little narrower than *a*, but wider than *ɛ*. The Shilluk *a* sometimes, especially when pronounced rapidly, has a tendency to turn into *ǫ*, for instance *ńa* "child", and *ma* "which", when standing in compound words, are generally spoken *ńǫ*, *ńɛ* or even *ńe*; *mǫ*, *mɛ*.

ɛ (Bell *æ* low-front), as in English fat, man, perhaps a little more tending towards e, as in English let, well. Ex.: *kɛ̄* go! *bɛ̄* fish-spear.

e (Bell e mid-front) as in French *été*. This sound is not frequent. Ex.: *atet* ichneumon.

ə (Bell eh mid-mixed), a very short, and almost voiceless sound, like e in below, fishes, or like a in idea. It is the so-called 'helping vowel'. The short *e* does not occur at the end of a word, whereas *ə* very often finishes a word. In all these cases *e* is written instead of *ə*. Thus *e* at the end of a word is always to be read *ə*. Only where *ə* stands in the middle of a word, it is marked *ə*; ex.: *nək* killed.

i (Bell *i* high-front) like *i* in bit, pity; ex.: *wiji* arrived, *kinau* thus.

í as in beer, keen, he, but *shorter*; ex.: *abikyəl* six.

ɩ (Bell a mid-back), a sound between *a* and *ɔ*, like u in but; ex.: *ɩɩt* river.

ɔ (Bell *o* low-back), as in not, folly; ex.: *ɩɩ* him, *ɩɩl* court, *ńɔl* cut. If *ɔ* stands at the end of polysyllabic words, it is pronounced very faintly, so that often merely an *ə* is heard. But on close attention one will in most cases hear the *ɔ*. In analogy with *ə*, this *ɔ* ought to be written *ɔ*, but as it occurs at the end of words with more than one syllable only (and *ɔ* never occurs here), I always write *ɔ* instead of *ɔ*.

o like o in note, mote, but shorter and narrower, and without the final sounding of u, which the English o in note has. In French sean, German so, ital. dolore. Ex.: *loj* club.

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ɯ (Bell u high-back), as in English full, put, ex.: *bɯ* to have not.
u like Engl. fool, mood, but *shorter*. French sou. Ex.: *kudɩ* to be silent.

System of the Vowels.

Long Vowels.

All vowels, including *ɩ*, may be long.
ɑ̄ (Bell a mid-back) engl. father, ital. padre, German Vater.
ɒ̄ between ɑ̄ and ɔ̄, almost as u in further; ex.: *ɒ̄ɒ̄ŋ* to fall.
ɛ̄ almost as a in careful, ai in laird, ei in heir; ex.: *ɛ̄ŋ* people, *ɛ̄ɒ̄ŋ* much.
ō as o in save, bale; ex.: *yōŋ* to sweep.
ɔ̄: *yɔ̄t* roads.
ɔ̄: *cɔ̄ɲ* bowels.
ī (Bell i high-front) as in meal, bear; ex.: *rīɛ̄ŋ* to run.
ō (Bell o mid-back), as o in mole, note, but narrower, and without the final sound of u, which is peculiar to this English o; ex.: *cōŋ* it is finished.
ū: *ɯ̄tɩ* not yet.
ū as oo in fool, cool; ex.: *rūmŋ* to think.

Remarks.

1. The vowels are pronounced with a soft aspiration (the so-called gradual glottid).
2. *i* and *u*, when standing in a closed syllable, that is a syllable ending in a consonant, generally are pronounced almost *ɩ* and *ɯ*.
3. In forming *ɯ* and *ɩ* the mouth is wider opened than in the formation of *u* and *i*; *ɯ* and *ɩ* may therefore be called wide vowels, while *u* and *i* are narrow. (In forming *u* the hind-part of the tongue is raised, in forming *ɯ* it is lowered; likewise in the formation of *i* the forepart of the tongue is raised, and in forming *ɩ* it is lowered.
4. According to their place of formation in the mouth *u*, *ɯ* and *o* are back (or velar) vowels, *i*, *ɩ* *e*, *ɛ* are front (palatal) vowels.
5. The language has no nasal vowels.
6. *o* and *ɔ*, *e* and *ɛ* are not so strictly distinguished as is done in some other languages.

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Diphthongs.

194 *ai* as *y* in *spy*. *au* as *ow* in *fowl*. *gi* as *oi* in *oil*.
ou as *o* in *note*, but the *u* sound is more distinct than in the English o.
ei almost as ei in *eight*, but the *i* is heard more distinctly than in English; *ei* and *ou* are almost two-syllabic.

The sounds *ch*, *j*, *sh* and *s*, when following a vowel, generally have a slight *i* sound before them, which combines with the preceding vowel to a diphthong. This *i* sound is, however, not expressed in writing, because 1. it occurs regularly before the said consonants, and 2. some individuals pronounce it so slightly, that in some cases one may doubt, whether it really exists. Thus *pach* "home" is to be pronounced *paich*; *ppch* "beaten": *ppich*; *baig* "to refuse": *baiig*.

This *i* sound is best heard in those cases, where the preceding vowel is *a*, *e* or *g*.

If, however, a vowel follows the above mentioned consonants, so that the word does not end in a consonant, but becomes two-syllabic, the *i* sound sometimes disappears altogether. The reason for this is, the connection between the first vowel and the second consonant not being so narrow here as is the case in a monosyllabic word. Thus "*ppch*" is pronounced "*ppich*", but *piję* hardly has any *i* sound. Likewise "*lach*" = "*laich*", but *liję* = *li-ję* without an *i* sound.

Semivowels.

y as *y* in *yes*; it has never the vocalic value as in the English *spy*.
w as *w* in *well*; *w* is sometimes pronounced with almost unrounded lips.
y and *w* are unsyllabic *i* and *u*.

When following a vowel, also when beginning a word, *y* and *w* have a slight *i* and *u* sound before them; thus *piyę* to believe almost sounds *iyiyę*, *wur* night and *ewu* yesterday almost sound *uwur*, *euwu*. These *i* and *u* sounds are not expressed in writing.

Combinations of consonant and semivowel are very frequent.

THE CONSONANTS.

Enumeration of the Consonants and their Pronunciation.

b as in English; Ex.: *baig* to refuse.
ch is a palatal *t*; in phonetic writing *t'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as in church, child. The sound is articulated *further back in the mouth*, and therefore is *thinner*. Ex.: *chol* Shilluk. See also *j* and *sh*.

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d as in English; Ex.: *d똥* to fall; when standing between two vowels, it is hardly distinguishable from *r*.

ḍ is an interdental *d*; put the tongue between the teeth-rows, so that it is visible from without between the teeth, then press it lightly against the upper teeth, and pronounce a *d*. Ex.: *ḍak* mouth.

f as in English; sometimes *f*, that is, an *f* pronounced with both lips (while *f* is formed by pressing the lower lip against the upper teeth, in forming *f* both lips are pressed together) is used instead of *f*. Ex.: *f똥* to divide.

g always hard, as in garden, gold, never as in George. Ex.: *gga* him.

h occurs only in some exclamations; it is sounded a little stronger than the English *h* in he; e. g. *bah* exclamation of surprise (*b* followed by a strong aspiration).

γ might be called a fricative *g*; it is in the same relation to *g*, as v is to b. It might be compared with the Arabic Ghain, but is much softer, and its place of articulation does *not lie so far back in the throat* as that of Ghain. Ex.: *γga* him, *γgo* thigh. In forming *γ* the *back* part of the tongue has nearly the same position as in the pronunciation of *u*, but the lips are of course not rounded.

j is a palatal *d*; in phonetic writing *d'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as the English *j* in jest, just. It is articulated a little *further back* in *the mouth*, and therefore sounds thinner. Ex.: *jiggo* chief. — *ch* and *j* have the same place of articulation; the middle of the tongue's back is pressed against the hind-part of the hard palatum.

k l m n are as in English. But *l*, when standing at the end of a word, is rolled, almost as the English pronounce the *ll* in well.

ń is a palatal *n*; it is pronounced like ñ in cañon, or like Italian and French *gn* in signore, seigneur. Its pronunciation is somewhat difficult, if it stands at the end of a word; here sometimes foreigners pronounce *ń* instead of *ń*. This can easily be avoided by adding the so-called 'helping vowel' to *ń*; instead of saying *let* war, *say leże*. Compare also such French words as Compiègne, Champagne, where also *ń* ends a word. Ex.: *ńe* child.

ŋ is an interdental *ŋ*, pronounced by putting the tongue between the teeth, as in *ḍ*. Ex.: *yeŋ gwi* this tree.

ń is a velar *n*; it is pronounced like ng in singer, or like n in Con-go. Its pronunciation is only difficult at the beginning of a word. Divide: ń-ager, and pronounce "ngar" only; this ng is exactly the sound *of ń*. Ex.: *f똥* to divide, *ńiŋ* to cut.

p as in English.

r is formed with the tongue's end. It is not rolled (trilled), but pronounced

● 194 very slightly, so that often between two vowels, *r* and *d* are hardly distinguishable.

ch is formed farther back in the mouth than the English sh. *It is nearly the same sound as the German ch in "ich, dich"*; in phonetic writing *ç*. When *ch*, *sh* and *j* stand before the vowels *a e o y u*, they are accompanied by a hissing sound, so that they tend somewhat more to the English ch, sh and j, but they are never identical with them.

ŋ is an interdental *s*, it is pronounced as the sharp th in thing.

t as in English.

ʃ is the interdental *t*; it is formed just in the same way as *ŋ*, only the tongue is pressed more tightly between the teeth, and thus a t is produced.

ʒ is an interdental *z*, like th in these.

System of the Consonants.

	Mutes		Frictives		Liquids	Nasals	Semi-vowels
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced			
Velars	*k*	*g*	—	*γ*	—	*ŋ*	—
Palatals	*ch*	*j*	*sh*	—	—	*n*	*y*
Alveolars	*t*	*d*	—	—	*r l*	*n*	—
Interdentals	*ʃ*	*ŋ*	*ʃ*	*ʒ*	—	*n*	—
Labials	*p*	*b*	*f, ʃ*	—	—	*m*	*w*

Remarks.

1. The consonants *m*, *n*, *l* and *r* may form a syllable, thus having the quality and function of a vowel; in these cases they are designated thus: *m̩*, *n̩*, *r̩*, *l̩*; they may then also have their own tones.
2. The consonants *g*, *k* may have a twofold pronunciation. When standing before a velar vowel they are articulated further back in the mouth than before a palatal vowel; the *g* in *gu* and *k* in *ku* lie farther back than the *g* in *gin*, and *k* in *kjaw*; but this difference in pronunciation is not marked by different signs.
3. Double consonants are rare, but are sometimes pronounced, for instance the *l* in *Chyly* "Shilluk" is frequently pronounced distinctly long: *Chyllij*; I also heard *pgang lim* to weed grass, besides *pgang*; *kjj i mmjkj* it is raining.

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CHANGE OF SOUNDS.

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The change of sounds takes a large and important part in the *grammar* of the Shilluk language.

In order to show the changes which certain sounds have undergone, it is in some cases necessary to take the neighbouring related languages into consideration; they in many instances help to clear up transformations of sounds and to demonstrate older forms of sounds which from the Shilluk alone cannot be seen.

Change of Vowels.

Quantity.

Long and short vowels are in Shi. not always so strictly distinguished as is done in other Sudan languages. There is, in certain cases, some liberty in using a long or a short vowel; but in other cases again the lengthening or shortening of a vowel means different grammatical functions. The most important of the changes will be given here.

Frequently a vowel is long when standing in an open syllable, that is, a syllable ending in a vowel, but it becomes short, when standing in a closed syllable (a syllable ending in a consonant) *of the same word:* *yán* I, but *yɛ́* I; *yín* you, but *yɛ́* you; *ɛ́al* boy, *ɛ́ɛ́ro* my boy; *jal* man, *jɔ́ɔ́ŋ* man; *fɔ́* not, *fɔ́ŋ* not.

The demonstrative *n* (see 138) causes the preceding vowel to become long. The reason for this may be that *n* was originally an independent word (*ɛn*), with a vowel of its own, the quantity of this vowel being added to the vowel preceding *n*: *ɛ́ɛ́n* man, *ɛ́ɛ́n* this man.

A vowel may be lengthened at will, in order to intensify the meaning of a word, e. g.: *ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ŋ* he was silent; *ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ŋ* he was silent for a long time, he remained in a deep, musing silence; *ɛ́ ɛ́ŋ* he is strong, *ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* he is (something) in a high degree; *ɛ́ ɛ́ŋ́ ɲí rɔ́ŋ*, or: *ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ ɲí rɔ́ŋ* he is very, very strong in badness, he surpasses everything in badness, is exceedingly bad. Chiefly some adjectives may lengthen their vowel exceedingly, so that instead of one line above the vowel, two or three ought properly to be written: *ʌ́ɲʌ́* strong *ʌ́ɲʌ́* very strong, *rɔ́ɔ́* bad, *rɔ́ɔ́* or *rɔ́ɔ́*, very bad; often when such an adjective is said twice (see 151), the second time the vowel is lengthened: *ʌ́ɲʌ́ ʌ́ɲʌ́*, *rɔ́ɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́*.

Interjections also may have short, long or very long vowel according to the degree of excitement which is to be expressed.

In fluent speech frequently a vowel is shortened, which is pronounced long, if the word is spoken alone.

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In the vocative case the (last) vowel becomes long: *ńàtè* man, *ńàtè* o man! (see also 129).

Regular changes of vowel-quantity take place in forming singular and plural of nouns, and in forming the tenses of the verb. Of these only a few examples are given here, for more see 123, 156 ss.

Singular short vowel	Plural long vowel
ɔ̀kɔ̨̀k-ɔ̀kɔ̨̀k egret;	*ɔ̀rɔ̨̀k-ɔ̀rɔ̨̀k* astuteness.
Singular long vowel	**Plural short vowel**
ɔ́bɔ̨̀gɔ̨̀-ɔ́bɔ̨̀k albino;	*gɔ̀jì-gɔ́chì* sword.

In Verbs:

yâ gɔ̨̄jɔ̨̄ I am beating *yâ gɔ́ch* I was beaten *yâ nɔ̄gɔ̨̄* I kill

yâ nɔ̨ka ɖāp I killed a man.

Frequently a change of quantity coincides with a change of quality; see below.

Quality.

Here again the changes in the formation of singular and plural and in the tenses and modes of the verb are of prominent importance; a few examples will suffice here; for more see 124.

It is particularly to be observed in the following examples that, as mentioned above, frequently change of quality and of quantity coincide, and that in some cases a change of tone is added to these two. No doubt these changes have influenced each other, one causing, or cooperating in causing, the other.

A most prominent change is that of a long or short *a* or *ɑ*, and in some cases *ɛ*, being reduced to *ɨ*:

a > *ɨ*: *agàk-agɨ́kì* crow *ɔ́gwàl-ɔ́gwɨ́lì* frog *ɔ́ywàk-ɔ́ywɨ́kì* crane *ɔ́lák-ɔ́lɨ́kì* a fish.

ā > *ɨ*: *ɔ́lām-ɔ́lɨ́mì* sycomore *fāl-fɨ̄t* spoon *kwɔ̀rɔ̨̀-kwɨ́rì* pole.

ɑ > *ɨ*: *rɑ̄t* king (older form), *rɨ́t* (properly *rɨ́t*)[1] king (present form); *rɑ̄t* is still used in a composition: *rɑ̄t lɑ̄bɔ̨* king of the people, and when possessive pronouns are added: *rɑ̄ɑ̨a* my king.

wɑ̄tɔ̨ and *wɨ́tɔ̨* to arrive; *wɑ̄t* heads, *wɨ́tɨ́ ńu* heads of lions; *dɑ̄k* third, *adɨ́k* three. Here always *ɑ* represents the older, *ɨ* the younger form.

ɛ > *ɨ*: *bɑ̄gɔ̨* to boil past *bɑ̄k* *fɑ̄dɔ̨* to be tired past *fɑ̄t*
fɑ̄nɑ to hide past *fɑ́nì* *kɑ̄dɔ̨* to bring past *kɑ̄l*
kɑ̄gɔ̨ to ache past *kɑ̄k* *kɑ̄dɔ̨* to twist past *kɑ̄l*
nɑ̄gɔ̨ to kill past *nɑ̄k* *kɑ̄bɔ̨* to take n. *kɔ̨̄pɔ̨̀*
pɑ̄dɔ̨ to fill and *pɨ́kɔ̨* to fill *kɑ̄dɔ̨* to bring and *kɨ́lɔ̨* to bring
fɑ̄dɔ̨ to be tired and *fɨ́dɔ̨* to be tired
kɑ̄dɔ̨ to twist and *kɨ́dɔ̨* to twist.

[1] In some words my materials give *i*, where *ɨ* was to be expected; this is doubtless misheard. For "king" *rɨ́t* being introduced already, I keep this orthography instead of writing *rɨ́t*, which would be more correct.

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ɛ, ɛ̄ > *ɛ*: *ódɛ̀k-ódɛ́kì* a mat *ótɛ̀t-ótɛ́tì* a pot *ótwɛ̀l-ótwɛ́lì* a fish
alɛ̀bɛ́-alɛ́pì a bird *ɔ̀tɛ̀t-ɔ́lɛ́tì* hawk.

In all these cases except a few, the vowel *ɛ* has high or high-low tone. Even in the verbs with double forms, e. g. *fɛ̄dɛ* and *fɛ́dɛ* to be tired, the second form originates from a form with high tone, see 188. It is therefore hardly to be doubted that *the high tone is the cause of the vowel being reduced to ɛ.*

ɛ > *ɛ* > *ɛ*. The singular of the noun, and the present tense of the verb end in *ɛ*, which was no doubt originally *ɛ*. This *ɛ* is very often pronounced *ɛ*. The reason for this is that the emphasis (stress-tone) always lies on the stem-syllable, consequently the pronunciation of *ɛ (ɛ)* is neglected and is reduced to *ɛ*. In the first instances it is the high tone, in the last the absence of a stress, which causes the reduction of a full vowel to *ɛ*.

A short, pure *a*, when lengthened, often becomes *ɑ̄*; there is a general tendency in the language to pronounce a long *a* as *ɑ̄*, so that it is sometimes difficult to decide, whether one ought to write *ā* or *ɑ̄*; often there are no doubt individual differences.

àchwɛ́t-àchwɛ̄t guinea-fowl *kàl-kɑ̄ll* fence *dák-dɑ̄k* pot
chɑ̄bɛ to mix past *chapa* *lɑ̄gɛ* to inherit past *laka*.
But mark the opposite: *ńwɛ̄lɛ* to touch past *ńwɛ́tì* *ńārɛ* to gnarl past *ńɑ̄rì*.

Long or short *a* or *ɑ* > short *ɛ*. Here the coincidence of change of quantity with change of quality is the rule: *a long ā* or *ɑ̄* becomes *a short ɛ*. The shortening of the vowel is probably the prius; its consequence was *a* and *ɑ* becoming *ɛ*.

mɑ́ and *mɛ́* which *ńa* and *ńɛ* child
kɛpā and *kɛpɛ* because *jāgɛ* and *jɛ́kɛ* to rule
kādɛ and *kɛ́dɛ* to go *kwālɛ* and *kwɛ́tɛ* to steal
lwāń and *lwɛ́ń* poor, worthless *gwāńɛ* to err, past *gwɛ́ń*
gwārɛ to snatch, past *gwɛ́r* *mā-mɛ́k* aunt
yɛ́ɛ-yɛ́ɛ tree *ya* and *yɛ́ńa* (from *yańa*) to be
lɑ̄gɛ and *lɛ́kɛ* to dream *yɑ̄bɛ* and *yɛ́bɛ* to open
pɑ̄ńɛ and *pɛ́kɛ* to fill *lɑ̄bɛ* and *lɛ́pɛ* mud.
But mark: *rach* bad *rɛ́ńɛ* to become bad; *atɛ́ń-atāń* hat; *yɛ́ɛ-yɑ̄ɛ* boat.

In the double forms of verbs the form with *ā* is the primitive, from which that with *ɛ* is derived; see 188.

a and *ā* change in: *ńājɛ* and *ńājɛ* to know.
e and *ɛ* change in: *ɔ̀tɛ̀t-ɔ́tɛ̀t* mangouste *ańɛ́nɛ̀-ańɛ̀n* red ant *ówɛ̀t-ówɛ̀t* a mat.
i and *e* change in: *wīdɛ* to exchange past *wīla*
lībɛ to come stealthily past *līpa*.
vice versa: *yɛ̀ɛ-yɛ́ɛ* scorpion, *yɛ̀ɛ-yɛ́ɛ* a well.

*193 *i* and *ɛ* change in: *rīnǫ* to run; past *a rɛn*.

●194 *ǫ* and *y*, *u* change in: *gǫrǫ* and *gurǫ* to tattoo, *rīmǫ* and *rūmǫ* to meet

ɔkɔ̀dɔ̀-ɔ̀kɔ̀tɔ̀ hedgehog *mǫgǫ-myki* beer *kǫch-kuchi* axe.

vice versa: *kudǫ* to pull out, past *kǫla*, *fudǫ* } to pull
ńudǫ to cut, past *ńǫla* *fuṇǫ* } out
lūgǫ to turn past *lǫgi*; *rum-orǫm* nose.

o and *ǫ* change in: *áńón-ańǫ́ńí* a knife *chōr-chǫ̀r* vulture

bɔ̀r-bɔ̀r boil; and: *toch-toach* gun; this last example suggests that *o* was changed into *ǫ* by an inserted *a*.

o and *u* change in: *kōdǫ* to fasten n. *kūdɔ̀*; *chudǫ* and *chōlǫ* to avenge, *kuno* and *kōdǫ* to blow up.

*193 The vowels *ɛ* and *ǫ* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.

194 *ɛ* < *a*.

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lɛk tooth	Any. *lak*			*wɛ̄lǫ* to travel	Ba. *wala*		
kɛnǫ gourd	Ju. *kano*			*kɛch* bitter, sharp	Nu. *kagal* sharp		
ńwɛch smell	Any. *ńwai*			*nɛ̄no* to see	Nu. *nale*		
nɛnǫ to sleep	Nu. *nalu*			*ńɛ̄ńǫ* much	Nr. *ńwan*		
kwɛn bread	Ju. *kwǫn*	Nr. *kwɛn*,	Bo. *koā*	(*chwe* fat	Nr. *chwa*(		
kyɛ́ horse	Ju. *akaja*	Ga. *kaña*;		*ńyɛ́* metal	Ju. *gaña*.		
ańwɛn four	Nr. *ńwān*						

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ɛ* (or *e*).

ɛ < *ia*.

pɛ̄k to be heavy	Any. *pyak*	
tɛ̄k to be hard	Di. *tyek (tyɛk?)*	Bo. *tigo*
pɛ̄chǫ, *pyɛ̄chǫ* to ask	Ba. *pija*	
rɛ̄mǫ blood, Ba. *rima*,	Bo. *trama*,	Nr. *ryɛm*.

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *tigo* and Ba. *pija*, *rima*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *pyak*; *a* was then assimilated to *i* (*y*) and thus turned into *ɛ*: *tyɛk*, *pyɛ̄chǫ*, *ryɛm*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ɛ*, and *ɛ̄* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *ɛ̄* and *yɛ*, are still existing.

ǫ < *wa* or *ua*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ǫ*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ǫ*, so that *ua*, *wa* > *wǫ* > *ǫ*.

Compare the following examples:

wá and *wǫ́* we; *wá* is the primitive, *wǫ* the influenced form; likewise: *gwāńǫ*

and *gwōńǫ* to scratch, *ńudǫ* to cut, *ńālǫ* to butcher, *ńǫtǫ* to cut.

ḡō to die	Ba. *tuan*			*rōńǫ* to dive	Di. *rwań*		
ywōńǫ to cry	Ga. *ywak*			*lwōkǫ* to wash	Nr. *lah*	Ba. *lalaju*	
bōrǫ afternoon	Ga. *abwar*			*rōdǫ* thirst	Ga. *orwar*	Ju. *ryau*	
abwǫk maize	Any. *abach*			*ńwōlǫ* to bear, beget	Ga. *ńwala*		
kwōrǫ cotton	Ga. *waro*						
gōjǫ to beat	Any. *gwai*	Bo. *gba*		*āńǫ* what	Nr. *ńu,*	Di. *eńa*	
chwǫu man	Ga. *chwa*	Nr. *chau*		*yǫ* road *yu tock* narrow road			
chwǫtǫ to call	Nr. *chal*			*ogwōk* fox	Nr. *gwak.*		

In these words *ǫ* is evidently an original *a;* in Shi. the *a* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *u* or *w*, while in other languages the primitive *a* is preserved. In Shi. *ńudǫ* "to cut", the vowel, *a*, is not yet added; in *ńālǫ* "to butcher", the suffixed *a* has dropped the *u;* here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *u;* whereas in *ńǫtǫ* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *āńǫ* what; the primitive vowel is *u:* Nr. *ńu* what; later an *a* was added; before this *a* the primitive vowel *u* dropped in Di.: *eńa* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *ńǫ* (the beginning *ā* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *yǫ* road, but *yu tock* narrow road, and *yu Fakǫi* the way to F., from original *yu;* this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *a* was added, which united with *u* to *ǫ*.

Compare also the following words:

omǫrǫ roan antelope	Ju. *omar*	
yōmǫ wind	Ga. *yamo*	
okǫk blossom	Di. *gak.*	

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *w*, *u* having been dropped in both respective languages, or the original vowel is simply *a*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ǫ* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wǫ*, *yǫ*, and perhaps also those with *ǫ*, *ǫ* had the original vowel *a*, or *ua*, *ia*, though this *a* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels *(ia, ua)* was *i, u*, and that the *a* was added later; compare *ńudǫ*, *ńālǫ*, *ńǫtǫ;* and *atudǫ* goose, Di. *twol (twǫl?)*, Nr. *twǫr; ńudǫ* and *atudǫ* are the eldest forms; then *a* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *twǫr*, *ua* became *wǫ* > *wǫ*, whereas in Shi. *atudǫ* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *a* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

*193 the case in *ńudǫ* to cut and *ńālǫ* to butcher. For more examples of the addition
194 of a second vowel see 70.

197 A good example for *w* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *māgǫ* to catch, Ga. *mako*, Ba. *mok*, Di. *mwǫk* ⟨ **mua* or **mwa*.

A different evolution have

twǫg male, Di. *wton*; *chūńǫ* to heap up, assemble, Di. *wchań*. Here again the primitive vowel is *a*, as is evident from *wchań*; now an *u* — in Di. preserved as *w* — was *prefixed* to the stem, and in Shi. was received into the stem, so *wchań* ⟩ *chwǫń*, *wton* ⟩ *twǫg*. See also the formation of the passive 173 as.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *u* + *a* ⟩ *twa*, *twǫ*, *tǫ*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *u* + *t* + *a* ⟩ *wta*, *twa*, *twǫ*, *tǫ*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

*193 Some assimilations are treated above: *ia* ⟩ *iǫ*, *yɛ*; *wa* ⟩ *wǫ*, *wɛ*. Others are:
194 *wich* head and *wuch*; *wiłǫ* to arrive, and *wułǫ*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *w* and thus become *u*;

ya ý "I shall" is often pronounced *ye y*, *yǫ y*;

bǫgin "there is not", and *bigin*;

by "not to be", and *boygn* "there is not" ⟨ *by* + *ggn*;

yigǫ to become, and *yǫgǫ*;

tyɛl foot, *tyāla* my foot;

bìnfn it is, and *bìnfn*;

ki rɛ "with its body" becomes *kɛ rɛ*;

yí rì why you, but *ɛ́ rì*, why he;

kí "and", but: *wí kì bìǫ́ǫ* you and the smith: *i* is assimilated to the preceding *w*.

ìn this, *fní* that; an *i* has been affixed to *an*, and has turned the *a* to *ɛ*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the farther distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ia* ⟩ *ya*, *yɛ* ⟩ *ɛ*; *wa* ⟩ *wa*, *wɛ* ⟩ *ɛ*. Others are:
yí ý "you will" ⟩ *yá*. *wí ga* his mother ⟩ *wga*. *wí ga* his father ⟩ *wga*.

Where two vowels of different words meet together, generally one is elidedwyppou:
kwōrg a my grandfather ⟩ *kwōra*.
kwōrg i thy grandfather ⟩ *kwōri*, and likewise all these connections.
afoachí ak these rabbits ⟩ *afoack ak*.
yí gwǫ́ǫ́ ńǫ́ǫ what are you doing ⟩ *yí gwǫ́ ńǫ́*?
yí kǫ́ǫ́g adi what do you say ⟩ *yí kǫ́ǫ́ adi*, or: *yí kō di*?

In the nasalization of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *fǫǫ chief* ⟩ *fǫń*; see 127.

Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of semivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a word are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of those cases where the *u* or *i* had a *high tone*, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was transferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write *úò* or *wó*. 193* 194 ● 197

A few examples of the changes may be given here; for more see 124 [14 15].

o and *wo*: *ggo* to work passive *gwó̰k* *kōbo* to speak passive *kwóp*

ówo̰k-ógo̰kì jackal *ótwo̰n-ótwn* cock

kìo and *kwoto* to drive *okwor-ókò̰rì* serval.

vice versa: *wò̰k-mwò̰k* dog-head fish.

o and *wo*: *kìto* and *kwōnìo* to help *nóto* and *nwoto* to spit.

vice versa: *wōt-kōt* shield.

wo, *wo* and *o*, *uo*: *nwoto*, *nuoto* and *nuto* to show.

The vowel *u* has been preserved in:

kúkù to taste, past a *kwona*; *kwōjo* to sew, n. *kúòjò*.

nwobo to knead, n. *núòbò*;

gwòk-gòk dg; *kwòm-kúòmì* chair; *tōjo* and *túòjò* to tie.

Changes between *e* and *ye*:

gbdo and *gyìo* to build; *kēdo* and *kyēdo* to dig

fyèr-fèrì back-bone; *ńēro* to let the milk down, *ńyēdo* to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:

gìto to sacrifice, and *gíètò*; *òbèch-óbléch* reed

lyech-líòch elphant; *kyedo* to refuse, n. *kíēdò*.

y < *w*: *yei* soul Di. *wei* *gwēlo* and *gyēlo* ring

gyno fowl Any. *gwgno* *kyedo* to refuse Ga. *kwero*

ēlo to save Nr. *lwēl* *fyou* heart Di. *pwou*

ìgó horse Any. *okwgó*.

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *e*, *e*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:

wōro and *ìro* to send, *óro* relative by marriage Ga. *wor*.

lei war	Ga. *lwei*	Ju. *lwiá*	*gwo* people	Ba. *gwoa*
dēl skin	Ga. *odwel*		*tgó* egg.	Nr. *twgó*
ìgto much	Nr. *ńwon*		*mōgo* to catch	Di. *mwgk*

ńgog is probably < **ńygó* < **ńwgó* < **ńwoó*.

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* 193 ● 194 197 In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel, the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.

Elision of *γ*: *γɛ́n* and *ɛ́n* he.

Change between *w*, *γ* and *r*. — Though *r* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *γ* in 9. *γ* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *γ* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *γ* an *r* is pronounced.

wɔt, *γɔt*, *rɔt* house	*wūmɔ*, *γūmɔ* and *rūmɔ* to finish
wūmɔ, *γūmɔ* and *rūmɔ* to cover	*wɔ̄mɔ*, *γɔ̄mɔ* and *rɔ̄mɔ* to carry water
γɔ̄jɔ and *rɔ̄jɔ* fish	*wōr* and *rōr* kings
wa, *wɔ* we, Di. *γɔk*	*γɔ̄ńɔ* and *rɔ̄ńɔ* to elect.

γ does not stand before *i*, *o*, and seldom before *u*; here *w* takes its place: *ńaγɔlɔ-ńawuli* axe; *γɛ̀ŕ* and *wɔ̀ŕ* a season, *γɔ̄dɔ* and *wīdɔ* to pound.

In *γɛ̀ŕ-wɔ̀ŕ* the change from *γ* to *w* has caused a change from *ɛ* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *γ*:

yɛ́ and *γɛ́n* he; *yá* I Di. *γa*.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and Any.:

yan I	Nr. *jan*	*yaţ* tree	Nr. *jaţ*
yín you	Nr. *jin*	*yiep* tail	Nr. *jip*
yɔ road	Any. *jɔ*	*yɔ̄mɔ* wind	Any. *jamɔ*
ywɔ̄ńo to cry	Any. *jwɔkɔ* and *juńɔ*.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a noun ending in *u* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; *ńu* lion *ńuwí* lions; or, if *u* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: *fyóu* heart, *fyówó* my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the fricative sounds.

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These consonants are:

ch and *sh* *ḍ* and *ẓ* *ṭ* and *ṣ* *p* and *f* or *ḟ*.

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch ṭ ḍ p* are to be regarded as the older, *sh ṣ ẓ* and *f ḟ* as the younger sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *s*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *s*.

Assimilation.

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The consonants *k ch t ṭ p, when standing at the end of a word,* can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch t ṭ p* is to be pronounced, if 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. if it is followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j d ḍ b* 1. if they are followed by a voiced consonant, 2. if they are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds.

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
ḍɔg jal	*ḍɔk jal*	the cattle of the man
ḍɔk ṭ̄rɔ	*ḍɔk ṭ̄rɔ*	the cattle of the people
riḍ lābɔ	*riṭ lābɔ*	the king of the people
riṭ ṭ̄ɔ	*riṭ ṭ̄ɔ*	the king died
kwɔb obwoṅ	*kwɔp obwoṅ*	the talk of the stranger
kwɔp ṭ̄rɔ	*kwɔp ṭ̄rɔ*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, if *t, d* or *n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

ḍān man, *ḍiḍɔ* to make straight, *ḍ̄ɔḍin* hot season, *ḍ̄ɔḍɔ* to suck, *ḍuoḍɔ* to rise, *ṭaṭeḍi* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *yaṭ* tree, *duṅ* large, *yaṭ ḍuṅ* a large tree; between *n* and *ḍ* the tongue does not change its position. *But observe:* *ṭo tyṭ̄lɔ* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalization:*

k + *n* > *ṅ*	*ch* + *n* > *ṅ*
t + *n* > *n*	*ṭ* + *n* > *n*
p + *n* > *m*	*gɔ* + *n* > *ṅ*
jɔ + *n* > *ṅ*	*dɔ* + *n* > *n*
ḍɔ + *n* > *n*	*bɔ* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

Consonants influenced by vowels.

194 a) A mute voiceless consonant standing between vowels generally shows a tendency of becoming voiced. Thus nearly in all verbs in the present tense the second consonant is voiced: *kg̃dǫ*, *gg̃dǫ*, *gg̃gǫ*, *kg̃bǫ* etc.; and in those which have preserved a voiceless consonant, often, when the word is spoken rapidly, the consonant is pronounced almost voiced, or at least not as *k t* etc., but as a somewhat hard *g*, *d*, etc. (what in German phonology is called "voiceless lenis").

b) See 38.

Change between voiced and voiceless consonants.

1. See 26, Assimilation.
2. See 41, Consonants influenced by vowels.
3. Sometimes the consonant beginning a word shows a change between voicedness and voicedlessness:

Bachōdǫ and *Pachōdǫ*, Fashoda — *dǫ̀kdǫ̀i* and *tǫ̀kdǫ̀i* dura-stick
bá and *pá*, or *fá* not — *ḍǫk* mouth Any. *tǫk*; *dāk* pot Nr. *ṭǫk*
gí they, probably reduced from *kwg*; see 131.

4. In the formation of plural a voiced consonant often turns voiceless: *afudǫ* pl. *afutí*; see 107.

Combination of Consonants.

The Shi. does not combine two or more consonants in a word without an intervening vowel. A consonant may be combined only with one or more vowels or with a semivowel, never with a second consonant.

If in the connection of noun and possessive pronoun or in the formation of plural two consonants meet together, one is always dropped:

ńal boy *ńal ra* my boy > *ńāra* — *yiŋ* fisherman plural *yit* < **yiŋt*
ńal ri thy boy > *ńāri* — *yeck* belly plural *yet* < **yeckt*
pack village *pack rg* his village > *pārg* — *dyg̃l* goat plural *dyg̃k* < **dyg̃lk*
wick head plural *wgt* < **wockt* — *lwg̃l* gourd plural *lg̃t* < **lwg̃lt*.

An *n* has been dropped in certain cases of genetive-formation, *ḍǫk n ḍrg* becoming *ḍǫk ḍrg*; see 127.

If two consonants of two different words meet together,

a) both consonants may be preserved; this is generally the case, when the first of the two consonants is a liquid or a nasal one; *jal mǫ̀kg* some man; *Gol bacg* a proper-name, *Agun jucg̃k* a proper-name; but *dg̃ìn gǫ́n* "where are they" becomes *dg̃ì gǫ́n*; and *kal wun* your fence > *kal ūn*.

b) the 'helping vowel' is inserted: *lǫck* tooth, *lǫcke lucck* the tooth of the elephant; see 127.

c) a mute consonant is sometimes dropped: 194 ●
ḍok cattle, *ḍo rit* cattle of the king
poch village *pō rit* village of the king
bat arm *ba jal* arm of the man.

d) *ch* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllabic *i*:
wich head *wiy pgm* head of the table
yech middle *yey nam* middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

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k. An original *k* is dropped in:

wo, wg we	Nr. *kgn* < **kugn*	*warg* shoe	Nu. *kwari*
wiág bird	Ba. *kuen*	*orūp* spider	Nu. *kwūbe*
um nose	Ju. *kum*	*wūmg* to cover	and *kūmg* < **kwumg*.

The opposite state is in:
kwūrg cotton Ga. *uuro* *kūág* to pour out Ga. *oto* < **kwotg*.
Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *kw*.
An original *k* has turned into *ch* in
chgtg to walk Di. *kat, kaut* *kgch* bitter Nu. *kagal*, stem **kak*
kouch leopard Bo. *kgge*, Ba. *koka*.
An original *k* has turned into *t* in *alilit* bat, Di. *alich*, Ga. *ellk*; here *k* > *ch* > *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.

g. A primitive *g* has turned into *j*:
jī people, Ba. *guen* tribe.

ch. *ch* has become *y* in connections described in 127.

j. *j* has become *y* in *wūjg* aunt, and *wūi (wūy)*.

t d, and *ṭ ḍ*.

1. At the beginning of a word; *t* > *r*.
rjmg blood Bo. *trama* *rjmg* and *tjmg* to fetch water, Ga. *tuoma*.
ṭ > *r*: *ṭumg* and *rumg* to finish.

2. Within or at the end of a word.
t > *r*: *dwatg* and *dwgrg* to wish, *tjgtg* and *tjrg* to carry; *gyr* and *gyt* corner.
t, d > *l*: *kjtg* and *kjlg* to throw *kwūtg* and *kwūlg* to steal
kwgtg to drive past *kwgle* *ḍjdg* to shave and *ḍjjlg*
ātg to spit past *āal* *ygdg* to curse and *ygīg*
gjdo to scratch past *gjl* *gwidg* to wink with the lips, *gwijlg* to wink.

ṭ, ḍ > *r*: *ūjjg* to laugh, n. *ūjjrī* *yiagg* to cut, past a *yigr*
rig king pl. *rīr*, *ohgg* and *hygrg* womb
rīḍg thirst Ga. *orwor*
wgg steer, but *wgrr ggi*, and *wgr nam tui* a certain kind of steer.

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194 Concerning *t* > *r* (and *ʃ* > *r*?) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final *t*
197 is followed by a strong hissing sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled *r*, and thus makes the *t* disappear altogether. In the same way *t* may have become *r* in Shi., the *tr* in Bo. meaning an intermediate stage between *t* and *r*. *t ɟ* > *l*: *ɟāḍe* to cook, past *ɟāl* *wīḍe* to change, past *wēla*.

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 182; there also the functions of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of *t d*, *ʃ ɟ* to 1. *r*, 2. *l*, and 3. *n* are doubtless to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that *t ʃ* at the beginning of a word change into *r* only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to *r* or to *l*.

INTONATION.

194 As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with *accentuation*, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: *p m f r*. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: *á*, a low tone: *à*, and a middle tone: *a*. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high *ǎ* (rising tone) and high-low *â* (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then *rises*; in *â* it is the *reverse*: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle tone *á*, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

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In this case the high tone is clearly prevalent, only just before the sound is stopped, the tone is lowered.

It is difficult to describe the tones or to give analogies for their pronunciation from European languages. In this particular case it is still less advisable, as the author of this book does not write in his own language, and does not feel sufficiently acquainted with English to give examples from it for illustrating the pronunciation of the tones.

[The English as well as other European languages does have different tones, one syllable or word being pronounced higher than others. The difference between European and Sudan languages is, that in the first the observation of the tone is not indispensable in speaking, the meaning of a word is not altered, whether it be pronounced with a high or a low tone; but in Sudan languages the tone is just as essential and integral as are vowels and consonants. Two words with the same sounds, but different tones, are quite different words, which in their etymology and meaning have nothing to do with each other, the conformity in the sounds is in this case to be considered as mere accidental. — On the other hand in European languages the *stress* or *strength* laid on a word is essential, it distinguishes the syllable or word which conveys the chief thought from those which are less important.]

Only some examples of each tone and combination of tones are given here; their pronunciation must be acquired by hearing them from the natives. The student should let a native pronounce these and other examples repeatedly, so long till he is not only able to hear the differences, but to imitate them to the satisfaction of the native. (To do that, one must really try to wholly quit the European mode of pronouncing a word; to give one example: When we pronounce a single word, or, the last word of a sentence, we generally lower the tone of the sound; the Shi. cannot do so, unless the word has a low tone; if it has a high tone, he will pronounce it high, whether it stands at the end of a sentence or not; just mark the first examples which follow here.)

Examples.

High tone: *lin* war, *fin* ground, *yin* I, *yin* they, *dyil* goat, *ilyi* foam.

Low tone: *ŋɔ̀* people, *ɔ̀nin* now; *ŋɔ̀ɔ̀* cattle, *pi* water. The high and low tone are easily distinguished, when both meet together: *dìyɔ̀l* one, *ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ̀* three, *ŋɔ̀ŋ̀* foot, pl. *ŋɔ̀ŋ̀*; *ìɔ̀ ɔ̀ ìɔ̀* and he said; *ɔ̀ɔ̀ ɔ̀ɔ̀* these chiefs.

Middle tone: is not so easily distinguished, and may be confounded with the high tone. Examples: *ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ŋ* cock; the second tone is a little lower than the first, yet it is distinctly not low; *pɔ̀t* pl. *pɔ̀t* riverbank; *ìɔ̀ŋ̀* in order that.

Rising tone: *yɔ̀* *ìɔ̀n* all of them, *ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ŋ* hyena; (these examples are easy, be-

194 cause a high tone precedes the rising one, the tones are like this: -; mark the difference between "cock" and "hyena" !); *fǎk* a water-pot, *yǒ* road, *Dǎk* a proper-name.

Falling tone: ɛ̂ ŋ̄k he is absent, *ŋ̄k* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of **ábà*, sometimes **ábà* is heard.

High and middle tone: dwɛ́n when? *wí kí mɛ́n* you and who? *ɛ́* yes.

High-low-high tone: d̄ʉ̂t dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

194 Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

ápwɛ̀n cock	*ápwɛ̀n* hyena	*lɛ́w* hot season	*ŋ̄k* a small lizard
197 *lǎáɛ́* nebbak-tree	*lǎáɛ́* to spend the night	*wá* which	*wá* aunt
		wár green	*wár* because
lǎá skin	*lǎá* spittle	*ɡǎŋ̄k* a fish	*ǎŋ̄k* egret
ŋ̄ŋ̄ flint-stone	*ŋ̄ŋ̄* to be smooth	*wɛ́á* year	*wɛ́á* eye.

But such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was mechanized.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological*, that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by difference of tone.* Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 ss.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

kyɛ́ɛ́ pl. *kyɛ́ɛ́* horse	*ŋ̄k* pl. *ŋ̄k* pot
kyɛ̄ŋ̄ pl. *kyɛ̄ŋ̄* dura	*jǎɛ́k* pl. *jǎɛ́k* shoulder
kɛ́ɛ́ pl. *kɛ́ɛ́* net	*ɡǎŋ̄r* pl. *ɡǎŋ̄r* ford
ɡǎŋ̄ pl. *ɡǎŋ̄* mouth	*ɛ́ŋ̄ɛ́* pl. *ɛ́ŋ̄ɛ́* scorpion.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable:
bḭ́ḭ́ smith, but in addressing: *bḭ́ḭ́!* o smith!
mɔ́yɔ́ mother, but in addressing: *mɔ́yɔ́!* o mother!
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ man, but in addressing: *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́!* o man!
Dɪ́k a proper-name, but in addressing: *Dɪ́yɪ́!* o Dɪ́k!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mechanical tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 152.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *chɔ́mɔ́*, passive *chɔ́m*, verbal noun: *chɔ́m*
to work: present active *pḭ́ḭ́*, passive *pwɔ́ḭ́*, verbal noun: *pwɔ́ḭ́*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

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The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical* tone).

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

ɣḭ́ pl. *ɣḭ́ḭ́* ear; but *ɣḭ́ḭ́ kpɔ́* ears of the horse
ɔ́ɔ́ḭ́ pl. *ɔ́ɔ́ḭ́* flower, but *ɔ́ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́ yɔ́* blossoms of the tree
ɔ́ɔ́ɣɔ́ pl. *ɔ́ɔ́ɣɔ́* bag; but *ɔ́ɔ́ɣɔ́ḭ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genitive, a high-toned *ḭ́* is added; the high tone of this *ḭ́* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

ɣḭ́ḭ́ḭ́ dogs *ḭ́* my, *ɣḭ́ḭ́ḭ́ḭ́* my dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
ɔ́ɔ́ "and", *ḭ́* "he", *ɔ́ɔ́* "said" but connected: *ɔ́ɔ́ ḭ́ ɔ́ɔ́*,
yɔ́ I *pḭ́ḭ́* work, *yɔ́ pḭ́ḭ́* I am working; the low tone of *pḭ́ḭ́* causes the *ɔ́* of

194 *yè* to add a low tone to its high tone; this low tone on *è* is, however, pronounced but very faintly, sometimes only *è* is heard.

Dissimilation of Tones.

pin thing in this, but *pin in this thing*, *pìì ìì these things*.
nini crocodile in this, but *nini in this crocodile*.

Here the reason of the low-toned noun becoming high-toned is the stress which is laid on the noun.

Many references to intonation will be found in the following paragraphs, they are treated there together with the grammatical functions they exercise.

Accentuation.

In words with more than one syllable the accent (or stress) lies on the stem-syllable. When a syllable with low tone has the accent, this low tone frequently becomes high.

539*
[194]

[1] *ná* has low tone; here a high tone is added to it representing the *é* "be", which is dropped, but its tone is preserved.
[2] "he is man where?" of which place is this man? *kpó* originally means place.
[3] "he was not known to his father, but he, his father was known to him."
[4] Probably the wife of the lion.
[5] This is to show that not a single person (lion), not even the cripples, the blind and the deaf, remained at home.
[6] They were left because they could not dance, and so did not fall into the pit.
[7] Who these slaves are, and why the cattle without horns were killed, is not clear.
[8] The leopard skin is the royal robe.
[9] This story vividly recalls that of Genesis chapter 37, and 42—46.
[10] from *tapo*.
[11] Such was the dowry in "the good old time."
[12] instead of *chyate yo*.
[13] of course he ought to have said, "his testicles are as big as this pot," and, "who has a necklace on his neck." Apparently from enthusiasm and confusion the man misplaces his words.
[14] *gik*.
[15] From exhaustion.
[16] from *ghachg*.
[17] will you not have killed a ram?
[18] and the lion, his breast was tired.
[19] I have finished with talking, that is: I shall say no more, (since you will not hear)!
[20] Was a man who was able to change himself into a lion, and into a tree; see below.
[21] The elam is a tree with a broad, beautiful shady crown.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part 1 & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104 194

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 101 [173 177]

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Potke Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang 173

36 62 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyuie Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have 36 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 62 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pac Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yow Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as 143 their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

36 62 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[19] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pandu* = *Fandu* (*Fashoda*).

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. [199]

Recent Shilluk History

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[8] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure: he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *eyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwathker, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (Note 2) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

8. Fashoda the capital of the reth is actually 11 miles upstream of Kodok.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

537*

* The "pie" lays stress on the subject: why are you on this (while the hare is fat)?
* *Ajik*, an expression used most frequently, cannot be well translated into English; it may mean any degree and shade of surprise, very often, as here, angry surprise.
** *Dyiki* is not only "to-morrow", but simply "the next day".
* Instead of "*ebedak yi ga*".
* from *gi* p.
* *Ajij*, more frequently *Ajij*, the stem for "go".
* The hare wanted the hyena to believe that he, the hare, was being punished for his misdeeds, and that the hyena, by coming near, might get a thrashing as well.
* Instead of *ga*.
* In order that.
* more frequently: *wijig* to swim.
* "*Ambir*" — *ebem*.
* *ewudiro*!
* *ewudiro*: *Ambir*; here the *a* is long, as if to express the impatient waiting for an answer — but all remained silent. [145]
* In fact, being guest, not entitled to eat you?
* To prevent the monkey from secretly running away.
* *Ebedhag* to some old affair, for which he intended to take revenge now.
* Takes the hare escapes the threatened revenge of the hyena, and even injures his severely more, taking advantage of the greediness of the latter. [171]
The same story is told in Marno, Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weißen Nil, under „Die Gebräuche von dem Dinka."
* the fish, his spear is still with me.
* *Ja* and *Jaij* are most frequently used in this way, to emphasize a statement: is it not so? that is: it surely is so.
* *ewudiro*! the last vowel with high tone.
* "why remains my spear not evaded (dodged) by you?"
* see Glossary.
* "*a mddlin ednidi la ma*": *a mddlin* of somebody who is not present, somebody's middle, I do not know whom.
* *ewudiro*!
* Instead of: make ye die.
* one would expect: *gaiye ewu*.
* one would expect: *gaiye gaiu*.
* "You are finished with your work". "Whenever I meet you again, I shall recognize you and take revenge." This story of the lion and the fox is also told in Marno, l. c. The Bonnenbiste have it likewise.
* He expected the fox to come too, and so to find an opportunity for finishing him.
* *gdi-ki* . . . . an expression of scorn, the literal meaning is not clear; "I with my children?"
* from *Ajiki*!
* The fish-spear is a wheel, because "he saw the fish in the water"; he is thrown into the water as long-hunch, and yet hits the fish.
* In shooting the girl subsits her companion, not the man.
* The story seems to have some mythological relation.
* from *Ajiki*!
* "and there (the contents) remained far".
* *gwdo* are *ednin* they (by) whom?
* a name; the literal meaning not clear.
* "the hare went, he (he) his place".
* "he sits in difficulty with a place of his going out."
* and the fish, and (he) was asked.
* In many cases this dis the meaning of *ebem* was hardly by rendered.
* *ebedak* from shooting hare! *g* is used here because the act of shooting lies in the future.
* the people ask: "where shall we shoot?" (see among them excitement), "shoot the ones?"
* generally the bush, the "new house", in the place where strangers pass the night.

*539 *Adjl-tuá, yi kjo kpá? Nuer a wuyá, ya kjo fluá lóká jwgk, Awen, na Yor.*
"Adoluung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going
533 to the town of God, oh Awen, son of Yor."

Akol Dük na Ñikoá, Kaye-Duru, Akoluku, Akol-Kwalai, na Ogák Folo, kwai ffip, ya yiffl yin, a yiqda yin ahjn bj dyjrí, ya yiffl. Yáthl, waye Dikl, Amol na Ogák (na Shol), kwapi aj fyju aj fyinh: Shol kjo? Kpá na wúpp; nan aj gbwá kbj? naáa chjag yuódá kj Dóú, wuji shwai yuoda, lwük Amol, na Ñikoá.

Akol, Dak, son of Nyikang, Kaye Duro, Akoluku, Akol Kwalai, son of Ogak Folo, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakol, you father of *Dák*, Amol, your people are continually asking me, "has Shol gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at *Duóg*, eating of soup found I, you people of *Amol*, the son of *Ñikoá*.

Ajak-bàu-wjl-jok, kwacha kwáry, kwacha tyoi fa jwgk, rij e dugk mal. Kwacha kwayt yen. Yen i ybjó; yen da Ñikoá, rij e dugk mal; tjhá fa yoin shjnd? Yen da Ñikoá; fen a yiffl, a yiffl i rj...; ya fóru lyjll, ya fthh, ya yóóo shjno, Wuro-kwá, kpa bddá!

Ajak-bauwéjok, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with *Ñikoá*, the king[2] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with *Ñikoá*. The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Wuro-Kwa, strengthen my arms!

[196] [1] "Licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] *Ñikoá*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *Iweth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *Pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *Iweth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *bite kwen* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kwaajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ovore* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jwog* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth* or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi bal Juok* (you have been brought
64 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yari mew*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrament, but rape, as also prostitution, is
848] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bogge*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women [237] were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. [283] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reil* [644] Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reth* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking of the *reth* (c.f. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *reth*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1948. The *reth* became more and more worried as the installation approached. There were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *nyireth* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reth*'s party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reth*'s nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

On 27.12.48 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyiseth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyiseth*, for the son of a *Nyiseth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyiseth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyiseth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation Wau. [572 559]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Fung (Fung clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 [572]

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyiseth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. 549 644 199

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 649 649

[p. 319]

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 643 648 [678] employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mitk yi Jwok*). They do not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far as you are concerned.

195 643 The *Reth*'s head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to, anchor" (Shil., *awak*). When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes. An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the objects surrounding him lose half their natural bulk.

195 643 648 539 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is anything comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the purpose of this note (which is serious).

SCENE—FASHODA. The District Commissioner steps the lorry outside the royal bomas to pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second.

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Rath.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be cursed by God in Kodok over the week-end so there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog.

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs
[195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's
[644] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the
[237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the
[513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached
771 to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—
196

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an
[536] enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five
[179] epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he *did* not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus we separated from each other. Our grandfather was *Jotani*, a son of *Nobil*, he came into the Shilluk country; it is he who married *Adjó*. He was king. That is the beginning of (the village of) *Adaf'ály*. — The ostrich and the crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dutily*-sickness.

531 773

[116]

[1] *wdáj* "our grandmother". Here, as is sometimes the case, the pronoun of the third person sing. has the meaning of the first person pl.
[2] There is not, viz. a reason.
[3] With the exception of the first sentence this report is recent, because it relates to white and black men.
[4] There there are the "parents" not of the whole Shilluk people, but only of the tribe *Fwichoot*, which lives on the north of the Sobat. Each tribe has its own "parents", which generally are animals.
[5] This means: the crow (see page 156) brought forth a gourd, the gourd split, and out of it went forth the ostrich, etc.

3. Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

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ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective
adv. = adverb
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Anthem Quoted"
interr. = interrogative
n. = noun, also verbal noun
prep. = preposition
rel. = relative
v. = verb
v. a. = verb active
v. n. = verb neuter
verb. n. = verbal noun

f. = and the following
* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. *ádjó-ó-ʃir* means: *ádjó* is the singular, *ʃir* the plural
(means: is derived from
) means: changes into.

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

197 Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Alur	Jo. = Jur
Ary. = Anywak	La. = Lango
Ba. = Bari	Ns. = Nuba
Bo. = Bongo	Nu. = Nuer
Di. = Dinka	N. = Nupe
E. = Ewe	Shi. = Shilluk
El. = Elk	T. = Twi
G. = Gã	Y. = Yoruba
Ga. = Gang	V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (Nyilwa).

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England
101 would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not conferred, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility'. This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Elêri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

[147] [192]

Funj.	Shilluk.
bunj Arab	*bunu* stranger, Arab
dhiba ant	*ff* white ant
kumur to eat	*ckâmg* to eat
ami hippo	*ami* crocodile
lei giraffe	*lei* game
jak God	*jangk* God
kyla star	*kyâlg* star
mimu dumb	*mije* dumb
kaj on to-day	*kach* on this time
ko-wang spear	*tgâ* spear
kam stick	*kâg, kag* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has not in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from those languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hamag (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hamag continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

*193 *i* and *ę* change in: *riiq* to run; past *a rpi*.
194 *ę* and *ɩ*, *u* change in: *ypry* and *pyry* to tattoo, *rjmq* and *riimq* to meet
bbjdj-bbdj hedgehog *mqyg-mqlj* bear *kpch-kuchj* axe.
vice versa: *kudq* to pull out, past *kpla*, *fudq* | to pull
ńudq to cut, past *ńpla* *fuqu* | out
lupq to turn past *lupi*; *rum-orym* nose.
o and *ę* change in: *ddób-ddjdj* a knife *ddir-dbjr* vulture
bbr-bjr boil; and: *tock-touch* gun; this last example suggests that *o* was changed into *ę* by an inserted *a*.
o and *u* change in: *bódq* to fasten n. *bddj*; *chudq* and *chdlq* to avenge, *kuno* and *bdqq* to blow up.

*193 The vowels *ę* and *ę* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.
194 *ę* < *a*.
197

lęk tooth	Any. *lak*			*wjlq* to travel	Ba. *wala*		
kęnq gourd	Ju. *kano*			*kęch*	bitter,	Nu.	*kapal*
ńuęch smell	Any. *ńuai*				sharp		sharp
nęnq to sleep	Nu. *nalu*			*njuo* to see	Nu. *nala*		
kuęn bread	Ju. *kuęn*	Nr. *kuęn*,	Bo. *kuö*	*ńjęq* much	Nr. *ńuan*		
kypę horse	Ju. *ahaja*	Ga. *kuńo*;		(*chuo* fat	Nr. *chuu*()		
ńiuęn four	Nr. *ńuiin*			*ńypę* metal	Ju. *pańa*.		

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ę* (or *e*).

ę < *ia*.

pjk to be heavy	Any. *pyal*	
ęk to be hard	Dl. *tyak (tyęk?)*	Bo. *tiyo*
pjchq, *pyjchq* to ask	Ba. *pija*	
rjmq blood, Ba. *rima*,	Bo. *trama*,	Nr. *ryym*.

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *tiyo* and Ba. *pija*, *rima*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *pyal*; *a* was then assimilated to *i* (*y*) and thus turned into *ę*: *tyęk*, *pyjchq*, *ryym*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ę*, and *j* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *j* and *yę*, are still existing.

ę < *ua* or *ua*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ę*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ę*, so that *ua*, *wa* > *wę* > *ę*.

Compare the following examples:

wá and *wę́* we; *wá* is the primitive, *wę* the influenced form; likewise: *gwańq*

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R3 *
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and *ŋwiŋŋ* to scratch, *ŋudŋ* to cut, *ŋiŋŋ* to butcher, *ŋŋŋ* to cut.

ŋ to die	Ba. *tum*		*ŋŋŋ* to dive	Di. *ruuá*			
ŋwiŋŋ to cry	Ga. *yuuk*		*ŋuŋŋ* to wash	Nr. *luk*	Ba. *lulyin*		
ŋŋŋ afternoon	Ga. *ulum*		*ŋŋŋ* thirst	Ga. *ormur*	Ja. *ryun*		
ulugŋ maize	Any. *ulunk*		*ŋuŋŋ* to bear, beget	Ga. *ŋuulu*			
luŋŋ cotton	Ga. *uuro*						
ŋŋŋ to beat	Any. *yuuí*	Bo. *ylu*	*ŋŋŋ* what	Nr. *ŋu*,	Di. *ŋŋu*		
ulugu man	Ga. *ulum*	Nr. *ulum*	*yŋ* road *yu tuk* narrow road				
ulugŋŋ to call	Nr. *ulul*		*ŋwiŋŋ* fox	Nr. *yuuk*.			

In these words *ŋ* is evidently an original *u*; in Shi. the *u* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *u* or *w*, while in other languages the primitive *u* is preserved. In Shi. *ŋudŋ* "to cut", the vowel, *u*, is not yet added; in *ŋiŋŋ* "to butcher", the suffixed *u* has dropped the *u*; here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *u*; whereas in *ŋŋŋ* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *ŋŋŋ* what; the primitive vowel is *u*: Nr. *ŋu* what; later an *a* was added; before this *a* the primitive vowel *u* dropped in Di.: *ŋŋu* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *ŋŋ* (the beginning *ŋ* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *yŋ* road, but *yu tuk* narrow road, and *yu Fiŋŋi* the way to F., from original *yu*; this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *a* was added, which united with *u* to *ŋ*.

Compare also the following words:

ŋwŋŋ roan antelope	Ja. *umur*	
ŋŋŋŋ wind	Ga. *yuuu*	
ŋŋŋ blossom	Di. *ŋuŋ*.	

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *u*, *u* having been dropped in both respective languages, or the original vowel is simply *u*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ŋ* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wŋ*, *yŋ*, and perhaps also those with *ŋ*, *ŋ* had the original vowel *u*, or *uu*, *iu*, though this *u* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels *(iu, uu)* was *i*, *u*, and that the *u* was added later; compare *ŋudŋ*, *ŋiŋŋ*, *ŋŋŋ*; and *ŋudŋ* goose, Di. *ŋuul (ŋuul?)*, Nr. *ŋuyr*; *ŋudŋ* and *ŋudŋ* are the oldest forms; then *u* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *ŋuyr*, *uu* became *wŋ* > *wŋ*, whereas in Shi. *ŋudŋ* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *u* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

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193 the case in *ówij* to cut and *ówij* to butcher. For more examples of the addition
194 of a second vowel see 70.
197 A good example for *w* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *wúgy* to catch, Ga. *mako*, Ba. *mok*, Di. *mugó* < **mwa ar *mwa.

A different evolution have

ywgy male, Di. *wiwa*; *ówjóg* to heap up, assemble, Di. *wokoi*. Here again the primitive vowel is *a*, as is evident from *wokoi*; now an *w* — in Di. preserved as *w* — was prefixed to the stem, and in Shi. was received into the stem, as *wokoi* > *ówujó*, *wiwa* > *ywgy*. See also the formation of the passive 173 *m*.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *w* + *a* > *twa*, *twg*, *tg*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *w* + *t* + *a* > *wta*, *twa*, *twg*, *tg*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

193 Some assimilations are treated above: *ía* > *ía*, *yi*; *wa* > *wa*, *wy*. Others are:
194 *wóth* head and *wuch*; *wíjg* to arrive, and *wígg*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *w* and thus become *w*;

ya ó "I shall" is often pronounced *yo w*, *yu y*;

hgyin "there is not", and *hígyin*;

hg "not to be", and *hogge* "there is not" < *hg* + *ggo*;

yígy to become, and *yeyg*;

ígyí foot, *ígólo* my foot;

hímjo it is, and *hímjo*;

hí rg "with its body" becomes *hg rg*;

yí ró why you, but *ó rí*, why he;

hí "and", but: *wí hí hígy* you and the smith: *i* is assimilated to the preceding *u*.

ío this, *gwí* that; as *i* has been affixed to *ío*, and has turned the *o* to *g*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the farther distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ía* > *ya*, *yi* > *i*; *wa* > *wa*, *wy* > *y*. Others are:

yí ó "you will" > *yó*. *wí ga* his mother > *wgo*. *wí ga* his father > *wgo*.

Where two vowels of different words meet together, generally one is dropped:

hwóry a my grandfather > *hwóra*.

hwóry i thy grandfather > *hwóri*, and likewise all these connections.

ofwoki ak these rabbits > *ofwok ak*.

yí ywjó ñíg what are you doing > *yí ywjó íg?*

yí hígy odí what do you say > *yí hígó odí*, or: *yí hí di?*

In the nasalization of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *jíkyi* chief > *jíkí*; see 127.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of semivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a word are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of these cases where the *u* or *i* had a *high* tone, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was transferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write *uj* or *wj*. 193* 194 197*

A few examples of the changes may be given here; for more see 124 ff.

y and *wy*: *pîyy* to work passive *pwîî* *kîîy* to speak passive *kwîy*
ŋwîî-ŋîîî jackal *ŋwîy-ŋîîy* cook
kîîy and *kwîy* to drive *chwîr-chîîr* corral.
vice versa: *mîî-mwîî* dog-headfish.
o and *wo*: *kîoy* and *kwîoy* to help *ŋoŋ* and *ŋwoŋ* to spit.
vice versa: *kwîn-kîr* shield.
wy, *wo* and *wy*, *wo*: *swoŋ*, *swoŋ* and *swoŋ* to show.

The vowel *o* has been preserved in:
kîîoŋ to taste, past *a kwoŋo*; *kwîîy* to sew, n. *kwîîy*.
swoŋ to kneed, n. *swîîî*;
gwîî-gîîî dog; *kwîm-kîîm* chair; *îîy* and *îwîî* to die.

Changes between *y* and *yy*:
yîîy and *yyîîy* to build; *îîîy* and *îyîîy* to dig
ŋîîr-ŋîîr back-bone; *îîîy* to let the milk down, *îyîîy* to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:
yîîy to sacrifice, and *yîîî*; *îîîr-îîîr* reed
kwîî-kîîî elephant; *kwîîy* to refuse, n. *kîîî*.

y < *w*: *yri* soul Di. *wri* *ywîîy* and *yyîîy* sing
yyîîy fowl Any. *ywîwî* *kwîîy* to refuse Ga. *kwrro*
îyîîy to save Nr. *kwîî* *ŋyw* heart Di. *ywrro*
kyyr horse Any. *ckwyr*.

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *y*, *r*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:
wîwy and *îwy* to send, *ŋwî* relative by marriage Ga. *wrr*.

îwî war Ga. *îwwî* Ju. *îwîî* *ŋî* people Ba. *ywwr*
ŋîî skin Ga. *ŋîwwî* *ŋwî* egg Nr. *ŋwyî*.
ŋîîwy mouth Nr. *ŋwwr* *wîîyy* to catch Di. *wwyî*

ŋîîwy is probably < **ŋyyr* < **ŋwyî* < **ŋwwr*.

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In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel, the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.

Elision of *y*: *yje* and *je* lie.

Change between *w*, *y* and *v*. — Though *v* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *y* in *ŋ*. *y* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *y* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *y* as *v* is pronounced.

wɔ, *yɔ*, *vɔ*: house	*winy*, *yiny* and *viny* to finish
winy, *yiny* and *viny* to cover	*wjny*, *yjny* and *vjny* to carry water
yjŋ and *vjŋ*: fish	*wir* and *vir* kings
wu, *wy*, *wu*, Dr. 73b	*yjny* and *vjny* to shoot.

y does not stand before *i*, *o*, and seldom before *u*; here *w* takes its place: *wyyjŋ-dowdj* see; *yiŋ* and *wiŋ* a season, *yjdj* and *widj* to pound.

In *yjŋ-wiŋ* the change from *y* to *w* has caused a change from *e* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *y*:

yi and *yje* lie; *yi* I Dr. 7a.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and *Any.*:

yan I	Nr. *jan*	*yaj* true	Nr. *jaj*
yin you	Nr. *jin*	*yiyp* tail	Nr. *jip*
yy road	*Any.* *jy*	*yjnny* wind	*Any.* *jonny*
yudjin to cry	*Any.* *jundj* and *judj*.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a word ending in *u* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; *du* lion *dowj* lions; *ur*, if *u* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: *fjdu* heart, *fjdwi* my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the friction sounds.

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These consonants are:

ch and *sh* *ɟ* and *j* *t* and *s* *p* and *f* or *f*.

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch t ɟ p* are to be regarded as the older, *sh s j* and *f f* as the younger sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *c*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *c*.

Assimilation.

The consonants *k ch t ɟ p*, when standing *at the end of a word*, can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch t ɟ p* is to be pronounced, *if* 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. *if it is* followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j d ɟ b* 1. *if they are* followed by a voiced consonant, 2. *if they* are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds.

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
ɟoj jol	*ɟok jol*	the cattle of the man
ɟok ɟoj	*ɟok ɟoj*	the cattle of the people
rid ɟoj	*rid ɟoj*	the king of the people
rid ɟi	*rid ɟi*	the king died
kuɟ ɟbuoo	*kuɟ ɟbuoo*	the talk of the stranger
kuɟɟ ɟoj	*kuɟɟ ɟoj*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, *if t, d or n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

ɟiɟ man, *ɟiɟiɟ* to make straight, *ɟiɟin* hot season, *ɟiɟiɟ* to rock, *ɟuɟɟ* to rise, *ɟuɟɟi* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *ɟuɟ* tree, *ɟuɟi* large, *ɟuɟ ɟuɟi* a large tree; between *ɟ* and *ɟ* the tongue does not change its position. But observe: *ɟo ɟiɟiɟ* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalisation*:

k + *n* > *ŋ*	*ch* + *n* > *ɲ*
t + *n* > *n*	*t* + *n* > *n*
p + *n* > *m*	*ɟz* + *n* > *ɲ*
jz + *n* > *ŋ*	*dz* + *n* > *n*
ɟz + *n* > *n*	*bz* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

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c) a semi-consonant is sometimes dropped:
ɟɔk cattle, *ɟɔ rij* cattle of the king
ɟɔɔk village *ɟɔ rij* village of the king
kat arm *ko ɟɔl* arm of the man.
d) *ch* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllabic *i*:
wich head *wiy ɟɔm* head of the table
ɟɔch middle *ɟɔy nam* middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

h. An original *h* is dropped in:

wo, *wy* we	Nr. *hɔ* ⟨ **hwɔ*		*wory* shoe	Ba. *hwori*	
winy bird	Ba. *hwin*		*wiiy* spider	Ba. *hwiike*	
wo nose	Ja. *hum*		*wiiny* to cover	and *hiing* ⟨ **hwung*.	

The opposite state is in:
hwiry cotton Ga. *wore* *hiny* to pour out Ga. *wio* ⟨ **hwoiy*.
Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *hw*.
An original *k* has turned into *ch* in
chiiy to walk Di. *kat*, *kwat* *kyok* bitter Ba. *kwyel*, stem **kuk*
kwook leopard Ba. *kwyo*, Ba. *kwio*.
An original *k* has turned into *t* in *ɔkiit* hat, Di. *ɔkick*, Ga. *ɔkii*; here *k* ⟩ *ch* ⟩ *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.
p. A primitive *p* has turned into *j*:
jɔ people, Ba. *pano* tribe.
ch. *ch* has become *y* in connections described in 127.
j. *j* has become *y* in *wiiy* sent, and *wii* (*wiy*).
t d, and *ɟ ɟ*.
1. At the beginning of a word; *t* ⟩ *r*.
rjɔng blood Ba. *tronno* *rjɔng* and *ɟjɔng* to fetch water, Ga. *tonno*.
ɟ ⟩ *r*: *ɟɔng* and *rɔng* to finish.
2. Within or at the end of a word.
t ⟩ *r*: *dwoiy* and *dwory* to wish, *tyɔty* and *ɟjɔy* to carry; *pyr* and *pyt* corner.
t, *d* ⟩ *l*: *kiiy* and *kiiy* to throw *kwity* and *kwiiy* to steal
kwyiy to drive past *kwyle* *ɟiiy* to shave and *ɟyiiy*
ɟwiy to spit past *ɟwil* *ypiiy* to curse and *ypiiy*
ypiiɟo to scratch past *ypil* *gwiiy* to wink with the lips, *gwiiy* to wink.
ɟ ɟ ⟩ *r*: *ɟiiy* to laugh, n. *ɟyɔry* *yiiyiy* to cut, past a *yiyr*
rij king pl. *rir*, *ɔkyj* and *kyyry* womb
rjiiy thirst Ga. *orwor*
wyj steer, but *wyre pyt*, and *wyr* *nam tai* a certain kind of steer.

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199 197 Concerning *t* > *r* (and *ŧ* > *rt*) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final *t* is followed by a strong lissing sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled *r*, and thus makes the *t* disappear altogether. In the same way *t* may have become *r* in Shi., the *tr* in Bo. meaning an intermediate stage between *t* and *r*.

t (*ŧ*) > *l*: *ŧiŧ* to cook, past *ŧil* *wiŧ* to change, past *wil*.

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 181; there also the functions of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of *t d*, *ŧ ŧ* to *r*, *n*, *l*, and *ŋ*, *n* are doubtfully to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that *t ŧ* at the beginning of a word change into *r* only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to *r* or to *l*.

INTONATION.

199 As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with accentuation, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: *p m j r*. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: *á*, a low tone: *à*, and a middle tone: *ā*. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high *ǎ* (rising tone) and high-low *â* (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then rises; in *â* it is the reverse: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle tone *á*, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

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194 cause a high tone precedes the rising one, the tones are like this: ˏ; mark the difference between "cook" and "hyena"!); *ɟɛ̄́* a water-pot, *ɟɛ́* cook, *Dɛ́ɛ́* a proper name.

Falling tone: ˆ *ɟɛ̂* he is absent, *ɟɛ̂* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of **ɟɛ́ɛ́*, sometimes **ɟɛ̄́* is heard.

High and middle tone: ɟɛ̄́ɛ́ when? *wɛ́ ɟɛ̄́ ɟɛ́ɛ́* you and who? *ɟ́ ɟɛ́ɛ́*.

High-low-high tone: ɟɛ̌́ɛ́ dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

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ɟɛ́ɛ́	cook	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	hyena	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	hot season	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	a small lizard
ɟɛ́ɛ́	sebbah-tree	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	to spend the night	*ɛ́ɛ́*	which	*ɛ́ɛ́*	aunt
				ɛ́ɛ́	green	*ɛ́ɛ́*	because
ɟɛ́ɛ́	skin	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	spindle	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	a fish	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	egret
ɟɛ́ɛ́	flint-stone	*ɟɛ́ɛ́*	to be smooth	*wɛ́ɛ́*	year	*wɛ́ɛ́*	eye.

But such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was mechanised.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological*, that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by difference of tone*. Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 ff.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

ɟɛ́ɛ́ pl. *ɟɛ́ɛ́*	horse	*ɛ́ɛ́* pl. *ɛ́ɛ́*	pot
ɟɛ́ɛ́ pl. *ɟɛ́ɛ́*	door	*ɟɛ́ɛ́* pl. *ɟɛ́ɛ́*	shoulder
ɟɛ́ pl. *ɟɛ́*	net	*ɟɛ́ɛ́* pl. *ɟɛ́ɛ́*	ford
ɟɛ́ɛ́ pl. *ɟɛ́ɛ́*	mouth	*ɛ́ɛ́* pl. *ɛ́ɛ́*	scorpion.

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b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable:
ŋàŋ smith, but in addressing: *ŋàŋí!* o smith!
mòjó mother, but in addressing: *mòjó!* o mother!
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ man, but in addressing: *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́!* o man!
Dɛ́ɛ́ a proper name, but in addressing: *Dɛ́ɛ́!* o Dɛ́ɛ́!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mechanical tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 152.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*, passive *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*, verbal noun: *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*
to work: present active *ɡɛ́ɡɛ́*, passive *ɡɛ́ɡɛ́*, verbal noun: *ɡɛ́ɡɛ́*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical tone*). 194

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

ɡɔ́ɔ́ pl. *ɡɔ́ɔ́* ear; but *ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* ears of the horse
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ pl. *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* flower, but *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́* blossoms of the tree
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ pl. *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* bag; but *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genitive, a high-toned *ɔ́* is added; the high tone of this *ɔ́* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dogs *ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́*, *ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
ɔ́ɔ́ "and", *ɔ́* "he", *ɔ́ɔ́* "said" but connected: *ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́*.
ɡɔ́ I ɡɔ́ɡɔ́ work, *ɡɔ́ ɡɔ́ɡɔ́* I am working; the low tone of *ɡɔ́ɡɔ́* causes the *ɔ́* of

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*193 quent form; it may be called the characteristic form of the word in Shl., about 90 %, of all stems of the language having this form.

bir sun, *bâl* fence, *bâr* a cow, *bâi* behind, *bar* long, *bath* bundle, *bil* spear, *bul* coat, *gul* fence, *kal* fence, *kgl* rain, etc.

*193 In my comparative study "Die Sudansprachen", I have shown the original word in Sudan to consist in one consonant and one vowel, all other elements in a word being later additions. As is seen under 1., this original form is not frequent in Shl., the standard form being here consonant + vowel + consonant. Accordingly these words ought to be demonstrated as having evolved from words with one consonant and one vowel only; the second consonant should be traced as a later element. That is, however, until now possible only in a small minority of cases. This may be explained from the fact that the eastern Sudan languages have, for a comparatively long time, had their own development, separate from that of the western languages, and under the influence of languages of different character.

I have found, however, a number of words which, being identical in their first consonant and vowel, and differing only in the second consonant, have the same or a similar meaning, which makes it probable that they are of one origin, and consisted originally in one consonant and one vowel, but differentiated their meaning by adding a second consonant. In some of the examples there is a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel, which, according to 21, 22, has arisen from a vowel, so that here two vowels are to be supposed.

Examples.

bâjo to make a fence *bâjo* to tie together	< *bâ
bâno, *bânu* to make a mistake *bâjo* to err	< *bâ
chât it is finished *châg* it is finished	< *chât
chodjo to pierce *chowo* to pierce	< *chow
gjâdo to scratch, dig *gjâwo*, *gwudo* to scratch *gjâjo* to scratch	< *gwu
fâyo to be sharp *fâdo* knife	< *fâ
fjâdo, *fjâjâdo* to ask *fjwo* to quiney *fjâdo* to lie	< *fâ, *fâo, with the supposed meaning of "to say"
fâyo to be bruised *fâjo* to rub, brush	< *fâ, *fâo
gjâdo to loosen *gjâwo* to loosen	< *gâ, *gwo
kâyo, *kâgo* to ache, pain *kâjo* to bite, ache, pain	< *kâ
kâdo to throw *kâjo* to dash, chatter, split	< *kâ
kâ to go *kâdo*, *kâdo* to go	< *kâ

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kiḷy to blow
kiḷy to blow } < *ki

kuiḷy
kuiny } pole < *kuu

ki chief
kuiḷy to steal } < *ku, kuu

kuiny to take
kuiyy to take } < *kuu

kuyy to hard
kuuly to drive, hard } < *kuu

muyny to plaster
miiḷy to plaster } < *mu, muu

ed because
ede because } < *ma

ano yesterday
ano-ano the day before yesterday } < *ano

ayy to vomit
ainy, aunly to spit } < *aua

ñiyn, ñiiy spit < *ñi

fuiḷiy
piiny } to thank < *puu

ryiny to string beads
ryiy to sew } < *ry

ñiny to pour out drop by drop
ñiiy to strain beer } < *ñy

ñiny to pick
nuiny to pick, gather, clean } < *nuu

wiḷy to pull out
wyny to pull out } < *wu, wuu.

6. Consonant, semivowel, and vowel, which may again be followed by another augment.

These forms are also very frequent.

kwi grandfather, *kwi* cousin, *kwat* shield, *gwyi* work, *kwiy* talk, *kwi* cow-house, *kwyi* guard, *kwuit* leopard, *kwiiḷy* to steal, *kwuiy* to embrace, *kwiiny* to swim; *fyyny* to ask, *kyyly* to refuse, *gyiny* fowl, *ṗiiḷy* foot, etc.

In 21, 22 I have, with the help of related languages, tried to show that in many, if not in all, cases the semivowel is to be traced to an original vowel, so that here also the primitive stem would be one consonant and one vowel. Compare:

ñuiy to cut
ñiiḷy to lumber } < *ñu + a
ñyiḷy to cut

ki chief
kuiḷy to steal } < *ku + a
kuiny to swim
Nu. *kuyo* to swim } < *ku + a.

For more examples see 69.

7. The forms 5 and 6 may have a vocalic suffix, which consists a) in the vowel *y*; it is added to the verb in the present tense, and to the singular of many substantives.

ṗiyy to work, *kiyy* to go; *fiyy* chief, *jiiḷy* man, *ebuyny* white man, *eiiny* an ant, *ikwiiy* loin-cloth, etc.

In certain words this *y* may be pronounced or dropped at will: *ebuyny* or *ebuyn*, *jiiḷy* or *jol*; moreover it is sounded so slightly, that one very often

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overhears it. — In the Nuer language *ɛ* is a suffixed demonstrative pronoun; it may originally have had the same meaning in Shi.

In the following cases a verb is formed from a noun by adding *ɛ*: *wiɛ̀* head, *wiɛ̀ɛ* to make a roof ("a head") *lɔ̀ɔ̀* wine, *lɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ* to pine.

b) in the vowel *i*: *mum rim* to cover, *rimi* a cover; *mum ribin* to cut, *ribinibini* a bait; *mum pɔ́ɔ́* to strike *pɔ́ɔ́-pɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* word.

c) the plural suffixes *mu*.

8. Words with prefixes.

The Shi has two vocalic prefixes, *o* and *e*. In most cases these prefixes have a distinct function: *by prefixing a or e to a verb, the verb becomes a noun.* This is a law prevailing in very many Sudan languages, eastern as well as western. Examples.

ɔ̀ɔ̀ to have not — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* poor
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to compose a song — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* poet
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to make straight, to aim — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* straight
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to bless — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* blessed
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to pick up — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a bastard child (a child "picked up")
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to branch off — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* branch
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to winnow, *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* basket
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to be turned upside down — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* somersault
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ (to be) slow — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a stick
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to kill — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* spirit of a deceased person
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to prove the hollow — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* hollow
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to break off — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a cow whose horns are broken, a horntess cow
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to darken (said of the sun) — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* cloud-shadow
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to hollow — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* hollow
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to raise, lift up — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* stones raised up, dam
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to make a ford — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ford
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to swing — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* swinging
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to blossom — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* flower
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to stimulate — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* stimulating
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to be astute — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* astuteness
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ to wag — *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* wagging.

The prefix *o* often designates persons as descendants of other persons, as members of a tribe or nation:

ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ sister *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* the child of the sister
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ the mother's brother, *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* the mother's brother's child
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ Shilluk *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a Shilluk man
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ Dinka *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a Dinka man
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ the mother's sister *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* the mother's sister's child
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ name of a king *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* the son of *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*.
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ foreign *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* a stranger, foreigner.

In some cases *o* or *e* are prefixed to a noun, thus giving it a peculiar sense:

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kúlly finger — *ólúlly* a dove which has four ears, like the four (long) fingers of the hand

wal front — *ówally* the first

tuk horn — *otukolyel* "unicorn": rhinoceros.

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Not all words with a prefix can be derived from words without a prefix, for example:

ółóch a certain cow, *ółóc* hammer, *ółóch* fire, *ółóy* bushbuck, and many others.

In some words the prefix may be omitted at will:

ołíyy and *íyy* head — *ołów* and *yów* fisherman.

There are some other words beginning with a vowel, but here apparently the vowel is not a prefix:

áá these, *óo* this, *óóá* these, *ołá* in order that, *ío* he, him, *íoy* to send, *íoy* relative by marriage, *óoy* what?

In some of these a beginning consonant can be shown to have been dropped: *ío* < *yío*, *íoy* to send < *wíoy*; *íoy* relative by marriage is in Ga. *wor*; in *óoy* "what" *ó* is evidently the deictic particle: "it is".

9. **Reduplication** is very rare. I have only met with one single example: *pípí* to be possessed by a spirit. 193*

The Shilluks like to repeat a word or grammatical form which is to be emphasized: *á ládo, ládo, ládo* he was going, going, going: was going on for a long while; *yy łíwi łíwi łíwi* they came all, all, all: all of them came; *łío łío łío* very far away; *á chíłí chíłí* he approached slowly, steadily; *pá wíro, pá wíro* I looked closely.

Recapitulation.

The word in Shi. may have the following forms:

1. *a*, 2. *ío*, 3. *íow*, 4. *íoo*, 5. *íot*, 6. *íow*, *íwot*, 7. *íoty*, *íowty*, 8. *chot*, *choty*, *chowty*; 9. *łoło*.

COMPOSITION OF WORDS.

Nearly all compound words in Shi. consist in two or more nouns, which stand to each other in genetive relation; they are, properly speaking, no compound words, but two distinct, independent nouns; compare:

wot ápół "eye of the crow"	a kind of red dove
wot Nyíkáá "eye of Nyikang"	*ooot*
wot óo "eye of lion"	a kind of red dove
wíy óo "head of lion"	story, tale
wíy íyyet "head of horse"	riddle

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A peculiar kind of compound nouns is formed by *nin*, the combined form of *nin* "man, person"; *nin* is properly "the man", "this man", see 138. It may be combined with a noun, or, what is more frequent, with a verb in the present tense, and with a verb in the passive:

nin e ghôdg, nin e ghôdg	"the person is a woman"	the woman
nin ñjg	"the man (is) black"	a black man
nin dwqn, nin e dwqn	"the man is blind"	a blind person
nin e ñdg, nin ñdg	"the man (he) is shaving"	one who is shaving
nin e kjô	"the man (he) is blind"	a blind person.

In the following compound nouns the first part of the composition is known, but no more existing independently in the language.

ñdgg a red-brown cow, *ñdnô* a gray cow, *ñjnô* a black cow, from *ñe* cow; compare Ba. *ñ* cow, Ba. *ñ-ñnô* cow. Compare also: *ghnô* cow (**ghe* goat, Bi *gwô*; *ghô* (**ghe ryô* cows, Bi. *ryô*. In both cases the word in Shilluk has two components: **ghe* and *gwô*, *ryô*.

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The last consonant of the ending cows undergoes a change in these words:

ngwnnnô a certain cow	from *ngg* "cow".
ngwgô a certain cow	
ngbyôyôô a certain cow	

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THIRD SECTION:

GENEALOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE SHILLUK LANGUAGE.

THE DIALECTS OR DIVISIONS.

197 The Shilluk language is not confined to one single territory, but is spoken in different parts of the White Nile region, some of which are situated at considerable distance from one another. The largest section of Shilluk-speaking people live in what is generally called the Shilluk country, and only this part is known under the name of Shilluk people. The rest of the tribes speaking the same language have each their own name, both for people and language, but their languages are essentially one in structure and vocabulary with the Shilluk proper. There are, of course, dialectical differences, which are the natural consequence of the language being separated into locally different branches, so that each branch had its own way of development, and was in some measure influenced by its respective neighbour; but the following examples will make it evident that they are to be regarded as dialects of one language. It is to be noted that not only the selection of words given below are identical, but, as far as I have been able to judge, about 90% of all words in these dialects are uniform, and so is the grammatical structure; the only remarkable deviation is that Gang (Ashull) has a cons-forming prefix *la-*, pl. *ha-*, which is Hamitic and corresponds to the Masai "article" *al* pl. *il*.

The dialects or divisions of the Shilluk language are:

1. *Shilluk proper.*
2. *Anywak (Anuak, also Anouk)*; it is spoken a) on both sides of the Sobat between the Dinka Tribe Gook *(Nyk)* and the Nuer, south-east of Abwong; b) in Abyssinia on both sides of the river Baro; c) in Abyssinia between the rivers Gelo and Akobo.

   The Anywak has been somewhat influenced by its neighbour, the Nuer; some grammatical formations coincide with those of Nuer. But during my stay in the Shilluk country I have convinced myself that it is possible without considerable difficulty to converse with an Anywak man in Shilluk. The Abyssinians call the Anywaks *Jambo*.
3. *Jur*; is spoken between the 7th and 8th degree of n. lat. and about the 28th and 29th degree of eastern longitude.

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4. *Dembo*; is spoken to the north-west of Jur, on both sides of the Bahr Dembo.
5. *Belanda*; is spoken south to south-west of the Jur, the habitat of both being separated by the Bongo or Dor.
6. *Ber (Bir)*; is spoken south of the Bongo country and east of the Belanda, on the right bank of the Bar river.
7. *Bori (Biri)* is spoken in the province of Mongalla, on the right bank of the Nile, north-east of Lado.

On the map of A. E. S. the Bori ("Borri") are also called Beir; from this it is probable, that Bori and Ber are identical, Bori being the plural form of Ber. Again according to Schweinfurth[1] the Bongo designate the *Jur* by the name of "Bahr", and on the map of A. E. S. in the habitat of the Ber the name "Jur" is put in; this seems to show the very near relationship of Jur, Ber and Bori; and as Belanda lies close to Ber, these two can also be nearly or totally identical.[2]

8. *Gang (Gui) or Acholi*; is spoken in the country situated east, north-east and north of the Nile between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. — The name Acholi, also Shuli, is evidently identical with the name of the Shilluk: *Chiliq*, the *i* in Acholi, Shuli denoting the plural.
9. *Nyifwa (Nifwa)* or *Ja Loo*, also called Kavirondo; is spoken in part of the Kavirondo-country, in the north-east coastlands of Lake Albert, round the Kavirondo-bay.
10. *Lango* (Kitching: Umiro); is spoken in the Bukedi district, north and north-east of Lake Kioga. Kitching in his Grammar of the Gang Language page VII says: "The northern Bukedi or Lango seem to be distinct from the Umiro, and their dialect is unintelligible to the Acholi." But the words which Johnston gives under "Lango", are clearly a dialect of Acholi and Shilluk proper.
11. *Alero* (Kitching: Alur); is spoken in the country north and north-west of Lake Albert and west of the Nile.
12. *Chopi*; is, according to Kitching, spoken between Bunyoro and the Victoria Nile. Sir Harry Johnston does not mention this name in "The Uganda Protectorate", but he says that the name *Log*, which is given to several Shilluk dialects, also occurs in the north of Unyoro.
13. South of Nyifwa, on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, lives a small tribe called *Gaya*; they seem also to speak a dialect of Shilluk; but it is not sure.
14. The same is to be said of the *Jafala*, who live to the north-east of Lake Albert.

These are the dialects or divisions of the Shilluk which are known to-day. It is, however, to be observed that the word "dialect" is not employed here quite in its usual meaning, as of some "dialects", chiefly Ber, Bori, Belanda,

[1] Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Central-Afrika (Berlin 1873) p. 61.
[2] Compare also B. Struck "An Ur'vested Tribe on the White Nile", in Journal of the African Society 1908 page 73—78.

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197 Dembo, it is not known whether they do at all differ from each other, or whether they are rather divisions of one identical dialect. The distinctions which do exist between some of the divisions will best be seen from the examples following in the list below. In this list most of the dialects or divisions are illustrated:

Anywak from my own unpublished materials;

Jur in Schweinfurth, Linguistische Ergebnisse;

Bor is represented by a few words[1] in Pedowick, Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa, p. 481:

forehead	*ceip*	Shilluk *ciek*	The orthography of the original has been retained.
eye	*ceany*	Shilluk *ceni*	
nose	*kwem*	Shilluk *wem*	
lip	*dwek*	Shilluk *dyk*	
tooth	*kwk*	Shilluk *kyk*	
tongue	*kwk*	Shilluk *kyy*	

Gang in Kirking: An Outline Grammar of the Gang Language, London 1908.

Nyifwa in O. Baumann, Von Massaland zur Äquatorlinie, also in Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Lango and *Alura* in Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Of *Dembo*, *Bolanda*, *Bori* and *Chopi* I have not found any materials. *Dembo* and *Bolanda* I include amongst the Shilluk dialects on the strength of Schweinfurth's statement ("Im Herzen von Afrika" page 63): north of the Jur the more numerous Dembo and some smaller tribes of the same origin have their residence; and the Bolanda live 80 (German) miles south of the Jur; they, in spite of the great differences in their habits, which have evidently been influenced by the Bongo, still have preserved the Shilluk language in a more or less pure form.* The native traditions also designate the Bolanda as belonging to the Shilluks.

Of *Bori* Emin Pasha says that they speak the same language as the Shilluks.

Chopi is mentioned by Kirking as belonging to the Shilluk group.

It is remarkable that many dialects bear the same name. As stated above, *Acholi*, also called *Shuli*, is doubtless identical with *Chiliq*, the name of the Shilluk proper. Likewise the name *Lug* occurs repeatedly: the Jurs call themselves *Lug*; the Alura of Albert Lake, according to Johnston, more often pronounce their name *Alug*, and this form appears again in the north of Unyoro and among the Ja-Lug (Nyifwa). Note also the names *Bjr*, *Bjri*, *Bjr*, (this last name is given to the Shilluk proper by the Dinkas), and *Bjr*, which is the proper name of the Bolanda.

[1] These words are also given by Swetch, An Unknown Tribe.

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THE POSITION OF SHILLUK AMONG OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

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The Shilluk belongs to a clearly circumscribed group of African Languages, which is usually styled "Nilotic Languages". It is difficult to give the characteristic marks of the languages belonging to this group, as sufficient materials of all of them are not available. Some chief points are:

1. Mute and fricative sounds are in some cases interchangeable, chiefly *p* and *f* are often so.
2. Many, if not all, of the languages have interdental sounds *(ṭ ḍ ṇ)*. I have found them in Shilluk, Anywak, Nuer and Dinka, and according to some German authors Masai and Ndorobo also have them.[1]
3. The stem in most cases consists in a consonant, vowel, and consonant, generally ending in a consonant.
4. Stems with a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel are frequent. The stem-vowel is often a diphthong.
5. Probably in most of them intonation plays an important rôle.

The Nilotic languages consist of two sub-divisions:

a) The Niloto-Sudanic group.
b) The Niloto-Hamitic group.

It is probable that the Nilotic languages originally belong to the family of the Sudan-languages (vide below 95). The phonology, the form of the word and some grammatical peculiarities in all Nilotic languages point to this common origin. The vocabularies of all of them have certain sudanic elements. But at a certain former period all these languages have more or less strongly been influenced by languages of a different character, which are generally called Hamitic languages. They differ from the Sudanic languages chiefly in the grammatical gender, in the prevalence of accentuation instead of intonation, and in their more extensive possibilities of expressing formative elements. Rudiments of the grammatical gender are found in Shilluk also, see 126; likewise accentuation exists in Shilluk, but the means of forming words are scanty. On the other hand numerous Shilluk-words, which most probably are Sudanic, are found in languages generally counted as Hamitic.

So the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic languages is not easy to define; they all have components of Sudanic and of Hamitic origin, only that in some cases the first is prevalent, in others the latter. But nevertheless the groups may be distinguished; the languages belonging to the Niloto-Sudanic group having a large number of words common to all of them, and

[1] See for instance Meinhof on Ndorobo in Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Band X. 111; and Struck in „Die geographischen Namen im Gebiet der ostafrikanischen Bruchstufe". Reprinted from „Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten", Nr. 2, 1911.

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many of which are clearly genealogically connected with the Western Sudan languages. In the formation of words and in the structure of their grammar they are essentially uniform; they have not the grammatical gender or only faint traces of it. On the other hand the Niloto-Hamitic group has not nearly so many words in common with the Sudanic group, as the idioms of the Sudanic group have with each other; in formation of words and in the wealth of formative elements they considerably deviate from the Sudanic group; and they have the grammatical gender. Whether accentuation is more, and intonation less prevalent in them than in the Sudanic group, is as yet unknown, but it is probable.

To the Niloto-Sudanic group belong:

a) Shilluk with its divisions or dialects.

b) Dinka and Nuer.

c) Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.

Dinka is spoken a) in the northern part of the Bahr Ghazal province, b) on both sides of the White Nile between the 6th and 7th ° n. l. (Bor), c) on both sides of the lower Sobat, d) on the right bank of the White Nile from near the mouth of the Sobat to Jebelein. Bahr Ghazal and Bor are probably the eldest seats of the Dinkas, from here they emigrated northwards. The dialect of Bor *(Bor)* seems to differ considerably from the dialects of the north. Dinka has in its vocabulary remarkable similarity with Bari; in accordance with this the Dinkas seem in their bodily appearance and their culture to be more strongly influenced by Hamitic tribes than the Shilluks are.

The *Nuers* live a) on the White Nile north of Bor, b) south of Tonga and of the lower Sobat, c) on both sides of the Sobat near Nasser.

Dinka and Nuer differ in their phonology and structure but slightly from the Shilluk dialects; they have, in common with Acholi and Anywak, the particles *chi* and *bi* for expressing past and future; these particles are not found in Shilluk proper. A great, probably the greater part of the words of both languages are essentially the same as in Shilluk, but to a considerable extent the vocabularies differ, so that both are to be considered as separate languages. They are nearer related to each other than to Shilluk.

c) Some tribes lying between the upper course of the rivers Rohl and Suë speak languages which seem to be in some broader way connected with the Niloto-Sudanic group, so that they are perhaps to be regarded as a sub-group of these. To this sub-group belong: Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru. According to Schweinfurth and A. E. S. the six first-named of these tribes have really one language, which differs only dialectically, so that individuals of the different tribes understand each other.

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In their vocabularies these languages considerably distinguish themselves from the Shilluk dialects as well as from Dinka and Nuer.

According to their topographical situation the three groups of Niloto-Sudanic languages may be designated thus:

a) The High Nilotic Group, comprising Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abo-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.

b) The Middle Nilotic Group, comprising the Shilluk cluster.

c) The Low Nilotic Group, comprising Dinka and Nuer.

The *Niloto-Hamitic group* may, according to B. Struck,[1] be divided into the sub-groups of Bari-Masai and Nandi-Tatoga. To the first belong: Masai, Ngishu, Elgumi, Teso, Sūk, Karamojo, Turkana, and Bari; to the latter: Tatoga, Ndorobo, Nandi, Kamasia, and Burkeneji. All these languages are situated in British- and German East-Africa.

The *Niloto-Sudanic languages* are a sub-group of the *Eastern Sudan Languages*, to which belong Nuba in the north, Kunama in the north-east, most languages of the southern Gesira (between White and Blue Nile), and others.

The Eastern together with the Central and Western Sudan-languages form the family of the *Sudan Languages*, which extend from near the Red Sea and Abyssinia through the whole continent to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern Cameroons to Senegambia.

In order to demonstrate the genealogical connection between Shilluk, the Niloto-Sudanic group and the Eastern Sudan languages on one side and the Western Sudan languages on the other side, the chief characteristics of the Sudan languages, as shown in my "Sudansprachen" may be given here:

1. they are monosyllabic, each word consisting in one syllable;
2. each syllable or word consists in one consonant and one vowel;
3. they are isolating, that is they have no inflection, and only few formative elements; the "class-prefixes" of the Bantu-languages and of some Hamitic languages are absent;
4. they have no grammatical gender;
5. intonation is prevailing in a higher degree than it is in Bantu- and Hamitic languages.

These characteristics are not preserved in their pure form in all Sudan languages, almost all of them showing some marks of development from the primitive stage to a more developed state, chiefly by adding augments to the original stem; this is still more the case, where a language has been strongly influenced by an idiom belonging to a different family. But in each Sudan language it will, to a certain extent, be possible to trace the later additions to a stem as such, that is to show that these words were originally simple stems

[1] B. Struck, Über die Sprachen der Tatoga und Irakuleute. Reprinted from the "Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten", Ergänzungsheft 4, 1910.

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●197 consisting in one consonant and one vowel, to which certain elements were added at a later time.

In Shilluk the characteristics mentioned above can easily be traced:

1. the stems are monosyllabic; see 61;
2. though the majority of the words do not consist in one consonant and one vowel, it is shown in 68 that a number of stems can be traced to the original primitive form;
3. the language has no inflection; the vowel-changes occurring in the verb and noun, which come near to what might be called inflection, are most probably of Hamitic origin. The nouns have no class-prefixes;
4. grammatical gender is absent; the rudiments of it which do exist, are of Hamitic origin;
5. Intonation dominates in the language.

Comparative Lists of Words.

197 Their object is to show in a number of words:

a) the identity of Shilluk proper and its dialects or divisions.

192 b) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Niloto-Sudanic languages, viz. Dinka and Nuer.

c) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Eastern Sudan languages. Of these Nuba is treated in the list; it has a good number of words in common with Shilluk; in other Eastern Sudanic languages such common words are rarer.

d) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and Bongo; this language, though having its habitat amidst the Shilluk languages, shows remarkable connections with Central Sudanic languages, particularly with Bagirmi. Some of the Bongo-words which it has in common with Shilluk, may of course be loan-words.

e) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and a Niloto-Hamitic language, viz. Bari.

f) the genealogical relation of Shilluk and some other Eastern Sudan languages to the Western Sudan-languages.

a)—e) are comprised in one group; f) forms a group for itself. Both groups might without difficulty have been multiplied, but the examples given will suffice.

[In order to show more fully the affinities in vocabulary between the Niloto-Sudanic and the Niloto-Hamitic group, a number of words common to languages of both groups are given in their Hamitic form in the *Dictionary*. It will be seen that the conformities with Shilluk are more nume-

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rous in the Bari-Masai than in the Nandi-Tatoga group. The Dictionary contains also some hints regarding the very few words which are identical in Shilluk and in the High Niloto-Sudanic group.] 197 192

In the comparative lists some letters are used, which do not occur in Shilluk, and need therefore an explanation.

ǫ is the German ö in nötig "necessary"; it is pronounced in rounding the lips as if pronouncing an o and then saying an e. — Mitterrutzner's *ȯ* I render by *ǫ*. ~ is the mark for nasalization: *ã* is nasalized *a* as in French an "year". *ǵ* is a palatal g, it sounds almost like j. In Nuer and Anywak the pronunciation of final mute consonants and even of y is in certain cases followed by a pressing of the larynx, so that the consonant sounds very abrupt, and is sometimes hardly audible. These sounds are rendered by ': *ḗ, y'*, etc. (Some divisions of Shilluk as well as Masai and Nandi have the same sounds; see Johnston page 888.) — Kitching frequently writes "*or*" at the end of a word, where other languages have *ǫ*; I suppose that here "*or*" simply expresses *ǫ*, "*or*" being frequently used by English speaking authors for *ǫ*.

Most of the authors quoted do not distinguish *o* and *ǫ*, *e* and *ę*, some not even long and short vowels; none has marked interdental sounds; thus the differences between Shilluk and the other languages look greater than they really are, the difference being only one of orthography.

The following remarks belong to the second group only.

ṵ, i̱ are narrow vowels; *u, i* are wide vowels.

ḍ and *ḷ* are cerebral sounds; they are formed a little further back in the mouth than where the usual d and l are articulated.

ḳ is a transformed *k*; the changes which it undergoes in certain languages are different from those of the usual *k*.

χ is the German ch in "ach".

v is the English v.

ɥ is an i with rounded lips, as in German "übt".

ẃ is *ɥ* with a following short y.

First Group.

Shi. *bgr* long	Any. *bat* arm	Ju. *bgt* sharp, pointed
Ga. *bor* long	Ju. *bat* arm	Any. *bgdi* sharp, pointed
Ju. *bār* long	Ja. *bāt* arm	Di. *bit* fish-spear
Di. *bar* long	La. *bāt* arm	Nr. *biṭ* fish-spear
Nr. *bgr* long	Shi. *bgt* fish-spear	Shi. *dbich* five
Shi. *bàt* arm	Ga. *bit* sharp	Ga. *abich* five
Ga. *bat* arm	Ju. *bgdi* fish-spear	Ju. *abich* five

197 Any. *abíyù* five
Ja. *abīch* five
192 Al. *abi* five
Ba. *bu* five

Shi. *bōḍǫ* artist, smith
Ju. *bōdo* artist, smith
Bo. *bǫro* artist, smith
Ba. *bōdo* artist, smith

Shi. *būl* drum
Ga. *bul* drum
Ju. *būl* drum
Any. *būl* drum
Nr. *būl* drum
Ja. *būl* drum
La. *būl* drum
Al. *vūl* drum

Shi. *bur* ashes
Ga. *buru* ashes
Ju. *bur* ashes
Nu. *oburti* ashes
Bo. *buruku* ashes

Shi. *butǫ* to lie down
Ga. *buto* to lie down
Ju. *budo* to lie down
Any. *butǫ* to lie down
Di. *but* to waylay

Shi. *byǵl* dura
Ga. *bel* corn
Ju. *bǫl* dura
Any. *byǵl* dura
Nr. *bǭl* dura
Di. *bel* dura

Shi. *chāk* milk
Ga. *chak* milk
Ju. *chak* milk
Any. *chāk* milk
Nr. *chāk* milk

Di. *cha* milk
Nu. *ichi* milk

Shi. *chāmǫ* to eat
Ga. *chamo* to eat
Ju. *shame* to eat
Any. *chama* to eat
Nr. *cham* to eat
Ja. *chamo, chygmǫ* to eat
La. *samǫ* to eat
Di. *cham* to eat

Shi. *chul* penis
Ju. *shul* penis
Any. *chul* penis
Nr. *chul* penis
La. *sūl* penis
Al. *chūl* penis
Ba. *toluto* testicles
Nu. *sorot* penis
Di. *chul* penis

Shi. *chuṅ, chwiṅ* liver
Ga. *chwin* liver
Ju. *shwiṅ* liver
Nr. *chwoṅ* liver
Di. *chwoeṅ* liver

Shi. *chūṅǫ* to stop
Ga. *chuṅo* to stop
Ju. *chuṅ* to stop
Any. *chūṅǫ* to stop
Nr. *chuṅ* to stop

Shi. *chwǫr* vulture
Ga. *ochur* vulture
achut vulture
Ju. *achut* vulture
Nr. *chwǫ́r* vulture
Di. *chwor* vulture

Shi. *ádẹ̀k* three
Ga. *adek* three

Ju. *adak* three
Any. *àdá́gù* three
Ba. *bu-dǫk* eight, that is: five and three
Ja. *adek* three
La. *adek* three
Al. *adek* three

Shi. *ḍāk* pot
Ga. *dak* pot
Ju. *dak* pot
Any. *dak* pot
Nr. *ṭǭk* pot
Ba. *dāk* pot

Shi. *ḍāṇ* man
Ga. *dano* man
Jur. *dano* man
Any. *ḍāṇ* man
Ja. *dānǫ* man
La. *danǫ* man
Al. *danǫ* man
Di. *ran* man
Nr. *rān* man

Shi. *ḍǫ̀k* mouth
Ga. *dok* mouth
Ju. *tio* mouth
Any. *ḍǫ̀k* mouth
Ja. *dōk* mouth
La. *dǫk* mouth
Al. *dǫk* mouth
Di. *wtoeh* mouth
Nr. *ṭǫk* mouth
Nu. *ak* mouth
Bo. *ndu* language
Ba. *ka-tok* mouth

Shi. *gǭjǫ* to beat
Ju. *goi* to beat
Any. *gwai* to beat

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Ja. *gǭjǫ* to shoot
Bo. *gba* to beat
Ba. *gwai* to beat

Shi. *ogwal* frog
Ga. *ogwal* frog
Ju. *ogwal* frog
Any. *ogwal* frog
Nu. *guglati* frog

Shi. *gwok* dog
Ga. *gwok* dog
Ju. *guok* dog
Any. *gwok* dog
Ja. *gwok* dog
La. *guōk* dog
Al. *guōk* dog
Di. *jo* dog
Nr. *jǫ̀k* dog
Ba. *dyoń* dog

Shi. *gyẹ̄nō* hen
Ga. *gweno* hen
Ju. *gyeno* hen
Any. *gwẹnǫ* hen
Ja. *gweno* hen
La. *gwēno* hen
Al. *gwēno* hen
Bo. *ńgono* hen

Shi. *jẹ̄* people
Ga. *jī* people
Any. *jō* people
Bo. *jī, ǰī* people
Ba. *gwea* tribe

Shi. *jwǫk* God
Ga. *jok* demon
Any. *jwǫk* God
Ju. *jwok* fortune
Ja. *juogi* ghost
La. *zǫk* God

Al. *jǫk* God
Di. *ajyek, ajǫk* demon
Ba. *ajwok, jwek* demon

Shi. *kẹ̄bǫ* to take away
Ga. *kabo* to bring
Ju. *kābi* to bring
Di. *kap* to bring, take
Nr. *kâp* to take

Shi. *kādǫ* salt[1]
Ga. *kado* salt
Ju. *kada* salt
Any. *kadǫ* salt
Nr. *kàdè* salt

Shi *kāgǫ* to split
Ga. *kak* to split
Nu. *kage* to split
Ba. *kagu* to split

Shi. *kẹ̄ch* bitter
Ga. *kech* bitter
Ju. *kẹ̄ch* bitter
Any. *kẹch* bitter
Nu. *kag-al* sharp
Di. *kech* bitter
Bo. *k* bile

Shi. *kich* bee
Ga. *kich* bee
Ju. *kich* bee
Any. *kich* bee
Ja. *kīch'* bee
La. *kits* bee
Al. *kīch* bee
Di. *kyech* bee
Nu. *kit, kuti* bee
Ba. *chi, chiwo* bee

Shi. *kǫt* rain
Ga. *kot* rain
Ju. *kǫt* rain

Any. *kǫt* rain
Ja. *kōt* rain
La. *kǫt* rain
Al. *kǫt* rain
Nr. *kǫt* rain, God
Ba. *kudu* rain

Shi. *akur* pigeon
Ga. *akuri* pigeon
Di. *kure* pigeon
Nr. *kur* pigeon
Nu. *kuru* pigeon
Ba. *gure* pigeon

Shi. *kwālǫ*, *kwgtǫ* } to steal
Ga. *kwalo* to steal
Any. *kwgtǫ* to steal
Ja. *kwalǫ* to steal
La. *kwalo* to steal
Di. *kwal* to steal
Nr. *kwal* to steal
Ba. *kola-nit* theft

Shi. *kwẹnǫ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwgn* to count
Di. *kwen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

Shi. *kwāńǫ* to swim
Ga. *kwaño* to swim
Ju. *kwań* to swim
Any. *kwal* to swim
Nu. *kuǵe* to swim

Shi. *kwū̃rǫ* cotton
Ga. *waro* cotton
Ju. *wara* cotton
Ba. *waro* cotton

[1] salt made of grass-ashes.

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Shi. *kwārǫ* grandfather
Ga. *kwaro* grandfather
Ju. *kwā* grandfather
Di. *kǫkwar* grandfather
Nr. *kwāro* chief
Ba. *na-kwari* grandchild

Shi. *kwārǫ* red
Ga. *kwar* red
Ju. *kwar* red
Nr. *kwâr* red
Nu. *kor-gos* yellow

Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kǫgo* leopard
Ba. *koka*, *kwaru* } leopard

Shi. *kwǫn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwǫn* bread
kwǫn bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwǫn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

Shi. *ákyęl* one
Ga. *achel* one
Ju. *akyęlo* one
Any. *àchyęlǫ* one
Ja. *achyel* one
Al. *achyel* one
Bo. *kotu* one
Ba. *bu-ker* six = five + 1

Shi. *kyęń* horse
Ga. *kana* horse
Ju. *akaja* donkey
Any. *okwęń* horse
Ja. *kaṅima* horse
Bo. *akasa* horse
Nu. *kach* horse, donkey
Ba. *kaine* horse

Shi. *lachǫ* to piss
Ga. *layo* to piss
Ju. *alach* urine
Any. *la* to piss
Ja. *lāch'* urine
La. *lās* urine
Al. *lāch* urine
Di. *lach* to piss
Ba. *lode* urine

Shi. *lǫi* game
Ga. *le* game
Ju. *lai* game
Any. *lǫi* game
Nr. *lǫi* game
Ba. *lai* game

Shi. *lāmǫ* to pray
Ga. *lamo* to sacrifice
Di. *lam* to pray
Nr. *lam* to pray
Bo. *loma* God
Ba. *lǫm* to insult

Shi. *lęń* war
Ga. *lwen* war
Ju. *lwiń* war
Ja. *luen* war
Any. *leń* war
Bo. *laṅ* gun

Shi. *alilit* bat
Ga. *olik* bat

Any. *aligá* bat
Di. *alich* bat
Ba. *lukululi* bat

Shi. *lwǭkǫ* to wash
Ga. *lwoko* to wash
Ju. *lwok* to wash
Any. *lwǫk* to wash
Di. *lǫk* to wash
Nr. *lah* to wash
Bo. *dogu* to wash
Ba. *lalaju* to wash

Shi. *māch* fire
Ga. *mach* fire
Ju. *mach* fire
Any. *māyǫ* fire
Ja. *mach'* fire
La. *māch* fire
Al. *māch* fire
Di. *mai* fire
Nr. *māch* fire

Shi. *māḍǫ* to drink
Ga. *mato* to drink
Ju. *māde* to drink
Any. *māḍǫ* to drink
Ja. *madǫ* to drink
La. *matǫ* to drink
Di. *mat* to drink
Nr. *mātt* to drink

Shi. *māgǫ* to catch
Ga. *mako* to catch
Ju. *mau* to catch
Any. *mak* to catch
Di. *mwǫk* to catch
Nu. *māge* to catch, steal
Ba. *mok* to catch

Shi. *mǫnǫ* to hate
Ga. *mon* to hate

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Di. *man* to hate
Nu. *mōne* to hate
Ba. *man* to hate

Shi. *mgɨ* slow
Ga. *mot* slow
Ju. *mōde* slow
Di. *mūt* slow
Nr. *mgt* slow
Bo. *mēt* slow
Ba. *madai* slow

Shi. *nēŋg* to sleep
Ga. *nino* to sleep
Ju. *nen*, *nendo* } to sleep
Di. *nin* to sleep
Nr. *nygn* to sleep
Nu. *nalū*, *nēre* } to sleep

Shi. *ŋgŋg* to see
Ga. *neno* to see
Any. *nēna* to see
Ja. *neno* to see
Nr. *nēn* to see
Nu. *nale* to see

Shi. *ńai* crocodile
Ga. *ńai* crocodile
Ju. *ńai* crocodile
Any. *ńai* crocodile
Ja. *ńai* crocodile
La. *aki-ńai* crocodile
Al. *ńai* crocodile
Di. *ńai* crocodile
Nr. *ńai* crocodile
Bo. *ńańa* crocodile
Ba. *ki-ńoi* crocodile

Shi. *ńājo* to know
Ga. *ńeyo* to know

Ju. *ńgo*, *ńaya* } to know
Ja. *ńeyo* to know
Any. *ńg* to know
Nr. *ńgok* to know

Shi. *ńiò* what?
Ga. *ańor* what?
Any. *ńiò* what?
Di. *ńo*, *ńu* what?
Nr. *ńu* what?
Ba. *ińo* what?

Shi. *pei*, *fei* earth
Ga. *pin* earth
Ju. *pin* earth
Any. *fei* earth
Ja. *pin* earth
La. *pine* earth
Di. *pin* earth
Nr. *pei* earth

Shi. *pi* water
Ga. *pi* water
Ju. *pfi*, *fi* water
Any. *pi* water
Ja. *pi* water
La. *pi* water
Al. *pi* water
Di. *pi* water
Nr. *pi* water
Ba. *piom* water

Shi. *fūnǫ* to divide
Ga. *poko* to divide
Ju. *pani* to divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Bo. *eke-bake* to divide

Shi. *rājǫ* fish
Ga. *rech* fish
Ju. *rēyo* fish

Any. *reo* fish
Ja. *rech'* fish
La. *rech* fish
Al. *rech* fish
Di. *rēch* fish
Nr. *rech* fish
Nu. *ka-rē* fish

Shi. *rēmǫ* blood
Ga. *remo* blood
Ju. *remo* blood
Any. *rgmǫ* blood
Ja. *remǫ* blood
La. *remu* blood
Al. *remo* blood
Di. *ryam* blood
Nr. *rygm* blood
Bo. *trama* blood
Ba. *rima* blood

Shi. *rīnǫ* meat
Ga. *rino* meat
Ju. *rino* meat
Any. *rīnǫ* meat
Ja. *rinǫ* meat
La. *rino* meat
Al. *rino* meat
Di. *rin* meat
Nr. *rīn* meat
Nu. *arich*, *arji* meat

Shi. *rǭdǫ* thirst
Ga. *orwor* thirst
Ju. *ryau* thirst
Any. *ryo* thirst
Di. *rou* thirst
Ba. *rǫdu* to wither

Shi. *rēmǫ* sheep
Ga. *romo* sheep
Ju. *rōmo* sheep

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197 Any. *rǫmǫ* sheep
Nr. *rǫ̊m* sheep
192 Bo. *rǫmbō* sheep

Shi. *rǭmǫ* to meet
Ga. *romo* to meet
Ju. *romo* to meet
Di. *rom* to meet
Nr. *rōm* to meet
Ba. *rum* to meet

Shi. *rugǫ* to dress
Ga. *riko* to dress
Di. *ruk* to dress
Ba. *ruk* to dress

Shi. *wūm* nose
Ga. *um* nose
Ju. *hum* nose
Ja. *um* nose
La. *um* nose
Al. *um* nose
Any. *óm* nose
wum nose
Di. *um* nose
Nr. *rum* nose
Bo. *hǫmo* nose
Ba. *kume* nose

Shi. *dryǫ̀u* two
Ga. *aryor* two
Ju. *aryau* two
Any. *àréàu* two
Ja. *areio* two
La. *ariǫ̨* two
Al. *ariǫ̨* two
Di. *rou* two

Nu. *ora, ore* twenty
Ba. *ǫri* two
bu-ryǫ seven = five + two

Shi. *ṭ̄ǫ̨k* (to be) hard
Ga. *tek* hard
Ju. *ṭ̄ǫ̨k* hard
Any. *ṭ̄ǫ̨k* hard
Di. *tyek* hard
Bo. *tigo* hard

Shi. *ṭ̄ǫ̨n*, pl. *ṭǭǫ̨* small
Ga. *tidi* small
Any. *tēn* small
Ja. *tēn* small
Nu. *tin, tūń* small
tod small

Shi. *ṭǫwǫ* to die
Ga. *tor* to die
Any. *ṭǫu* to die
Ja. *tǫ* to die
La. *tó* to die
Di. *tou* to die
Ba. *tuan* to die

Shi. *wārǫ* shoe
Ga. *war* shoe
Any. *war* shoe
Di. *war* shoe
Nr. *wár* shoe
Nu. *kwarī* shoe

Shi. *wǫr* night
Ju. *war* night
Any. *warǫ* night
Ja. *wǫr* night

Nr. *wǫ̊r* night
Nu. *awar* night

Shi. *wēkǫ* to give
Ga. *weko* to give away
Di. *yek* to give
Ba. *yek* to give

Shi. *wǭǫ̨lǫ* to travel
Ga. *wel* to travel
Ba. *wala* to travel

Shi. *wiṅǫ* bird
Ga. *wiṅo* bird
Ju. *wiṅo* bird
Any. *wǭyǫ* bird
Ja. *weṅǫ* bird
La. *wēn* bird
Al. *wiṅǭ* bird
Ba. *kwen* bird

Shi. *wōrǫ* to sing
Ju. *wǫr* song
Ga. *wer* song
Ja. *wir* song
La. *wer* song
Al. *wer* song
Nu. *owe* to sing
Ba. *yoyu, yolo* to sing

Shi. *yǫi* boat
Ga. *yeya* boat
Ju. *yei* boat
Any. *yǫi* boat
Ja. *ńjie* boat
La. *yede* boat
Al. *yei* boat
Bo. *yēi* boat.

Second Group.

The words in the first line designate the "original Sudanic form", which has been gained by comparing the sounds of a word in the different languages, and thus finding out those sounds which may be considered as the most primi-

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tive. This "original Sudanic form" is of course merely hypothetical. For more on this see my "Sudansprachen", from which the greater part of these words are taken.

S. bịa to come

E. *vé* to come
bé to come
T. *ba* to come
gbra coming into the world
G. *ba* to come
bla coming into the world
Y. *ba* shall, should
Ibo *bia* to come
Isoama *bia* to come
Eafeng *ba* to come
Abouré *va* to come
Alaguiang *va* to come
Avikam *ba, iba* to come
Mékyibo *ba* to come
Di. *ábi* prefix of future
Nu. *bi* prefix of future
Shi. *bi, bia* to come
Any. *bi* prefix of future
Nr. *bi* prefix of future
Ga. *bino* to come

S. bụagị to fear

E. *vẹ̄* to fear
Ef. *bak* to fear
Shi. *bẹ̄kẹ* to fear
bwẹ̄kẹ to frighten
Any. *bwẹk* to fear

S. bụla open place

E. *ablẹ* open place
F. *abẹ-atei*, *abrẹ-atsei* } main street, open place
G. *blẹ* street
V. *bar* large, open place
Nu. *bud* place before the house
Di. *bur, abora* market place
Shi. *bụra* open place

S. ga place

E. *gà* place
T. *gha* this place
N. *ga* this, that
Nu. *aga, agar* place
Shi. *ga* this
agak these

S. gaga cowrie

E. *àgàgà* cowrie
Di. *gak* cowrie
Shi. *gāgẹ* cowrie
Ga. *gage* cowrie
Nr. *gak* cowrie
Bo. *gaki* cowrie

S. gụanị antelope

E. *gbàgbà* antelope, "unicorn"
G. *ṅmaṅ*, *ṅma*, *ṅmaṅma* } antelope, "unicorn"
Y. *agbaṅ-rere* "unicorn"
Shi. *aṅwak* waterbuck

S. kụagị, kụaḷị to embrace

E. *kplà* to embrace
T. *kwaṅ* to wind around
G. *kplā* round about
Ef. *ukwaṅ* winding
kpaṅ to fold (hands)
Y. *kpẹ̄* to carry on the back
Nu. *kat* to envelop
Di. *kwak* to embrace
Shi. *kwakẹ* to embrace
Ga. *kwaka* to embrace

S. kụagị, kụiagị leopard

E. *kpẹ̄* leopard
T. *etiri* leopard
Ef. *ekpe* leopard
V. *kari* leopard
N. *ekū* leopard
Ku. *unika* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kọgo* leopard
Ba. *koka* leopard
kwaru leopard

S. kụanị bread, pudding

E. *akplẹ̄* pudding of maize
Shi. *kwẹ̄n* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwẹn*, *kwọn* } bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwọn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

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S. ḳuanị to count, read

E. *χlẹ̄* to count, read
T. *kaṅ*, *kane* to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara, karaṅ* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwẹnọ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwẹn* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nḷú, nḷua to lick, suck

E. *ḍọ́* to lick, suck
ḍúḍọ́ to lick
Y. *adun*, *adọn* taste
Nu. *duge*, *dach* to lick
Shi. *ḍōḍọ* to suck, lick
Shi. *ḍwōḍọ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagị to divide

E. *afā* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afā* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pạ̄ṅọ* to divide

S. puụ to beat

E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwōdọ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tiagị to be hard

E. *sẹ̄* to be hard, strong
Di. *chẹk* to be hard
Shi. *ṭẹk* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *ṭẹk* to be hard
Any. *ṭẹk* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tịị hand

E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyẹ̄nọ* hand
Ju. *shyeno* hand
Any. *shyẹnọ* hand

S. tịị to bear a child; wife

E. *ashi* wife
Ku. *shi* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash, ashi* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chi* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Óchólọ* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chọ́l*, or *wate Chọ́l* "children of *Chọl*"; their country: *fọ́ṭọ̀ chọ́l;* their language: *ḍọ̀ chọ́l*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bạ̄r*, by the Nuers: *Tẹ̄t*.

The *Anywaks* call themselves: *Aṅwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálāk*, by the Dinkas: *Pálāk*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jāṅe;* they are called by the Shilluks: *ójáṅọ̀* pl. *jáṅị;* by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánāṭ* a Nuer man, pl. *Kọ́gánàṭ;* their language: *ṭọk Nāṭ;* they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuẹ́r*, by the Dinkas: *Núọ̀r;* by the Arabs: *Nuẹ́r* or *Nawár*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Luọ or Luọ, by the Shilluks they are called Odimọ, "descendants of Dimọ", by the Bongo: *Bẹ̄r*. The Belanda call them-

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selves *Bgr*. Belanda is a Bongo word, *landa* = stone, hill; so Belanda is probably "hill-country".

The Nubians are in all three languages called: *Dgn*, from "Dongola". According to Schweinfurth in Golo the Nubians are called Turuku, in Jur Oturu, in Bongo Turu; these names are doubtlessly derived from "Turk".

The Bahr Zeraf is called in Shilluk: *Ongl*, in Nuer: *Fgu*, in Dinka: *Piau* The Bahr Jebel is called in Shilluk: *Kēr*; in Dinka: *Kēr*, in Nuer: *Konam*; the Khor Filus is called in Shilluk: *Olūt*, in Dinka: *Pelūt*, in Nuer: *Pulūt*.

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FOURTH SECTION:
THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

THE NOUN.

Singular and Plural.

*193 **Singular.** Many nouns have in the singular the suffix *ǫ*; in some nouns it may be dropped at will; on this and on the original meaning of *ǫ* see 71.

197 Some nouns denoting a plurality, are in their form singular, and are treated as such; e. g.: *lǫbǫ, ǫdǫ* people.

Plural. The Shilluk is remarkable for its manifold means of forming the plural of nouns. These means may be divided into three principles; they are: plural-formation

a) by affixes,
b) by change of tone,
c) by change of vowel.

Generally in forming the plural of a noun, not only one of these means is employed, but several.

a) Plural-formation by affixes. In most Sudan languages the plural of nouns is formed by affixing to the singular a particle, which in most cases originally is a noun or a pronoun: "people, they". In Shi. this formation is represented by several vocalic and consonant affixes.

1. The most frequent plural-affix is the suffix *i*. Although by no means all nouns have this suffix in the plural, yet it is a question of feeling with the natives that they prefer it; if a foreign word is introduced into the language, it receives *i* in the plural; and on the other hand there are numerous genuine Shilluk words which sometimes are used with *i*, and sometimes without it in the plural. This leads to the supposition that possibly the ending *i* was formerly more employed than it is now, and that it may be the oldest and originally only ending for the plural. — The plural-suffix *i* occurs also in Masai and in Nuba and Kunama; in Kunama *i* is the personal pronoun of the third person plural: "they". It may be that the suffix *i* is of common origin in all these four languages.

Besides the vowel-suffix, there are several consonants which serve in forming the plural:

2. *k; gin* thing pl. *gik; k* may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *ak* "these"; in Di. the plural is formed in the same way, viz. by adding the

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demonstrative pronoun *ke* "these".

3. *ʃ; ʃ* is possibly identical with the Anywak word *ʃoʃ* "many"; so that originally the word was common to both languages, but in Shi. it was exclusively retained for forming the plural, a different word being employed for "many". In Anywak the plural is frequently formed by simply adding "*ʃoʃ*". In some cases the plural is formed by adding *t* instead of *ʃ;* whether this is misheard by me, or whether there is really a class with *t* in plural, I do not know. — Di. also has the plural in *t (ʃ?): puou-puot* heart. 193* 197

4. A nasal consonant; some nouns form their plural in changing their last consonant into the corresponding nasal one, according to the rule given in 40; here doubtlessly a nasal consonant has been suffixed, which may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *an* "this, these".

While *i* is used very much, and may, in a certain measure, be employed at will, *k, ʃ* and the nasal consonant are restricted to a small number of nouns.

5. Words whose second consonant is a voiced mute followed by a vowel, change this consonant into the corresponding voiceless one in the plural: *áfùdǫ* pl. *áfùtǫ*. In connection with this it is to be remarked that in those nouns which in their plural end in a mute consonant, *this consonant is always voiceless*, even when a vowel follows: *lǫk* teeth, *lǫka* my teeth, *lǫk ak* these teeth; this is contrary to the rule in 38; perhaps this voicelessness is the rest of a voiceless consonant which was suffixed for forming the plural, but assimilated itself in all cases with the preceding consonant.

6. Many nouns form their plural by dropping the singular-suffix *ǫ: gyɛ̄nǫ* hen pl. *gyɛ̄n*.

7. A few nouns with the prefix *o* drop this prefix in plural; such are names of persons as belonging to a nation (patronymica): a Dinka man, a Shilluk man; here the plural-form may be the first, noting the nation as a collective mass, from this the singular was derived by prefixing *o*, which probably means: "he" or "one": "he a Shilluk". The opposite formation see in *rúm* pl. *órùm* nose.

8. A peculiar kind of plural-formation in nouns designating relatives is that of prefixing *ńd* in the plural; *ńd* (also *ńd̀*) means "child"; it is low toned, but when expressing the plural, its tone rises. Examples:
dkdyò-ńdkò nephew; or: *ńdkò-ńdkò* nephew.

[The partial conformity of the plural-affixes in Shilluk and Massai is remarkable. Just as in Shilluk one of the most frequent plural suffixes is *i*, so it is also in Massai. Likewise *k, t* and a nasal suffix *(n)* are found in both languages. The plural-formation by dropping the final vowel *ǫ* of the singular (see 108) has also its analogy in Massai, where a final *a* or *o (ǫ?)*

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is dropped: *ol abura* plural *il abur* "froth"; *ol kurto* pl. *i kurt* "caterpillar". Hollis is probably right in supposing that in these words the plural is the original form, from which the singular was formed by adding *ǫ* or *a*. — According to Hollis, Massai has no plural-distinction by tone. See Hollis page 18 ss.]

b) Plural-formation by change of tone. As stated above, the predomination of intonation is a characteristic of Sudan languages; but in none of these the change of tone is known to be a means of distinguishing singular and plural. In the western languages, of whom a greater number is thoroughly known, this function of the tone is sure not to exist; but it may be expected that on close investigation it will be found in other eastern Sudan languages.

By the change of tone the nouns are grouped into classes, a certain tone or group of tones in the singular always corresponding to a certain tone or group of tones in the plural. There do not seem to be very many nouns without the distinction of tone in singular and plural.[1]

This distinction is probably younger than the plural-formation by affixes. Though the intonation is no doubt genuine Sudanic, this particular employment of it, viz. the distinction of number, may be of foreign origin, a foreign element getting into the population and using the tone in quite a new way, which, until then, was not known to the primitive inhabitants. This is the more probable, as the change of tone is a process analogous to that of the change of vowel, which will be shown below. It might be supposed that both are of the same foreign origin, i. e. Hamitic. The older plural-formation by affixes seems gradually to be suppressed by the modern means, viz. change of tone and of vowel.

It is to be remarked that, as a whole, in plural the low tone is more frequent than in the singular, the low tone, together with the long vowel (see the following) conveying the notion of greatness or plurality.

c) Plural formation by change of vowel.[2] A plural-formation likewise unknown in western Sudan languages is that by changing the quantity or quality of the stem-vowel. This vowel-change is common in Semitic and Hamitic languages, and is in Shilluk probably to be traced to Hamitic influence. How far it is spread in the eastern Sudan group, cannot be stated now, but the Di. also has it. Quite of Hamitic character is the interchange of certain vowels in this way: the vowel-changes in one group are contrary to those in another group; the first group has long vowel in singular and short in plural; a second group short vowel in singular and long in plural; likewise the quality changes: one group has *ǫ* in sing., *u* in pl.; a second group *u* in in sing., *ǫ* in pl.; this peculiarity was first shown by Meinhof as existing in

[1] According to Kitching in Gang most nouns have the same form for singular and plural; is it not possible that a distinction is made by tone, which has not been noted?

[2] Plural-formation by change of vowel-quantity and quality is also largely used in Dinka; see Mitterrutzner page 15.

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the Hamitic languages, and has been called by him "polarity".

The same tendency of interchange is to be seen in other formations, see for instance 119: singular prefix *o*, plural no prefix, and 119: singular no prefix, plural prefix *o*.

Though this formation be probably foreign and relatively young, it may contain some primitive principle of language building: It is worth noting that the large majority of nouns have short vowel in the singular and a long one in the plural; this may lead to the supposition (which is supported by results of studies in other African languages. In Ewe for instance adjectives with long vowel and low tone designate large things or beings, the same adjectives with short vowel and high tone express small things or beings.) that in an early stage of language the long vowel is expressive of the idea of "much, big, great".

Examples illustrating the different ways of forming the plural.

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a) Plural-formation by Affixes.

1. Suffix *i*. *dkǒl-dkǒlì* drum-stick *ámáţ-ámàţì* a stork
ńìŋn-ńìŋnì a knife *dywóm-dywòmì* monkey
ńchàńì-ńchóńì an ant *pǒm-pǒmì* board
ţèrì-ţèrì a bead *kàl-kǒlì* fence
ńì-ńìwì lion *lęu-lęwì* lizard.

For more examples see below.

The ending *i* has in most cases low tone; where the tone is middle, the stem-vowel too has middle tone, that is, the tone of the suffix is assimilated to that of the stem.

2. suffix *k*. *pi-pik* water *gin-gik* thing *dyęl-dyęk* goat *jal-jǫk* man
lijǫ-lęk tooth *mā-męk* aunt *mgn-mǫk* this one.

3. suffix *ţ*. *ţáu-ţâţ* buttocks *wich-wíţ* head *yęi-yūţ* boat
yīnǫ-yīţ fisherman *yech-yęţ* belly *kęu-kōţ* breast
(kwǫl-lūţ) a gourd *(yǫ-yīţ)* road.

When in a noun with a consonant plural-ending the stem also ends in a consonant, the final consonant of the stem is dropped, the consonantal suffix taking its place; see 44.

4. nasal consonant as suffix.
ţłęţ-ţłęţ dura-basket *kwàch-kwàţ* leopard *àţàdǫ-àţâţnì* breast-bone
yàţ-yáţ tree *àţâbǫ-àţâm* tobacco *ţūbǫ-ţūmi* dish.
Vice versa: *wǫńǫ-wǫch* paper.

Gender.

*193 Gender is expressed in the noun only, not in pronouns. The natural gender may be marked in two ways:

197 a) by different words.

chwọu man *ḍächọ* woman *wạṭ* bull *ḍeań* cow

óńwọ́k male sheep or goat *dyél* female goat.

b) by adding *ótwọ̀ṇ* for the male, *màṭ* for the female gender.

ńù òtwọ̀ṇ male lion *ńù màṭ* or *màṭ ńù* female lion

ṭọ̀ṇí ńù male lions *màṭí ńù* female lions

kyèń òtwọ̀ṇ or *kyèń à ṭwọ̀ṇ* male horse *kyèń a màṭ* or *màṭ kyèń* female horse

kyèń à ṭọ̀ṇ male horses *kyèń à màṭ* female horses

ṭwọ̀ṇ ómórò male roan antelope, pl. *ṭọ̀ṇ ómórò*

màṭ ómórò female roan antelope, pl. *màṭ ómórò*.

In one single word, however, the Shilluk expresses the gender by phonetic means: *ńa* child *ńal* boy *ńan* girl.

Here evidently *l* and *n* are added to the word *ńa* in order to mark its gender, *l* for the male, *n* for the female gender.

[That this case is not merely accidental, will be clear from the fact that by the same means gender is expressed in the Bari language; here it is not the nouns, but demonstrative pronouns which receive the affixes *l* and *n*:

lo this m.	*lu* that m.
na this f.	*nu* that f.
pl. *chi-lo* these m.	*chi-lu* those m.
chi-ne these f.	*chi-nu* those f.
lu-yu that one yonder m.	*chi-lu-yu* those yonder m.
nu-yu that one yonder f.	*chi-nu-yu* those yonder f.
li-o my m.	*il-ot* your m.
ni-o my f.	*in-ot* your f.

In the noun, feminine is distinguished from masculine by the suffix *et*.

The same distinction by the same means has Masai.

The distinction of a grammatical gender is surely not Sudanic, it is not known in other Sudan languages; so we have doubtlessly Hamitic influence here. The Shilluks must have been in contact with (a Hamitic) people who expressed in their language the grammatical gender by *l* and *n*, but this contact was not long or strong enough, to make the distinction of gender a living factor in the language; so only a faint trace of it was left. There is one more *Sudan language*, which has a similar distinction: the Songhai (on both banks of the middle Niger). This language has, in

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the same way as Bari and Masai, a kind of article, *di* for living beings, *ni* for inanimate things. I believe that *di* is identical with *li*, *l* and *d* often changing in African languages; vide the examples in the comparative Lists of Words in Third Section. If this is right, the Songhai (in which, though, this distinction will not be original, but borrowed from some Hamitic language) represents an elder stage in the development of grammatical gender: living > masculine, inanimate > feminine or neuter (which may originally be the same, as with primitive men woman is rather a thirg, a merchandise, than a person).]

A second way of distinguishing gender by phonetic means is represented in the following word:

ógwęl an ox with the horns turned toward the eyes
ógwęlò a cow with the horns turned toward the eyes.

Case.

Genetive.

The ruling noun is a singular.

1. The genetive follows the noun determined by it. The noun ends in a consonant; in these cases the two nouns unite without any connecting element or phonetic changes:

wgt house;	*wgt jālgò* house of the chief.
lot club;	*lot obwon* club of the stranger
àgp bag;	*agp jal gni* bag of this man
okgk blossom;	*okgk yan gni* blossom of this tree
yit ear;	*yit kyòt* ear of the horse.

There are, however, a few exceptions, chiefly if the final consonant is *k* or *ch*, and the next word begins with a consonant;

a) sometimes the "helping vowel" is inserted:

kidg colour;	*kite lōjg* black colour
ăgdg rib;	*ăgte jal* rib of man
lgch tooth;	*lgche lygch* tooth of the elephant
mggg beer;	*mgke fōte wgn* beer of our country
bōdg artist.	*bōte tgn* one who makes spears.

These are treated like nouns in the plural.

b) *ch* and *k* may be dropped:

pāch village;	*pā rit* village of the king
kgck, kgch hunger;	*ku jal gni* the hunger of this man
dgk cattle;	*dg rit* the cattle of the king.

*193 197 c) *ch* softens into *y*:

mach fire; *may kwēgrē* "fire of cotton"; see 45.

One word changes its vowel before a genetive:

yē way; *yu Fakpi* the way to F.;

likewise when an adjective follows: *yu toch* a narrow way; see 22.

2. Nouns which have the final vowel *ē*, and whose second consonant is a voiced — in some cases also a voiceless — mute (*gē*, *jē*, *dē*, *ḍē*, *bē*), drop, when followed by a genetive, the *ē*, and turn the consonant into the corresponding nasal one: *gē* > *ń*, *jē* > *ń*, *dē* > *n*, *ḍē* > *ṇ*, *bē* > *m*; see 40.

jāgē chief;	*jāń fōṭe wēn* the chief of our country
afoajē rabbit;	*afoań ńal ṭēṇ* the rabbit of the child
ṭēdē people;	*ṭēn fān gni* the people of this village
ómḍḍē a cow;	*ómḍṇ rīṭ* the cow of the king
ṭēbē plate;	*ṭēm ńan* the plate of the girl
mutē neck;	*mune ḍeań* the neck of the cow.

This nasalization is caused by a nasal consonant, *n*, which is no doubt identical with the demonstrative *n* (vide 138), and has originally the meaning "that": *jāgē n pāch* "the chief, (namely) that of the village". There are some examples which show the *n* in existence at the present time: *lāu* cloth, *lān ḍāchē* the cloth of the woman; here *n* is preserved, the *u* having dropped before it; *rīṭ* king, an older form *rūṭ*, see 16; *rūṇ lābē* the king of the people; here the *n* is preserved, though the word ends in a consonant; this is generally not the case; it is evident that after a vowel the *n* is easily preserved, *jāgē n pāch* offers no difficulty in pronouncing, but in words ending in a consonant the *n* was liable to disappear, the more so, as the consonant was voiceless, and *n* is voiced; thus *ḍēk n ṭēdē* > *ḍēk ṭēdē*, but *jāgē n ṭēdē* > *jāń ṭēdē*. This *n* has high tone.

[This *n*, originally probably always a demonstrative pronoun and serving to express the genetive relation, exists in a great number of central and eastern Sudan languages. In Di. it effects the same changes as in Shilluk, besides it is found in Nuba, Logone, Mandara, Toda, and also in Haussa and Ful.]

The ruling noun is a plural.

*193 If the ruling noun is a plural, the *n* does not appear, but when the noun ends in a consonant, the 'helping vowel' is suffixed to it. When the plural ends in *i*, this *i* is generally preserved. A change of tone is to be noted here: while the plural-forming *i* (see 103) and the helping vowel have low tone in those cases where no genetive follows, they receive high tone when standing before a following genetive. *This high tone most probably indicates the lost*

genetive-forming n, the sound n itself having disappeared, but its tone (see 127) was perserved. — Examples: 193*

pŭch village,	pl. *mygr;*	*mygrí riţ*	villages of the king
wgt house,	pl. *wỳtl;*	*wỳtí riţ*	houses of the king
yíţ ear.	pl. *yìţ;*	*yíţí kyỳní*	ears of the horse
mgyg bear,	pl. *mgkì;*	*mgkí fōţe wgn*	bears of our country
ohgk blossom,	pl. *àkḡk;*	*àkḡkí yaţ*	the blossoms of the tree
aţḡp bag,	pl. *àţḡp;*	*àţḡpé nate wḡlo*	the bags of the traveller
kgch hunger,	pl. *kgní;*	*kgní fōţe wgn*	the famines of our country
jḡgỳ chief,	pl. *jḡk;*	*jḡkí fōţe wgn*	the chiefs of our country.

In my materials I find one exception to this rule: *gwòk-gúòk* dog; *gúòkì jal gni* the dogs of this man; but this may be a misunderstanding.

The Objective Case.

The direct object or accusative follows the verb: *á chàm byḡl* he ate dura. Sometimes the particle *kí* "with" is added: *á chàm kí byḡl* he ate (with) dura.

But when *kí* "and" begins a sentence, the object always precedes the verb: *kí byḡl chàm* and dura ate (he).

What in European languages is an indirect or dative object, the Shilluk transforms into a direct object, and what we would call the direct object, is in this case always introduced by *kí;* instead of saying: "he gave money to the child", they say: "he presented the child with money": *a wēkí nal kí nygní.*

But in very many, probably in most cases the direct and indirect object are not expressed at all, the passive voice being used instead, "I saw him" is expressed by "he was seen by me"; "he gave the child milk" by "the child was given milk by him". — On the passive voice see 173.

The Vocative Case

is formed by lengthening the (last) vowel, by raising the tone, and sometimes by adding *i* "you": *nàtò* man, *nàtí* o man! *Dàk* a proper name, *Dàgí* o Dàk!

THE PRONOUN.

The Personal Pronoun.

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Connected Form, standing before the verb.

This form is generally used as the subject of verbs.

yá I	*yí* thou	*yḡ, ţ (ỳ)* he
wá, wḡ we	*wí* you	*gḡ* they.

The forms are often pronounced with a short vowel. *yḡ* and *ţ* (sometimes *ỳ*), likewise *wá* and *wḡ*, are used promiscuously, but *ţ*, apparently the younger

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form, is employed more frequently than *yɛ́*; *ò* is seldom used; in the 3rd person *gò* also occurs, but it is very rare as a subject. Note that *ò* and *gò* have a low tone, but all other personal pronouns have a high tone.

[It is at least remarkable that in two West African Sudan languages the personal pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. are the same as in Shilluk: Ewe *é* and *wò*, Twi *e* and *o* (In Ewe even the tones are equal to those in Shi.); Ewe makes some distinction in the use of *é* and *wò*, while in Shi. they seem to be employed at will. Gang too has *e* and *o*, apparently without making any distinction between the two.

On the *form of the pronoun* note the following remarks:

The corresponding forms for the singular and the plural seem to have originally the same vowels, only *yí* and *wú* being different. But besides *yí*, *yú* also occurs, and in Nuer the possessive pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. is *du* (*d* is prefixed), so it seems probable that the original vowel was *u*, which was assimilated by the palatal semivowel *y* and thus became *i*. This palatalization must, however, have taken place at an early period, as neighbouring languages — with the exception just stated — have *i* and *yi* for the 2nd pers. sing. So we get as primitive vowels of the personal pronoun: *á*, *ú*, *ɛ́*, which were differentiated into singular and plural by certain prefixes.

a) Singular.

In all three persons the pronoun begins with *y*, but the 3rd person has a third form, which is not mentioned above: *γɛ́n* (*n* marks the absolute form, see 132, so the form is properly *γɛ́*); *γɛ́* I regard as the older form of *yɛ́* (on the change between *y* and *γ* see 35); in Dinka and Nuer the pronoun of the first person is *γa*, which is likewise the older form for Shilluk *ya*; from this it is probable that the 2nd person also originally began with *γ*, though, as far as I can see, it is nowhere retained. Thus we get these (hypothetical) primitive forms: *γa*, *γu*, *γɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* designating the persons, and *γ* the singular.

b) Plural.

In plural all persons begin with *w* except *gɛ́*. What is the origin of this *g*? In Nuer the 1st pers. is *kó*, the third *kɛ́n* and *kyɛ́n*, in Dinka *kɛ* (probably *kɛ*); *kó* is evidently contracted from *kwa*, see 22; analogous to this *kyɛ́* may be derived from *kwɛ* (*kwɛ* > *kyɛ* see 32), and the 2nd person, *wú*, would be originally *kwu*, but, as in the singular, here the hypothetical form seems nowhere preserved. So the primitive forms of the plural would be: *kwa*, *kwu*, *kwɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* again designating the persons and *kw* the plural. (As for the prefixing of *k* note that in Dinka the personal

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pronouns in the absolute form suffix a *kl*). — The evolution of *gɛ* in Shi. would then be thus: *kwɛ* > *kyɛ* > *kɛ* > *gɛ*. While in the first and second person the *k* before *w* was dropped (see 46), in the 3rd pers. *kɛ* turned into *gɛ*. The changing of a voiceless into a voiced consonant is not so uncommon in the Eastern Sudan languages, see 42; here the process was facilitated by *gɛ* being a much used word, whose pronunciation may easily be slighted. — Hence perhaps *gò* "he" may also be explained. It may be formed from the primitive pronoun *ò* "he", by prefixing to it, in analogy with *gɛ́*, a *g*, and to make the analogy perfect, the vowel *ò* was also pronounced wide, that is *ɔ̀*, in accordance with the *ɛ* in *gɛ́*. This is, indeed, a mere hypothesis, but it is supported by the fact that *gò* and *ò* both have low tone, while all other personal pronouns have high tone.] 193* 197●

Absolute Form.

yán I, me	*yín* thou, thee	*ɛ́n, γɛ́n* he, him	*gò* he, him	193*
wán, wɔ́n we, us	*wún* you	*gɛ́n* they, them.		

These differ from the connected form only by a suffixed *n*; *ɛ́n* and *γɛ́n* are used promiscuously; *gɔ̀n* occurs frequently as objective, but seldom as subjective pronoun. The suffixed *n* may be identical with the deictic *n* mentioned in 127 et passim; so that *yán* really means: "it is I".

These absolute or separable pronouns do not stand immediately before a verb, they are used when the person is to be emphasized. They are employed as subjective and objective alike. When they emphasize the subject, the connected form of the pronoun has to follow them: *yán yû chàm* (it was) I (that) ate.

The absolute pronouns may again be emphasized by adding *á*: *yáná, yíná, ɛ́ná*. This has the meaning of "it is", and is often used in addresses: *ɛ́ná Páchɔ̂dò* that is Fashoda; *yíná jwɔ̀k* "thou art God" "o God".

If a personal pronoun in the singular is connected with another pronoun or noun, the plural form is always used instead of the singular: *wɔ́ kì yin* I and you; *wú kì mɛ́n* you (sing.) with whom?

Objective Form.

It is suffixed to the verb. Example: stem *chwɔ̀l* to call.

Common form.	With more emphasis.
á chwɔ̀là he called me	*á chwɔ̀là yán* or *yánà*
á chwɔ̀lì he called thee	*á chwɔ̀là yín* or *yínà*
á chwɔ̀lɛ̀ he called him	*á chwɔ̀là ɛ́n* or *ɛ́nà*
á chwɔ̀lì wɔ́n he called us	*á chwɔ̀là wɔ́n* or *wɔ́nà*
á chwɔ̀lì wún he called you	*á chwɔ̀là wún* or *wúnà*
á chwɔ̀lì gɛ́n he called them	*á chwɔ̀là gɛ́n* or *gɛ́nà*.

*193 The first *á* is the sign of the past; in the second form the final *a* of the verb marks the verb as being followed by an object.

Note the change of the tone in the objective form. *The objective form has low tone, whereas the subjective form has high tone.*[1]

Possessive Form.[2]

This form is also always suffixed. Example *wọ̀t* house pl. *wọ̀tị̀*.

wọ̀dá my house	*wọ̀dì* thy house	*wọ̀dẹ̀* his house
wọ̀t wọ́n our house	*wọ̀t wún* your house	*wọ̀t gẹ́n* their house
wọ̀tá my houses	*wọ̀tí* thy houses	*wọ̀tẹ́* his houses
wọ̀tị́ wọ́n our houses	*wọ̀tị́ wún* your houses	*wọ̀tị́ gẹ́n* their houses.

gwòk pl. *gúòk* dog.

gwòká my dog	*gwòkì* thy dog	*gwòkẹ̀* his dog
gwòk wọ́n our dog	*gwòk wún* your dog	*gwòk gẹ́n* their dog
gúóká my dogs	*gúókí* thy dogs	*gúókẹ́* his dogs
gúókó wọ́n our dogs	*gúókó wún* your dogs	*gúókó gẹ́n* their dogs.

If the final consonant of the noun is a liquid or nasal, the *w* in *wọn* and *wun* is often ommitted: *kal ũn* your fence; *tygñ un* your people.

If both the possessor and the thing possessed are a singular, the possessive pronoun has a middle tone, if either of them or both are a plural, the poss. pr. has a high tone.

In the connection of noun and pronoun the rule given in 40 is to be observed, as these examples show:

jâgọ̀ chief, *jàñá* my chief *afoajọ* rabbit, *afoañá* my rabbit but in pl.: *jâk* chiefs, *jāká* my chiefs *afoachị* rabbits, *afoachá* my rabbits.

If the final vowel of the noun is *u*, it turns into *w*; if *u* is the sole stem-vowel, a *w* is inserted: *fyóu* heart, *fyówá* my heart; *ñù* lion, *ñuwa* my lion.

In some few cases the possessive pronoun is prefixed by *r*: *ra* my, *ri* thy etc. Before this *r* the final consonant of the noun drops:

ñal boy *ñāra* my boy *pach* village *pāra* my village, etc.

This *r* is a shortened form of *ré* "body, self."

As the intonation shows certain irregularities in the connection of nouns with possessive pronouns, some more examples may be given.

ówệṭ mat	pl. *ówẹ̀ṭ;*	*ówệḍá* my mat;	*ówẹ̀ṭá* my mats
yíṭ ear	pl. *yìṭ;*	*yíḍá* my ear;	*yìṭá* my ears
kọ̀ṭ rain	pl. *kọṇi;*	*kọḍa* my raining;	*kọ́ṇá* my rainings
lyẹch elephant	pl. *líéch;*	*lyẹ́já* my eleph.;	*líèchá* my elephants
àṭẹ́p bag	pl. *àṭẹ̀p;*	*àṭẹ́bá* my bag;	*aṭẹ́pá* my bags
kwọ̀m chair	pl. *kúọ̀mì;*	*kwọ̀má* my chair;	*kúọ̀má* my chairs
rẹ̄jọ fish	pl. *réch;*	*rẹ̄ñá* my fish;	*réchá* my fishes

[197] [1] In Ewe *e*, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. has high tone, when subjective, but low tone, when objective; the same is the case in Yoruba: *ó* he, *ọ̀* him; see Crowther page (4) and (8).
[2] The suffixed subjective form see 160.

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*193 802 The numeral follows the noun: *wọt áryạ̀u* two houses; often *ga* "copy" is inserted between both: *chàṅ gá pyārọ* ten days.

Ordinal Numbers.

They are rarely used. In forming them the prefix *á* is dropped and the simple stem is used, with the exception of "the first", which is formed from *mal* "above".

àmálọ̀ the first	*ryạ̀u* the second	*dạ̀k, dẹ̀k* the third
ṅwọ̀n the fourth	*bích* the fifth	*pyārọ* the tenth.

THE VERB.

*193 The *stem of the verb* is uniform. It always consists in a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, or a consonant, a semivowel, a vowel, and a consonant. But the sounds of the stem may undergo certain changes, on which see 187.

Conjugation of the Verb.

The verb has two principal modes or tenses:

1. The Present Tense. This denotes an action as going on, as being done just now, as one not yet finished. This action may be going on in the present as well as in the past or future; the emphasis does *not* lie *on the time,* but on the fact that the action is *not finished,* but is being done, it "has not become", but "is becoming".

   Generally the Present in Shilluk corresponds to the English Present, but it may also describe the Past or the Future: "I am going", "I was going", "I shall be going".

2. The Perfect denotes the action as complete, it describes that which "has become", a state, an accomplished fact. While the Present means: "he is going" the Perfect is: "he is gone", "he is away".

*193 197 [These same two tenses with exactly the same meanings are found in the Semitic languages, they are there called Imperfect and Perfect. I have retained the name "Present" because it is introduced already, and a new term might lead to confusion. In these two forms there is another conformity between Shilluk and Semitic languages: in Hebrew the verb in the Imperfect (= Shilluk Present) is always preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun follows the verb; in Shilluk the verb

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the Present (= Hebrew Imperfect) is preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun or noun may precede *or follow* the verb. In Nama (Hottentott) and Fulfulde, two Hamitic languages, the subject may also precede *or* follow the verb.] 193* [197]

Besides these two the verb has the following modes:

3. The Future;
4. The Habitual; it denotes action which is done repeatedly, usually, habitually, either in the Present or in the Past.
5. The Imperative.
6. The Verbal Noun; is a real noun, corresponding to the English "going", "eating".
7. The Noun Agent; denotes the doer of the action expressed in the verb. There are two forms, one for expressing an occasional, and the other the habitual doer.
8. The Passive Voice.

Examples showing the conjugation of the verb.

The Verb without an Object.

Stem: *cham* to eat.

Present.

yá chàmò I am eating	*yí chàmò* you (s.) are eating
ẻ (yẻ) chàmò he is eating	*wá chàmò* we are eating
wú chàmò you are eating	*gẻ chàmò* they are eating.

The verb in the present always ends in *o*; this *o* is sounded very faintly, see 2.

Nearly all verbs have in the present exactly the same form: the first vowel is long, and both syllables have a low tone. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, viz.

a) the first vowel may be short; in this case the vowel is often high: *kẹ́ḍò* to go; but at the same time: *kàḍò* to go; *ryèrò* to come forth.

b) the first vowel, being long, may have the falling tone; in connection with it the second vowel has sometimes middle, but generally low, tone: *gwâṅò* to dig, *gɔ̂lò* to be vexed. As this is the form and intonation of the infinitive (see 170) these "present forms" may properly be infinitives, these having taken the place of the low-toned present tense.

In most cases the second consonant, if mute, is voiced.

A second form of the present tense is formed by putting *dè* between the subject and the verb:

yá dè chàmò I am (or was) engaged in eating, I have been eating.

*193 { *ṯēḍǫ* to bewitch perf. *ṯyêṯ* pe. *ṯyêṯ*
ṯyēḍǫ to bewitch.

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel or semivowel unchanged through all tenses or modes. The meanings of the two verbs are identical:

bōḍǫ and *bwōḍǫ* to cast iron
kōḍǫ and *kwōḍǫ* to blow up fire
fējǫ and *fyējǫ* to pull.

The function of the inserted semivowels *w* and *y* are evident from the preceding examples: they serve in forming certain tenses or modes of the verb, and from these modes and tenses new verbs are formed, just as in the changing of the last consonant.

In by far the most cases the infixed *w* (which must originally have been *u*, see 22) forms the Passive and the Perfect of the Verb.

[197] [It is remarkable that in Hamitic languages *u* or *o* have the same function:

Haussa:	*fashe* to break	*fasu* broken
	būde to open	*būdu* open
	buga to beat	*bugu* beaten
Ful Fulde:	*omo nana* he hears	*omo nanǫ* he is heard
	omo wara he kills	*omo warǫ* he is killed.

In both these languages the forms in *u*, *ǫ* correspond to the Shilluk Passive as well as to the Perfect, as they express an accomplished state, as opposed to action.]

It is evident that this last process was chiefly liable to lead to many confusions in the use of *w* and *y (and the same holds good for the changing of the second consonant)*; once the second verbs, derived from the imperfect or passive of the first verb, came into use, it was scarcely avoidable that the semivowel should not enter the present or any other tense of the first verb, where it did not belong; and again it was easily liable to be dropped where it ought to stand, viz. in a form of the second verb; this was the more possible, as in almost all cases the meanings of the two verbs are absolutely identical. And indeed the natives often do confuse the two verbs, using the one for the other, when asked for the different forms of a verb.

How the semivowel was infixed into the verb, is not clear (but see 25); as they do not always have the same function, the way on which they got into the word may also have been different.

Now it is remarkable, that in all cases, where the *passive or past are formed by infixing w or y* (active present *kōbǫ* passive *kwōp*, active present *fēchǫ* passive

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of
[171] the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly
[131] of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their
361 permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXIV. Part I & 2. 1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104 194

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 101 [173 197]

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang 173

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

101 [B1] [197]

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

173

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its 174
home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. [197]
This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that
long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half 173
of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, 174
a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its [103]
name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*,
[793] viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

[198
643]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

533 535 643 [201] [516] [482] 535 643 778

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 587 763 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 [361] Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

[237] 825 75 [202] 535 [574]

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojul went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debalo, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan In fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ororo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debalo, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reth* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reth* was confirmed [693] as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all [202] the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At [778] the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reth* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reth* was led down [644] the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached [293] the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and also the official residence of the Ret [1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang: his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come». [644]

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel[1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their [173]
daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief. 173 [212] [887]

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence. 776

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given. 776 782 539

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. » 776

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship, 769 782

[p. 283]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear them-
[221] selves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

226 Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of
224 which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

32 The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work,
[316 though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by
439] trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are
501 necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus*
[37] *flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [469] [21]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not unfrequent.

SHEEP The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair. Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

FOWLS

DOGS

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

[411]

[643]

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

[177]

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ñíkàŋ̀)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(ájwɔ̀gó)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lāmo* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwachɔ* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 782 [177] [793]

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

241 The Shulla has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

[221] All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water [249] jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as [245] there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shulla has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our garden or at the government stations.

The Shulla plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a deleib palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole [412] which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shulla begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. [412] His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ótět a food of dura, dainty.
móké ńàkì a food of dura.
àtóch cooked dura.
àbík green roasted dura.
òmît dura roasted, then soaked and mashed.
àwách dough.
mòńàbúr a dura-food

ţàbò dura, soaked, and then kept till it sprouts; for making beer. 262
àţòbóbò beer before it is strained.
mòòò beer.
mòń àţńò strained beer.
yáwò a kind of beer.

6. The seasons of the year.

yéy jèrìá about September, harvest of red dura.
átwóch about October; end of the harvest, people are waiting for the white dura to ripen.
ágwèrò about November — December; harvest of white dura begins.
wùdò December — January. Harvest of white dura continues.

lţu hot season, January—February } no field-work
ţîţîń about March }
ţókòţ about April, "mouth of rain", beginning of the rains.
shwèr about May—July, time for planting red dura.
ţîrìá about July—September, beginning of harvest.

805 221

7. The months.

1. *yér, ór (wor)* about September.
2. *kîn gàk*
3. *nyeţ*
4. *kôl*
5. *akòch, akòń duòń*
6. *akòń ţên*
7. *áduôń*
8. *àţîbór*
9. *àkół dît*
10. *bél duòń*
11. *bél ţên*
12. *lâl.*

805

8. The day-times.

wóu è rùwò the first morning-twilight becomes visible.
bor morning dawn
mwôl, mól morning;
feń fa mwol "the earth is morning"; it is morning.
dè chàń noon.
cháń yà mál the sun is in the zenith.

chań a kîchì the sun begins to sink, after noon.
bîrò afternoon;
feń fa b. it is afternoon.
a díkì wóu the sun is setting.
wań ţyéńò the sun has set.
feń fa wor it is night;
ki wor at night, midnight.

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all. 000

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation. 128

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river. [13] 36

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owing comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically. 105 221

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition 572 [3 42]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix–xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 159. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in propor-
tion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
● [221] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary
[883] cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
614 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates
631 in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer
grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk
and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth
of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, super-
imposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the
clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively
simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly
clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the
sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic
habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
621 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
182 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."
721

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name
of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar*
Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor
is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the
tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and
although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has
ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [443]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

Kinds of white dura.

ḏḭl is very long in ripening. *àbwòk* maise. 241
mbr has a longer ear than *ḏḭl*. *rdwḭ* Duchn (panic grass). 824
àlyḭ̀ḭ̀ḭ̀ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

lḭ̀k-dḭ́ṅ, ɔ̀dḭ̀ḭ̀, ɔ̀ḭ̀ṅṛ̀ḭ̀k, ɔ́ḭ́ḭ̀t ḭ́ḭ́ṅ ("kills the elephant"), *ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́ḭ́, ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́, ɔ̀ḭ̀ḭ̀-mɔ̀ɔ̀k, ɔ́ɔ̀ṅḭ̀k, ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ̀t, ɔ̀ḭ̀ḭ́ḭ́ṅ̀, ɔ̀ḭ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀k, ɔ̀ɔ̀l.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *bɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ̀*.

ɔ̀ḭ̀ṛ̀ṛ̀, wɔ́ḭ̀ɔ̀l-ɔ́ɔ́-dḭ́ṅ̀, wɔ́ḭ̀ɔ̀l-ɔ́ɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́ṅṛ̀, ɔ̀ḭ̀ḭ́ḭ́ ("the Nubian"?), *ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́-dɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ṅ̀, ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ́, ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ̀ḭ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ɔ̀k, ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ́ḭ́ṅ̀, ɔ̀kɔ́ḭ́l, bɔ́ɔ́ɔ̀* ("of the white man"), *ɔ́kɔ̀ḭ́ḭ́l, ɔ́ɔ́ḭ́ṛ̀, wɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("lion's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ḭ́k* ("crow's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́du, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ́ṅ̀-bɔ̀ɔ̀k, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́ɔ̀ḭ́, ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́ṛ̀ḭ́ṅ̀* ("sheep-tail"), *ɔ́ḭ́ḭ́ḭ́ḭ́* ("horse-tail"), *ɔ̀ḭ́ḭ́, ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half 241
century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades 233
has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the [237
shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones 412]
of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the [462]
chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather [222] grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

132 [136] [164]

SOIL

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

133 134

VEGETATION

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: heglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of doleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaene Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indica), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

137

[224 24]

ANIMALS

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbock (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbock (Cobus maria), gazelle rufifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

136

[1] Khor (Arab) = water courses drying up in the rainless seasons.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

*539 *Kīne: à, dǭch, kɛ̱t, kǭlú jwǫk! Ka gɛ̱ bɛ̄nǫ. Ka gɛ̱ wanɛ fōtɛ gɛn, ka būl gǫ́ch, ka tɛ̱rǫ chǭńǫ kí bûl. Ka gɛ̱ lǭgǫ: wuna yik tɛ̱rǫ, é, wǫ́ dúǫ̀k, dɛ̱ bɛ̱t peń mǭɛ̱.*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyek-antelope. And all the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
● 224 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyek-antelope, which belongs
643 to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then
651 they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do yo[illegible]ring?" They answer: "Whe have brought royal goods." The king asks: "H[illegible]any?" They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king [illegible] a big
[576] steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
[644] it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now!)". The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay!)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people; "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

28. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̱t tɛ̱rǫ bɛ̱ ńwǫt kí yat, yɛ̱tɛ kwèr, ka tɛ̱rǫ ńúdǫ̀, ka yat ǭǭl, ká tɛ̱rù bɛ̱nǫ̀, ka tɛ̱rǫ wapí fack. Ka jāgǫ chwǫ́l, ka yat tyer ká è nɛ̱nǫ, ka e kapǫ mɛ̱, ka e ko: kwań yɛ̱t ak! Ka kwǫ́ń, ka e ko: mǫk an ba mǫk rɛ̱t, ka mǫk an tyɛ́ń, ka gɛ̱ kwǫ́ch, ka gɛ̱ bɛ̱nǫ gín kɛau Bachōdǫ.*

[1] The dyek-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [484 751] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [224] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [726] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [752 755] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 789 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and [173] the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938 [12] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 224 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[132] 12. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
643 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcase is floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his [743] torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dē Jǫk Buin Dānyimǫ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayīk, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayīk with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwōrǫ (which was the village of Ayīk) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayīk) were caught, and Ayīk was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kẹń mak nam, ka tẹ̄rǫ kẹ́dǫ[1]*, ka tẹ̄rǫ nīni gat, ka bǫ́i mẹ̄n peń, ka rech e bẹ̄nǫ, ka bǫi mā̱go ki rech, ka jẹ̄ ṭā̱ḍǫ, ka jẹ̄ chāmǫ. Ka wǫu rū, ka maye bẹ̄nǫ, ka tẹ̄rǫ mā̱gǫ, ka ńań ka kẹ̄l, ka e makǫ ki ḍā̱ṇ. Ka tẹ̄rǫ rẹ́na wǫk, ka tyẹń tẹ̄k e dō̱ńǫ, ka ḍā̱ṇ kā̱l gẹ wǫk, ka ńań nẹ́ké. Ka tẹ̄rǫ kā̱ wǫk, ka jāke bẹ̄nǫ, ka gẹ pẹ̄chǫ: ńań a gwō̱k edi? Kine: e nẹ̄k! Kine: dẹ ẹ ya kẹń? Kine: nut. Yech! Ka yech. Ka e ko: ńǫ́lé, bā gik lā̱gǫ. Ka kiṭe pach lā̱gǫ, ka tẹ̄rǫ bẹ̄nǫ chẹ̄, ka ńań ṭā̱l yi jāgǫ, ńańe lā̱gǫ. Ka e chwǫṭǫ jẹ̄, ka jāk dwai, ka e chām; tẹ̄rǫ ko: ō, ńań an dō̱ch. Dyki mẹ̄kǫ ka ńań mẹ̄kǫ kwáń, ka chām yi tẹ̄re yau.* 539*

Ka jāgǫ e chwō̱tǫ, ka tẹ̄rǫ bẹ̄nǫ, ka e pẹ̄chǫ kine: wuna yik jā̱k, ya peńa giche mẹ̄kǫ, ẹná kwāńu ki yey nam kâ; kine: ā gin ā́ńò? Ya peńa kwā̱l. Kine: ẹ́, kúchè wǫ́n! Kine: ẹ́, faṭe ńań a chām ki pay ńate? Kine: ệ, e chāmǫ, ńwǫle ńań ṭǫ̱ṇǫ. Kine: ẹ́, chōlá! Ka e kyẹdǫ, kine: ya ba chudǫ. Kine: ệ, wa kā Bachōdǫ. Kine: ệ, wa kẹ́dǫ.

Ka gẹ kẹ́dǫ, ka gẹ wiṭa Bachōdǫ, ká gẹ̀ gō̱ńò, kine: wuo (wuẹ), yá ḍálè yi kwǫ́p kwǫfe ńate; kwā̱l a chámè ẹ́n, kwal lā̱gǫ. Kine: ệ, yi chama ńǫ, ńate? Kine: wuo, kúchè yán. Riṭ e ko: gre, (γẹ́dẹ́), kẹṭ chōl ki ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍā̱ṇ! Ka e bẹ̄nǫ, ka e chudǫ ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍā̱ṇ; ka gẹ kǫ́l kōle riṭ, u tẹ̄re líne[2]*, ka gẹ rūmǫ.*

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was 539* [226] 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 30°45' E. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Nuerland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a **string**(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west till the Nuba-Hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

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The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

[171]
[226]

[79]
[631]

The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

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Fangak	(9°05'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	566 mm

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

293 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-241 462 512 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are [361] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river [312 415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen 482 vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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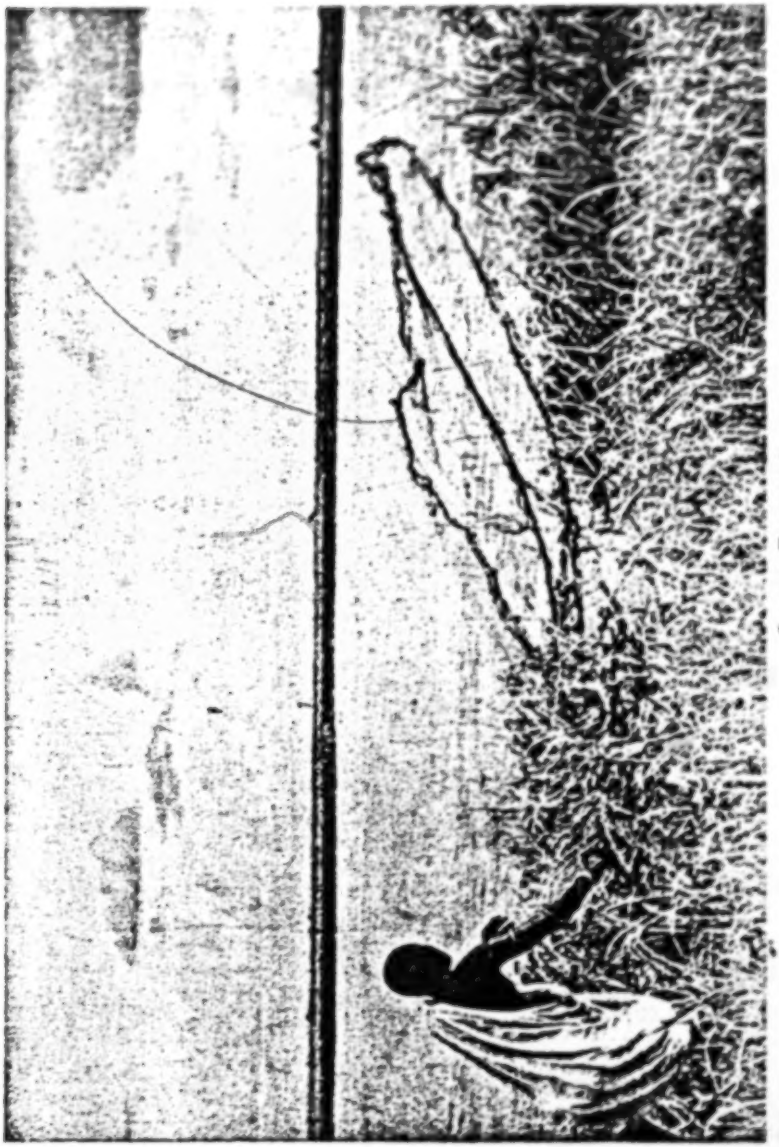

SHILLUK FISHERMAN

P. P. B.

[FACING p. viii]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
643 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

THE Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Nilotenstammes*, Wien, 1925.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyirek* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gal* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE IX

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Dum-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fashoda, shrine to Dang

(See p. 66)

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 185; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[647] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practice a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

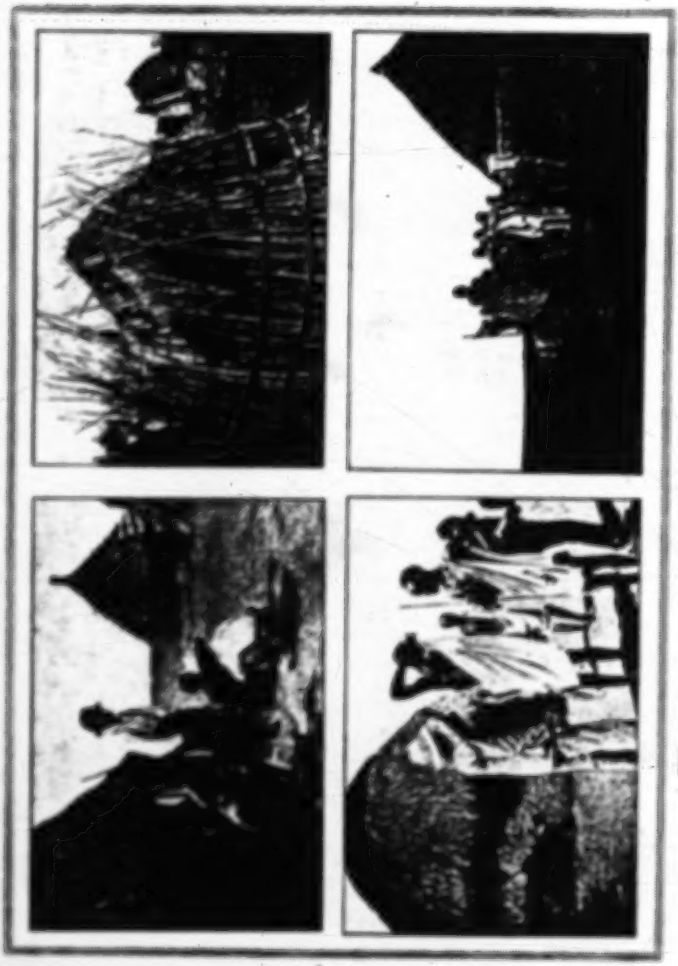
FOOD The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread (*kuga*), roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 109. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, durhn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as *deleib*, *nabag*, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Mazi. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merissa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Then it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



1. Village scene 2. "House of Nyikang" 3. A Shilluk giant
4. Typical group of Shilluks; bodies covered with ashes; at the left a Shilluk dog

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[Facing p. xl]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

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kwɔ́n a kind of dura-bread or mush.
àkɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a food of dura.
àpɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a food of dura.
àrɛ́ɛ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
àdɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
mɔ́ɲiangɔ́r a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
mɔ́ɛ́kɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ a common dura-food.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
gourd or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomadul. Poor Akomadul was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out : «Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him.» Akomadul then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow ambach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said : «He cured me because I killed one of his relatives». Akomadul then took a white sheep, and said : «I will save the man». The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said : «The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover». The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263] if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes 262 the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853] milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283] weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231] scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857] under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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583 break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
586 woman and children were not returned to their home within
686 three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
797 we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

583 And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he
602 assume the airs and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippon. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
● 231 few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time. [181]

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will [462]
at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once 766
except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in [764]
state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried
under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat
of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut [767]
into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden,
four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is
washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are
adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round
the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth
and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed
on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work [231]
of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very
difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground
is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since
it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down
to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut
in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body rest-
ing on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into
the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women
fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief,
clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in [533]
his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings
from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave,
throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she
casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back
to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she
throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all
the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes
round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads
and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period
of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after
the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of
the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured
on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud
and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance [535]
follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder
of the beer.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [527] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these [628] communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[274] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
[411] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
191] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us
142 to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

● 233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in
[556] cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[173 [1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the
539 earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit.,
114 p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xiv, 164-5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obeg or Obegi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Kiror Atelli, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the mudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the mudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the mudd broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocolo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600-35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 15 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Ger. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

181
123

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experience I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361

HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

233
[556]

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are turned in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from flies, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not endangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1962 F323 Shilluk F323

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the wind-doctor; vide page 170. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[417] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenues of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 105; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will pursue it for
[418] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are brought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 RAINMAKERS The Shilluks practise a great number of *rites*, which are *carried on in families* for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

Kinds of white dura.

ʃʃl is very long in ripening. *ábwiè* maize. 241
ɔbɔ has a longer ear than *ʃʃl*. *rówi* Durba (panic grass). 824
ɔɔʃʃlʃ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ʃʃ-dá, ɔbʃʃ, ɔʃʃwɔʃʃ, ɔʃʃyɔ̀ lyɔ̀ɔ̀ ("kills the elephant"), *ɔɔʃʃ, dʃʃl, ɔʃʃɔ̀-ɔʃʃɔ̀, ɔɔwʃʃ, wɔʃʃ, ɔʃʃʃɔ̀ɔ̀, dʃʃɔ̀ɔ̀, ʃʃwɔ̀.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *bɔʃʃ*.

ʃʃɔ̀ɔ̀, wɔʃʃɔ̀l-fá-dʃɔ̀, wɔʃʃɔ̀l-fá-ɔʃʃɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔʃʃʃɔ̀ ("the Nubian"?), *ɔɔʃʃɔ̀-fɔɔ̀-ɔwɔ̀, ɔʃʃʃɔ̀, ʃʃɔ̀, ɔʃʃʃɔ̀, ɔɔʃʃɔ̀, ɔʃʃʃɔ̀yʃʃɔ̀, ɔbwʃʃ, bɔʃʃɔ̀* ("of the white man"), *ɔwʃʃɔ̀ʃʃ, ɔɔʃʃɔ̀, ɔʃʃɔ̀* ("lion's eye") *wɔʃʃɔ̀ʃʃɔ̀* ("crow's eye") *wɔʃʃɔ̀, ɔɔʃʃʃʃ, ɔʃʃʃʃɔ̀ʃʃɔ̀, ɔɔʃʃ, ɔʃʃʃʃɔ̀ʃʃ, ʃʃɔ̀ʃʃɔ̀ʃʃ* ("sheep-tail"), *ʃʃɔ̀ʃʃɔ̀* ("horse-tail"), *ɔʃʃʃ, ɔʃʃʃʃ.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Titrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half 241
century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades 233
has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the [237
shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones 412]
of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the [462]
chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One Shu, whom questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm [222]
in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. 243 [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the withers. 233

283 [442] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spread upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

1. Foods and food-stuffs.

262 *kuje* a kind of dura-bread or mush.
ákíjí a food of dura.
ápíjí a food of dura.
ówíjé a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ákíjí a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ewíowíje a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
wíkíjí a common dura-food.

ŋɔ̀r skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
ɔ̀ŋɔ́m ear-rings of tin.
ɲwɔ̀ŋ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, foot.
ɲwɔ̀ŋ yɔ̀ ear-ring.
yɔ̀l bracelet for the wrist.
ŋɔ̀ knee-ring of skin.
ɔ̀ŋɔ́ɔ́ brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
ɲɔ́ɔ́ŋ ivory ring
ɔ́ɔ́ŋ ivory ring.
wɔ̀ ivory ring carved in conical form.
ɔ́wɔ̀ŋ ivory ring, a small strip.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́m ivory ring, big.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ knee-bells, used in dancing.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ a small bell.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́m bell, similar to *ɔ́ŋɔ́*.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dancing-bell
ɔ́ɔ́ŋ cow-bell, used in dancing.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ŋ small cow-bell.
ŋɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ŋɔ́ŋ a common name for beads.
ɔ́mɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ blue beads, worn by women.
ɔ́ŋ ostrich shell beads.
ŋɔ́r big beads, worn on the neck by men.
ŋɔ́ ŋɔ́ŋ a kind of beads.
ŋɔ́ŋ a kind of small beads.
ŋɔ́ŋ green beads, round, small.
ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ŋ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
bɔ́ɔ́ŋ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́mɔ́ŋ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ a kind of beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ white beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ black beads.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́wɔ́ŋɔ́ blue beads.
ŋɔ́ŋ red beads.
ɔ́ɔ́wɔ́ŋɔ́ yellow beads.
wɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
ŋɔ́ŋɔ́ cowry shell.
ɔ́ɔ́mɔ́ŋɔ́ŋɔ́ a string for tying together clothes.
ɲɔ́ɔ́ a kind of button worn in the hair.
wɔ́ɔ́ brown giraffe-tail hairs.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ white giraffe-tail hairs.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ tooth-brush.
ɔ́wɔ́ŋ a head-dress.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a head-dress.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ a head-dress.
wɔ́ɔ́ a head-dress, "like a shield".
ɔ́ŋɔ́ŋ a head-dress, "like a shield".
wɔ́ŋɔ́ bleached hair, long.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a chain, worn as ornament.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ rattle, made of leaves of the dabab, tied on leg or loin.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ } arm-ring of ambach.
wɔ́ŋɔ́ }
wɔ́ɔ́ loin-ring.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɲwɔ́ɔ́ "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ɔ́wɔ́ɔ́ iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

ɲɔ́ɔ́ cow; common name. Plural: *ŋɔ́ɔ́* cattle.
wɔ́ɔ́ bull.
ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233
552

ŋarijo calf.
ółjł grey-white spotted.
ółyjm head white, body black or yellowish.
ółłł belly and neck white, back and head black.
ółłjł one leg white, the rest of the body yellowish.
ółłyjół flanks white, the rest of the body black.
ółjółł head yellowish, brown spots on the back, the rest white.
ółjółł head black, black spots on the back, the rest white.
ółłjr flanks black, belly and back white.
ółdłł brown-black, small spots.
ółłł brown-white, small spots.
ółjł brown-white, large spots, females only.
ŋołł grey.
ółłwołł black-white.
ółjółł
ółdjł red-brown.
ółłłr ash-coloured.
ółjł black.
ółłjł white.
ółłłł striped white and red.

wł (wł) / **łyłł rłł** } (ox) with white feet.
łyłłłł black with white tail.
ółłłł hornless cow.
wjrjjł an ox with one horn directed forward, the second backward.
ółyłł a cow with ordinary, non-dressed horns.
ółłł a cow with horns turned down.
ółwłł an ox with horns turned towards the eyes.
ółłł a cow with horns pointing forward.
łł a cow with horns cut off.
ływłyłm a cow with horns directed straight upwards, like a goat's.
łł a cow with one horn directed upward, the second downward.
łłłł a cow with horns directed straight sideways.
wjrłłłł an ox with horns directed straight backward.
łwłjł a cow with horns directed straight backward.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 *ka ṭom kḭ̱l wɔ̱k, ka Chlọ (Chọllọ) bɛ̱nọ bɛ̱ne bɛ̱ne, ká tɛ̱rọ̀ chḭ̱ṅọ̀, ka wēni kị war, ka ṭɛ̱rɛ̱ chḭ̱ṅọ, ka rḭ̱l akwach:*

Ya kwache kị máṭọ́, má kɔ̱la ḍọga. Peṅ e rɛ̱ṅ júr, Léṅ-dárọ́ che dɛ wɛ̱lọ. Yá kḭ̱ṭá yị mdyị́ band ṅa Ńịdwai, Akolọ, ṅaṅ Ńikāṅọ.

*539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they
782 come and besmear th temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make
796 stripes on the templ with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum o Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the ight comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "kin":[1]

"I beg for some lile things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the pople; Lenydaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chiefof the daughter of Nyidwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

4. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, th tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the to; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. Whn it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories bout Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the laves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bved their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang wawashed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigrously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The net day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four ays they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River

622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the
789 people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
● 233 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Dura", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 789 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lén kgń é châgí, ajwǫgǫ ńí de dwâi, ká ḍ̀ǫk gǫ́ń, ka e bẓnǫ, ka dyẹk gwâch, ka tǫń gwâch, ka yai bẓnǫ, ká àkẹ̀t kẹ̀t. Ka tǫń mẽn pén, ka tǫń akyẹl mẽn pén; ka akẹ́t twóchè rẹ́. Ka yai e bẓnǫ, ka kẹla ṭá àkẹ́t; akẹte ya màl, e twojǫ bwǫ́l tǫ́ń. Ńànǫ̀ mák yi akẹ́t, ka ńi chip wâi, ka ńāne a ńi mak ńi chip wāi. Ka j̃ē chāṭǫ kí ḍ̀ch. Ka tin, ka yai kófí: fẓke fén. Ka ońwǫk kwâń, ka táyè fén, ka yejẹ kâk, ka wijẹ ńǫ̀l, ka wài kẹ̀l wǫ̀k, ka ńi lẹ́ń kẹle jè. Ka wich ańwǫk ka kwáń yi ajwǭgǫ́, ka ńi lẹ́ń fõṇ ẹni ki ńim yāi. U[1] yik wiche ońwǫk y nẹ̄nǫ kundo foṇ ẹni, ka yé kine: foṇ ẹni de chyẹ̀tǫ̀, kwǫf ajwǭgǫ. U yik wiche ońwǫk y nẹ̄nó kun adi lén, ye kine: leń rach! Ka ajwǭgǫ e ṭẹḍǫ̀ kẹ̀tẹ́, ka yech kẹ̀l, ka kôt, ka mẓkǫ chiki kôtǫ̀, ka ajwǭgǫ kẹḍǫ, ka ońwǫń mẓkǫ kẹ̀l, ka nẹ̀k, ka wijẹ chiki (chẹki) wẹ̀tǫ̀, ká lẹt yi ajwǫń ẹni, ka e ko: dǭch! Dwai ṭẓrǫ bẓnǫ! Ka ṭẓrǫ bẓnǫ. Ka wāi kwáńé, ka gǫ lẹ́ńé ré ṭẓrǫ̀. Ka e kẹḍǫ. Ka wich ońywǫk ka y kwóńí feń. Ka pi ṭâṇ, ká gǫ̀ lẹ́ńé rẹ ṭẓrǫ. 539*

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are loosened (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539* 721 787

[1] U.

8:Howell E-4,5 .(1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

621 localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar
613 to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches
582 throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of
614 national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

171 As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the per-
583 formance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in
233 lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from
[177] the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr,
114 Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary
127 account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

58 Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng wogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*wogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 25.

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

[567] (iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to
[792 serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *ororo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary
[16] campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of
233] 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population's figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·3 and 110·25. *Cf.* Nuer where highest ratio given is 111·3 and the lowest 111·2.

[2] *kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwo* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [753] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [233] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that met his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *buing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 181 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

According to his custom the chief has made fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 883

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luals* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before [312] dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river [415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use 442 of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *pak* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes. 462 512 [356]

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours. [273] [264]

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk. [241]

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord! [252 264 593]

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night. 512 233 857

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.]

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pun dong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth.

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhuk who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship.

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Gulbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango and Ikoth in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving stories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abemi Nyikango).

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pachow which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyath and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again.

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adar Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debaio run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debaio until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debaio. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lol are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long clumps of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debaio to Fashoda the coronation is not postponed, but the people at once raise a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebaiar near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At this moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clashed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circumambulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two lady maidens with the image of Nyikango on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the ceremonies and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver ceremonial seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyjerk holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debaio. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debaio, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and cleaning their place. This work is done

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643
[233]

at about four o'clock in the morning, when nobody will see him at his work but the chief only, who tells him what to do.

During these days Nyikango's army remain with the other people dancing and beating their drums, playing with the images of Nyikango and Duk outside or in front of the shrine. At the end of two days the Reth is taken to four high temples (Akurwic) on a mound, and stays in them for another two days. Nyikango's army continue beating their drums night and day, so the people from afar are attracted by them, and they come to join the dancing. At the end of this time all the senior and ordinary chiefs gather together in Fashoda at a final advisory council (Loko), where the Reth is given the right to take up the post of king. The senior chiefs make speeches giving him advice to perform his professional task justly, and after the speech of the best orator the drum is beaten as a sign of praise. At the close of the speeches he is given two silver bracelets which are put around his wrists, as a sign of his office. These bracelets represent the crown and remain with him during his reign. After this he is invested with his holy office, which cannot be taken away from him or be abdicated until he dies.

After the coronation Nyikango and his carriers remain in Fashoda for two months pending the first fall of the rains. As the first rain of the autumn appears, the party begins to leave Fashoda for Akurwa, where Nyikango's and Duk's images are kept until the coronation of another Reth.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the 351
side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his 342
enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled [565]
cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, [531]
or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other [343]
for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and 351
is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an [565]
ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight.

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle 343
byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much [233]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[253] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river—perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263]
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262]
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853]
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283]
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys unterhet 293
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [291]
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857]
under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have almost as different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Dwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food. 233 [192] [182] [135]

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers. 239 [362] [96] [171] [239]

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of cow-cribbs and covered with zeriba, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow-dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are secured in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren. 343 233

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. In both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not unhazardous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by 221 233 [262]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bawek* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bawek* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kenge* vary, but they always include certain
306 sacred spears, called *alude*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[512] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114] of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
[233] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within them were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alude*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1911 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
783 time (1911) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[569] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[604 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
605] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants, as well as the village people.

3:Westermann E-5 (1970) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

309 [illegible]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some authors say, members of the royal family do not remove the hairlock; but of this I am not sure.

[illegible] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluk, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a needle from slaughter in shape to our midgrid. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wrapping bands of leather drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 [illegible] DEATHS

The women wear either an or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side bottom set to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSING

The men, shiddy youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasions for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first lengthened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum and sometimes cow-dung; then then to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or gray. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to touch it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with sour whey. These processes take the black as well as the colour out of the hair. The bleached hair-like fair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knots, dressed with red earth and fat. Grown-adults, in mingo or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 613]

[illegible]

[illegible]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry
587 them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is
763 very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a
[361] circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting
[237] on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread
825 a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings.
75 The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given
[202] in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events
635 in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blessings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a
[578] drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

Kinds of white dura.

ŋŋl is very long in ripening. *ɔlwɔ̀k* maize. 241
ɔdɔ has a longer ear than *ŋŋl*. *rɔwɔ* Ducha (panic grass). 824
ɔlwɔ̀ŋŋ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ìjɔ̀-dɔ́ɔ́, ɔ̀kɔ̀l, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀k, ɔ́ŋŋɔ̀ lɔ̀ŋɔ̀k ("kills the elephant"), *ɔ́ŋŋɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀l, ɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀k-mɔ̀ɔ̀k, ɔ́ɔ́mɔ̀k, ɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀kɔ̀ŋɔ́ɔ́k, ɔ̀kɔ́ɔ́k, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *kɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ*.

ɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀, wɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀l-ɔ́ɔ́-ɔ̀ɔ́mɔ̀, wɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀l-ɔ́ɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́rɔ̀, ɔ̀ŋŋɔ́ ("the Nubian"?), *ɔ́ɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀-ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́-ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́mɔ̀, ɔ̀ŋɔ́, ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́l, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* ("of the white man"), *ɔ̀ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́rɔ̀, wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* ("lion's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋɔ́ɔ́* ("crow's eye") *wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́* ("sheep-tail"), *ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋɔ́-ɔ́ŋŋɔ́* ("horse-tail"), *ɔ́ɔ́ŋŋ, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Titrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the skin or rib bones of these animals. 241 233 237 412

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men killed their time away in the village. 462

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the nests of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp. 222

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shollas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clean shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. 243 [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild biar and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and cassava is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the withers. 233

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wiu are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the reh, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajjdo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [672]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 681
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 661
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The homesteads are arranged in roughly
horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the 361
sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very 621
large hut (*bwai*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year [345]
as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a [515]
normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gew*, which
is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put [237]
the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves
at night for warmth and protection from flies. [825]
Some villages have
a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and
inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an [392]
area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The 592
family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by [49]
transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be
used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in
the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All un-
married persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their
father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest
married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's
(married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere 592
is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of 672
its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol*
leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and
sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* [422]
leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle
it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible.
The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater- [71]
familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk
filius familias, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the
Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader [182]
has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by
the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact
that he owns a homestead.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bugge*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

76 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese [237] [295] [649] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* Fadiet. None of the *reth*'s wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth*'s wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth*'s private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth*'s body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shillak FJ23

Then Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Ongar where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,* was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet fez again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.* Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to seize *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Miller walks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Ashwrwir*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Ashwrwir*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Cal and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Ashwrwir* surrounded by the *ocwo* and sat down on the central mound, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

* See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
* *Ibid.* p. 78, Note 21.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several 352
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon cross-legged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [287]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 279
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
swiftly. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fastidiously carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
324 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[288] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least
[323] to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and
[415] fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
294 shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[287] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[322] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a
[411] need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
[412] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[437] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well 461
make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of 535
anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of 535
a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a 881
mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered [302]
with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of [292]
Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he [237]
wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a [301]
coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 643 [535] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [324] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

[237] [324]

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

[237]

643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs
[195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's
[694] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the
• [237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the
[513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [275]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors* all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, but from the water course it is in most places porous, sandstone sandy.

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: hagdy (Balanites aegyptiaca), seyal-acacia (Acacia seyal), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of doleib- and dum-palms (Hyphaene thebaica and Hyphaene Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the nebeik tree (Tamarindus indica), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the swamp, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, sudweh (Hemisiaea Elephantina), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Sof (Vossia procera), Pistia stratiotes, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to beat up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighborhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella saemmerringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mr. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazelle rubifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Orbi antelope (Oreotragus) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

* Khor (Arab) — water course drying up in the rainless season.

3:Westermann E-9 (1910) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the mouth are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in mouth and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be rained and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shilluk call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position covered at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the butt ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

139 123

ŋɔ́ŋ	black, rich earth	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
bɔ́ŋŋ	sandy ground	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	red sand
ɔ́ŋŋ	red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

241 124

bɔ́ɔ́	dura	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	an eatable gourd
ɔ́ɔ́ŋ	sesame	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
ɔ́ɔ́	bean	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	melon
bɔ́ɔ́	cotton	*ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*	tobacco
ɔ́ɔ́	a small, sweet gourd, in eaten.	*ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́*	maize.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: *bɔ́ɔ́*. The common name for white dura: *ɔ́ɔ́ŋ*.

S:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

Kinds of white dura.

ñil is very long in ripening. *ñwiñ* maize.
ñdir has a longer ear than *ñil*. *ñbuj* Durba (panic grass).
ñwñjñ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ñi-ñjin, ññiñ, ñjñwñjñ, ñjñir ñgwñ ("kills the elephant"), *ñrñj, ññil, ññwñ-ñdwñ, ññwñjñ, ñwñj, ññjñwñ, ññwñ, ñwñ.*

The stalks of many of the white dura are cracked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *ñwiñ*.

ñjwñ, ñwñjñ-ñi-ñjwñ, ñwñjñ-ñi-ñwñbñj, ñgñwñ ("the Nubians"?), *ñwñjñ-ñwñ-ñwñ, ññbñwñ, ñjñ, ñjñbñj, ñwñjñ, ñwñjñjñwñ, ñbwñjñ, ñwñwñj* ("of the white man"), *ñbwñjñ, ñwñjñj, ñwñbñ* ("lion's eye") *ñwñwñjñ* ("crow's eye") *ñwñn, ñwñjñj, ñwñjñwñ-ñwññ, ñwññ, ñwññwñjñ, ñjñwñjñ-ñjñwñjñ* ("sheep-tail"), *ñjñwñjñ* ("horse-tail"), *ñbwñ, ñwñññ.*

Agriculture Among The Shilluks.[1]

By R. W. Titrick, of Dolnik Hill.

The Shilluks have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shilluk man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the women. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the skin or rib bones of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men killed their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shilluks to a larger village of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the marauders and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shilluk women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rub the husks of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

The Shilluk has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is durra, the kaffir corn of America.

All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the durra they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shilluk has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our gardens or at the government stations.

The Shilluk plants his durra in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early durra, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a dabab palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and then more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He places a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shilluk begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

3:Woehrmann E-5 (pt2) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

wooden handle. The hoe also se
to be chosen, and cutting the g
surface with the hoe. Shaking the
them into piles, leaving the gro
cultivation, suitable for this soil an
the yield for the amount of groun

The Indian corn grown by the
running one a fortnight before t
before any grain is harvested a sec
and women go to the various fie
opening rows of corn and beans
of the village. Some is later take
planted on the side of the sacred
some put on the door of their own
When the durra is ready for harves
shell and heaped upon a rock and
two feet above the ground. After
stalks by the men and winnowed
where it is stored in large barrel sh
of the large basket granary is cov
about the small hole and resting
ground bears the weight of the dri
free from rats.

There are very many variation
thirty-two variation. It is probable t
occurs in different localities.

Durra is eaten in a variety of wa
on the fire and roasted. It is often
A great deal is made into a mild be
popular way of cooking it is to gr
mush and eat it with milk, or coo
with beans, and sesame is often a
made.

The Shilluk retains all of his pastor
above all else. His sheep are very
wool ought to grow. His goats are
His cows are also generally poor in
in beef conformation. They belong t
the hump on the withers.

ne ground or square on one knee or both, 241
e with two hand cuts it off just under the
ut from the roots of the weeds he throws
d clean and smooth. It is a good surface
climate, and when the season is favorable,
lled is very good.

Indian is a small early variety, which is in 243
early durra is ready for parching. But
of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man
of the village and being in some of the
durra, and place them by the sacred house
and ground and mixed with water and
ahl, the rest is taken by the people and
room, and some is carefully tied up within.
d, the heads are cut off short with a clean [237]
of poles resting upon forked posts about
ing a month it is flailed out with heavy [261]
the women and carried to the village,
ed bins made of coarse grass. The bottom
grass band wrapped with rope is formed
the forks of short stakes driven in the
basket and keeps it off the ground and

durra. One man gave me the names of
never that the same variety has different

The earliest heads are simply thrown 252
roughly boiled till softened and eaten so,
and used as a regular food diet. The
d it into a fine meal and cook it into a
it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled
ea with it. A sort of durra bread is also

instincts and prizes his flocks and herds 233
rior in size and have no wool where
mall and few are good milk producers.
lking qualities, but are fair in size and
the Indian breed of cattle, which have

D.Westermann E-9 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

233 [242] Tribal custom forbids the Shilluk from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [243] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuer and most of the Dinkas the Shilluk raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Tsetse or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosoma not so fatal as the sun of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is no increase in the number of live stock raised.

• 241 [70] 177 As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shilluk land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, unless it is spread upon the ground.

243 The Shilluk in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262.

Anjo a kind of dura-bread or mush.
Ádjú a food of dura.
Ápjú a food of dura.
Ánjú a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
Ádjú a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
ngiongo a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
ngiddi a common dura-food.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

S:Howell E-4.5 (0937, 1948) 1953 F225 Shilluk F225

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

It is a natural corollary of all this, that the property of the marriage cattle are not exclusive. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we have that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the amount of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the co-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically claimed as *ebom*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of monetization, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 25.

19: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 F.23 Shilluk F.23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

19: Dylee 98-5 (on. 1918) 1926 F 323 Shillok F 323

fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 F323 Shilluk F323

233 the depredations of hyenas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
502 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *luak*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [552] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
502 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
883 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [224] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
502 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[341] *durra* is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to have his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
502 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are [341] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[302 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
480 of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls;

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 F323 Shilluk F323

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luels* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

241 but unfortunately for him, grass and weeds have a way of pushing up along with the grain and so, several times during the growing season he is forced to go out to his plantation and put in a day's weeding. If he is unduly industrious, he will plant beans, marrows, or pumpkins amongst the millet, and may even clear another patch and grow some maize; yet these are luxury crops—asparagus and strawberries, as it were—growing more quickly than millet and serving to fill up the lean time between the finishing up of one year's crop and the harvesting of the next.

The first month or so of the rainy season is a time of great anxiety as to whether the rains will be sufficient to sustain the growing crops. Sometimes the planting operation is attended with disappointments; a prolonged drought sets in and the young plants wither and die. A torrential downpour gives the husbandman new hope and out he goes to plant again, but this time one storm of rain after another washes the young shoots out of the ground. A third time he plants, and this time the fates are kind; the seed takes firm root and with constant and not too violent rain flourishes and gives promise of a good harvest; however by this time it is mid-July or even later, so that the crop will be late in ripening and he will be hungry before he can harvest it. The first crop 243 to be planted is red millet which grows and matures more quickly than the second variety, the white millet. If conditions are favourable the original sowing is firmly established by the end of July, and he proceeds to the planting of the second variety. This is more hardy when growing and more resistant in store to the depredations of ants and weevils, but it is ravaged by the myriad flocks of weaver birds which descend upon the ripening fields and by the animals of the forest which gorge upon the crops to such an extent that sometimes they kill themselves by going to drink immediately after filling their stomachs with the unripe grain.

The plants which survive the attacks of flood and drought, of insect, bird and beast grow to a height of eight to ten feet with stalks half an inch thick supporting the heavy oval-shaped heads of grain. The red millet is ready for harvest

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, 132 dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides 433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of 171 the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. 243 ●
When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the wethers. 233

233 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262

kwɔ́n a kind of dura-bread or mush.

àkʋ̀ɲɔ́ a food of dura.

àpʋ̀ɲɛ́ a food of dura.

àrɛ́yɔ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

àdʋ̀ɲɔ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

mɡ̀ɲandɪ́r a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.

mɡ̀kɔ̀ɔ̀ɲɛ̀ a common dura-food.

TYPES OF DURA USED BY SHILLUK AND DINKA

by Hasan Mutwakil

Introduction

123 In making this note I am quite aware of the fact that I have been in the Upper Nile Province for so short a time that I cannot guarantee its accuracy in every particular. It is the outcome of personal experience and observation and enquiries made among Shilluks and settled northerners (*Gellâba*), and should be accepted as such. If, however, in the course of future investigation any doubt arises with regard to my information, I will do my best to correct or confirm what I now venture to put on record.

Groups and Varieties

243 1. *Lwalli* is the Shilluk name for the 'early red dura.'

This dura is early in the sense that it is sown earlier than other crops. But it includes quick-maturing varieties as well as comparatively late-maturing varieties.

The word 'red' is not a precise description, as the colour of the grain is by no means uniform. The dura exhibits a large mixture of colours from dark red to white, most probably the result of crossing. All these colours can be produced in one field, often from plants in the same hole.

Lwalli includes a large number of sub-varieties, of which the following are more common :—

Toro, a tall plant, late-maturing, seeds pink
Othech ,, ,, ,, ,,
Nyalwalding, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyakino, dwarf, quick-maturing, seeds dark red.
Wer Jal Nyigara, dwarf, quick-maturing
Nyanwar, ,, ,, ,,
Nyafirwat, ,, ,, ,,
Nyanbar, ,, ,, ,,
Nyachogo, ,, ,, ,, White
Yonongo, ,, ,, ,, Brownish red
Chiat alij, ,, ,, ,,

[p. 154]

21: Mutwakil U-5 (1946) 1947 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12

S 243

It is very difficult to distinguish between the plants or the seeds of these different sub-varieties. Certainly I cannot recognize the differences myself, but I also doubt whether the Shilluk can do so without being misled quite often. All these sub-varieties are generally treated, and behave, in the same way. They are sown early in June, reach maturity in 90-100 days, (exceptions are the heavy sub-varieties), and are harvested in mid-September in a normal year.

2. *Rwat* is the Dinka name for the Shilluk *lwalli*.

D 243

The same sub-varieties exist among the Dinka, and the names given above for the sub-varieties are used by them.

It is also grown as an early crop in Dinka land, but in much smaller quantities, as a subsistence crop only.

3. *Jak* is the Dinka name for the heavy, late-maturing dura. It is the Dinka main crop, and has several sub-varieties, of which those commonly known are :—

Awet	Seed colour	white.
Kuchuka	" "	yellowish.
Kwayan	" "	orange red.

Again seed colour is not as pure as the above description may convey. A mixture of colours is always a usual sight in a field of this dura.

All sub-varieties of the *Jak* are considered as heavy or late-maturing. They are usually sown early in July, reach maturity in about six months, and are harvested towards the end of December.

4. *Agono* meaning ' white dura ' is the Shilluk name for the Dinka *Jak*.

S 243

The same sub-varieties and their names as above are also used by the Shilluk. As a crop plant, however, the *Agono* is grown but little in the Shilluk district, except among the southern Shilluk between Malakal and Tonga, where it is grown as a main crop.

5. *Angul*, meaning in Shilluk, ' dura of the wind,' is a winter dura.

The name refers to no one variety, but actually any crop which is sown so late in the rains that it benefits from the cool north (winter) wind, is known to the Shilluk as *angul*.

S [132]

As the wet period from which the *angul* may be expected to benefit is very short, it is natural that only quick-maturing varieties are selected for the purpose.

[i.e., early red dura. —Analyst]

21: Mutwakil U-5 (1946) 1947 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

243 for the purpose. These are generally the lighter *lwalli* sub-varieties (e.g., *nyalwalding* and *nyanbar*).

Angul is generally sown in the middle of September, Being a *lwalli* sub-variety it matures in 90-100 days, and is therefore harvested in the second half of December.

General

1. I have not heard of the name *lwalli* being applied to maize, but maize may be, and in fact is, very rarely sown as *angul*. The yields obtained from such a crop are usually poor.

2. It may be of interest to note that *jak* or *agono*, is the most flood-resistant dura variety in this area. It tolerated continuous water-logging for more than 40 days in the 1946 rain season.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

but unfortunately for him, grass and weeds have a way of pushing up along with the grain and so, several times during the growing season he is forced to go out to his plantation and put in a day's weeding. If he is unduly industrious, he will plant beans, marrows, or pumpkins amongst the millet, and may even clear another patch and grow some maize; yet these are luxury crops—asparagus and strawberries, as it were—growing more quickly than millet and serving to fill up the lean time between the finishing up of one year's crop and the harvesting of the next.

The first month or so of the rainy season is a time of great anxiety as to whether the rains will be sufficient to sustain the growing crops. Sometimes the planting operation is attended with disappointments; a prolonged drought sets in and the young plants wither and die. A torrential downpour gives the husbandman new hope and out he goes to plant again, but this time one storm of rain after another washes the young shoots out of the ground. A third time he plants, and this time the fates are kind; the seed takes firm root and with constant and not too violent rain flourishes and gives promise of a good harvest; however by this time it is mid-July or even later, so that the crop will be late in ripening and he will be hungry before he can harvest it. The first crop to be planted is red millet which grows and matures more quickly than the second variety, the white millet. If conditions are favourable the original sowing is firmly established by the end of July, and he proceeds to the planting of the second variety. This is more hardy when growing and more resistant in store to the depredations of ants and weevils, but it is ravaged by the myriad flocks of weaver birds which descend upon the ripening fields and by the animals of the forest which gorge upon the crops to such an extent that sometimes they kill themselves by going to drink immediately after filling their stomachs with the unripe grain.

The plants which survive the attacks of flood and drought, of insect, bird and beast grow to a height of eight to ten feet with stalks half an inch thick supporting the heavy oval-shaped heads of grain. The red millet is ready for harvest

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [443]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

241 The Shulla has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

[221] All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river
[249] bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as
[245] there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shulla has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our garden or at the government stations.

The Shulla plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a deleib palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole
[412] which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shulla begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does.
[412] His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[221] All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water [249] jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as [245] there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shulla has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our garden or at the government stations.

The Shulla plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a deleib palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole [412] which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shulla begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. [412] His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an
123 itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Detwok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Pabiu has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary
[164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-
[249] call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native
[276] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within. 243 When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village, where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and free from ants. [237] [251]

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so. A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also made. 252

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prizes his flocks and herds above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers. His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have the hump on the wethers. 233

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439
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462
512

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

262
[252]

FOOD

The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kwen)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

[412]
[372]

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Massai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

[231]

[171]

264

Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

273

BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable, the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good. 241

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16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes. 462 512 [356]

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours. [273] [264]

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk. [241]

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord! [252 264 593]

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night. 512 233 857

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [825] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound [252] of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263]
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262]
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853]
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283]
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231]
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857]
under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Photo: Fr. F. Spokendor

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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731/797 they might as well go home again. And go home many of them did, regardless of the fact that whilst at the mission they would get some sort of a daily ration, there would be nothing for them at the parental board, not even a welcome.

Those who remained got a little extra in consequence of the defection of their fellows, and in order to supplement their slim diet still more I divided the school into two and on alternate days sent one half to fish for the benefit of everybody whilst the other half had class, and bought a bull each week to provide them with a couple of meat meals.

And so we struggled on from month to month until in June the importation of beans from Egypt eased matters considerably, and eventually with the arrival of the new crops in mid-September the crisis was passed.

731 The unfortunate people outside the mission did not fare so well. True, periodic allotments of grain were made at various central villages that boasted a shop or two, but it was impossible to devise an equitable system of rationing, and since many people were several miles from these centres, the possession of money did not guarantee that there would be grain left by the time they had tramped the hot and dusty road to the shop. For the most part they subsisted on roots [261] and grass and occasionally a decent catch of fish would enable them to forget their misery for a time.

We heard of many instances of suffering and endurance during these dreadful months; how a young mother alone in a hut with her newly-born baby, in trying to lift herself up to reach for a drink of water fell on the infant and killed it; how a woman in search of food walked from Detwok through the Shilluk country to Kaka some fifty miles to the north, there crossed the river and continued her quest among the equally stricken Dinka tribe, and making a huge semi-circle through rough country, eventually recrossed the Nile opposite Detwok and came home empty-handed, having covered about 150 miles on foot.

731/797 One morning when I was going across to the school I saw two little children in the Sisters' compound trying to pick out the few grains of millet seed that had fallen into the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 825 son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness." [1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearth-stone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 773 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

114 177 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 561 881

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, 883
e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred
in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304
on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses
above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262
which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833
dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853]
though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past [888]
the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk
them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857]
he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, [231]
or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 593
but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264
and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple
do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415]
over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house

462 and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating

512 the fields.

FOOD

262 The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kuga)*, roasted,

[252] brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out,

[412] or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a

[372] large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it.

[231] They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted;

[171] they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

273 A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262

kwɔ́n a kind of dura-bread or mush.

àkʋ̀ʋ́ a food of dura.

àpʋ̀ʋ́ a food of dura.

àríyʋ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

àdʋ̀ʋ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́r a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.

mʋ́kʋ̀ʋ̀ti a common dura-food.

ótèt a food of dura, dainty.
mɔ́ké ńɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ a food of dura.
àńɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ cooked dura.
àbɔ́ɔ̀ green roasted dura.
ònɔ̀ɔ̀ dura roasted, then soaked and mashed.
àwɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ dough.
mɔ̀ńàbɔ́r a dura-food

ɡɔ̀bɔ̀ dura, soaked, and then kept till it sprouts; for making beer. 262
àɡɔ̀bɔ́bɔ̀ beer before it is strained.
mɔ́ɔ́ beer.
mɔ́ń àtɔ̀ńɔ̀ strained beer.
ɔ́ɔ́wɔ̀ a kind of beer.

6. The seasons of the year.

yéy jɔ̀rìá about September, harvest of red dura.
ɔ́ńwɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ about October; end of the harvest, people are waiting for the white dura to ripen.
ɔ́ɔ́wɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ about November — December; harvest of white dura begins.
wɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ December — January. Harvest of white dura continues.

ɔ́ɔ́ hot season, January—February } no field work
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ń about March } no field work
ɔ́ɔ́kɔ̀ɔ̀ about April, "mouth of rain", beginning of the rains.
ɔ́ɔ́wɔ́r about May—July, time for planting red dura.
ɔ̀ɔ̀rìá about July—September, beginning of harvest.

805 221

7. The months.

1. *ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ̀ɔ̀ (wɔɔ)* about September.
2. *kɔ̀n ɡàk*
3. *ńyɔ́ɔ́*
4. *kɔ́l*
5. *akɔ́ɔ́k, akɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́ń*
6. *akɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̀ɔ̀*
7. *ádɔ́ɔ́ń*
8. *àlɔ̀ɔ̀r*
9. *àkɔ́l dìt*
10. *bɔ́l dɔ́ɔ́ń*
11. *bɔ́l ɔ̀ɔ̀*
12. *lɔ́l.*

805

8. The day-times.

wɔ́ɔ́ à ríwɔ̀ the first morning-twilight becomes visible.
bɔ́r morning dawn
mɔ́ɔ́l, mɔ́l morning;
fɔ́ń fa mɔ́ɔ́l "the earth is morning"; it is morning.
dì chàń noon.
chàń yà màl the sun is in the zenith.

chɔ́ń a kɔ̀ɔ̀kì the sun begins to sink, after noon.
bɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ afternoon;
fɔ́ń fa b. it is afternoon.
a dìkì wɔ́ɔ́ the sun is setting.
wɔ́ń ɔ́ɔ́ɔ̀ the sun has set.
fɔ́ń fa wɔ́r it is night;
kì wɔ́r at night, midnight.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently
addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and
sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
776 sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
782 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the
ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in
a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the
water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the
sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
[425] go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased.
The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is
made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as
the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach
and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is
cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the
deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with
a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in
the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
[262] to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the
sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man
of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are
carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the
bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined
by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given
as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we
thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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142
136
262
291
301

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kenally

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii
frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263] if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262] the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853] milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283] weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231] scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857] under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance. 512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
776

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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* 797 advantage of the superiority that the mission education
159 gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

* 797 To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little
185 or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women,
[759] the Sisters ('*Thwore*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suore*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place
872 where his children could learn to read and write, but rather
* 797 a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring
857 could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to
● [262] them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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dusty nakedness; the good red blankets to protect them from the cold at night; the two solid meals a day in which oil and salt were always to be found, and frequently meat and groundnuts as well, and the joys and thrills of football. For these and other blessings the Shilluk boy was quite willing to put up with the nuisance of having to sit in a classroom for a few hours each morning, with the grind of gozintas and the making of ridiculous marks on a slate. After all, he needn't learn these things if he didn't want to; when the novelty of the place wore off, and even the delights of football began to cloy, he could always run away and return to the freedom of the pampas and the cattle camp, and if he had any luck he might be able to get away with his cloth and his blanket too. And, by heaven, they did run away, with a regularity that became monotonous. I suppose that during the first couple of years, for every boy who found learning to his liking and settled down to make it his career, ten tired after a month or two and returned to the less exacting life of the kraal and the cattle camp.

797* 872 857 [262]

Sometimes it would suddenly dawn on a Shilluk parent that he hadn't seen his son and heir about the place for the past week or two, and that his herd was either tended by a substitute, or else running wild to the detriment of his neighbours' corn fields, and with a baleful light in his eye and a willowy stick in his hand, he would make a bee-line for the mission. Or perhaps he would be returning from the river and would stand stock still and rub his eyes in astonished incredulity on beholding the vision of the apple of his eye clad in spotless white, his face shining with soap and his soul with virtue, among the alumni of Detwok Academy. Disturbed in whatever I was doing by the ear-piercing shrieks that one usually associates with pig killing, I would rush to the spot. But the result was always the same; the white badge of scholarship would be whipped off the boy and flung indignantly in my direction; the erring youth, after dodging round a few obstacles to avoid the shrewd cuts of the ashplant, would break for the open and hare it in the general direction of French Equatorial Africa, his irate dad

797* 872

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304 on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262 which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833 dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853] though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past [888] the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857] he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, [231] or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 543 but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264 and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415] over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house
462 and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating
512 the fields.

FOOD

262 The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kwen)*, roasted,
[252] brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102.
Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The
dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out,
[442] or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a
large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from
[372] districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick
on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it.
[231] They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted;
[171] they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Massai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

273 A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking meriss or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara *Khama*: خامة, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263] if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262] the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853] milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283] weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231] scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857] under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised. 766 [178]

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies. [535] [782] [264]

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but 535 766 [533] [533]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that 604
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 951
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' [844]
house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take [273]
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dok nam, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diak nam, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam nam, spears and other goods.

The *dok nam* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 190 et seq.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

FOOD The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kegn)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

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Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty' [273] and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no [778] one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.30 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying 643 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle [534 of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was 778 not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 to the mound of Fashoda, which is called Aturwic, and with it the shield and spears of Nyikang.

The *reth* was now in seclusion. No one but his most personal attendants might visit him. We were told that he would be stripped, bathed, and clothed in new robes during that afternoon. It was neither seemly nor possible to enquire too deeply into this part of the investiture, for it is conducted in strict secrecy. There is evidence that this ritual bathing takes place within the temporary camp Adul, because the smaller of the two huts is known as the "bathing room." Shilluk say that the *reth* is bathed alternately with hot and cold water, so that he shall not be subjected to extremes of temperature. It is a symbolic rite emphasizing his people's desire that he shall rule them with even temper throughout his reign. The fact is mentioned by [114] Munro in his account of Fafiti's installation (Note 18), and informants confirmed the tradition at the installation of *reth* Anei.

During the heat of the day the main crowds dispersed to their homes, but there were still large numbers of Shilluk sitting in and around Fashoda that evening. Most of these were relatives and friends of the inhabitants of the capital, who provided them with [273] refreshment, since the ban on drinking beer was lifted after the *reth's* retirement. The Ororo and attendants of the *reth* were putting up wind-screens round the *reth's* camp, under which they would sleep [669] that night to guard him from possible attack. The danger to the *reth's* life was not yet over, a fact which repeatedly appeared from the care and attention of his guardians. The Shilluk describe this period of the ceremonies as "the *reth's* camp *outside* Fashoda", and it was evident that he had not, in the eyes of the Shilluk, entered his capital. His final acceptance by Nyikang and by the Shilluk people still remained in doubt, though one of the most dangerous periods of his initiation from election to final installation had been successfully passed.

The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

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BOATS

501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

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POTTERY

323 [462] [415] [276 531] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of *curing consists*
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in
438 fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ngawo*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

The same evening, outside the shaine of Nyikang some of the
Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual 643
decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of 783
Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom [372] cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim them blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine [688] for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang.

The Making of New Fire at Fashoda.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather 643
near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of 372
fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire- 643
making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added 643
and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty [787]
had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting [376]
nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Analyst]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an
123 itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Detwok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Pabiu has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary
[164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-
[249] call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native
[276] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [825] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
● [276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only [454]
one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

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BOATS

501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

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Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying 133
grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently
breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away
the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since
nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inun-
dations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile
the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly
with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, 361
Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river,
at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood.
Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing [491]
from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the
Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles
inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places 312
the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-
covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under
conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a dis-
count, and social or parochial calls present their own
problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source
of water for most villages, even those situated miles away
from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common [512]
sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission
at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five [482]
miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back
balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot [512]
reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will
have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning
meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two
days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthen-
ware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than
five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through [281]

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FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[522] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

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[482]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *fom* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *fom* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wettening these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

323 POTTERY Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

[462] [415] [276 531]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Titrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house. 342 [565]

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house. [462]

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick. [322] 283 342

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner 342

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This [173] embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[12] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 324 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[132] 12. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263]
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262]
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853]
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283]
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231]
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857]
under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29;Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his food he must farm the land, and although his methods of husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net, harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [824]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824]
[283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
[411] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *ligo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 643 778 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 778 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, [533] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing [535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover- [415 285] ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular [533 539] song was :—

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his [755] forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

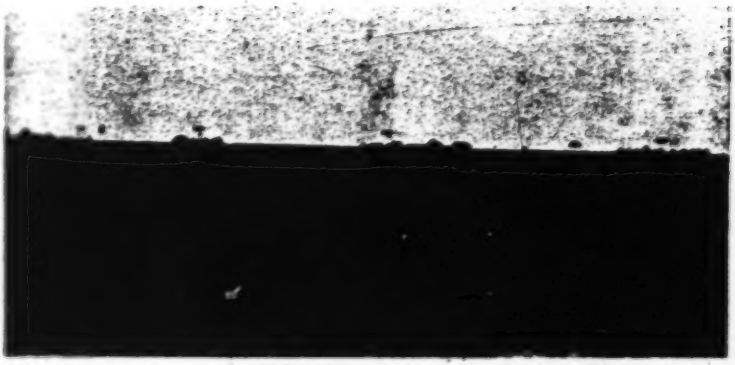
2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Plate IV

142
291

Contrasting types of Shilluk

361



Shilluk villages from Nile

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

(1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom
606 in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among
[291] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of
606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that
835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term
606 *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as
607 *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father
607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PLATE IX

778
346
231

Duts-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

778
346
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291
415

Fenikang, shrine to Deng

[Also p. 88

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 . FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

[Facing p. xxiv]

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291

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the elder women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

[301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms

A Shilluk Warrior with two spears and a club; below knee strips of sheepskin. Note the tattoings on the breast

[Facing p. lvii]

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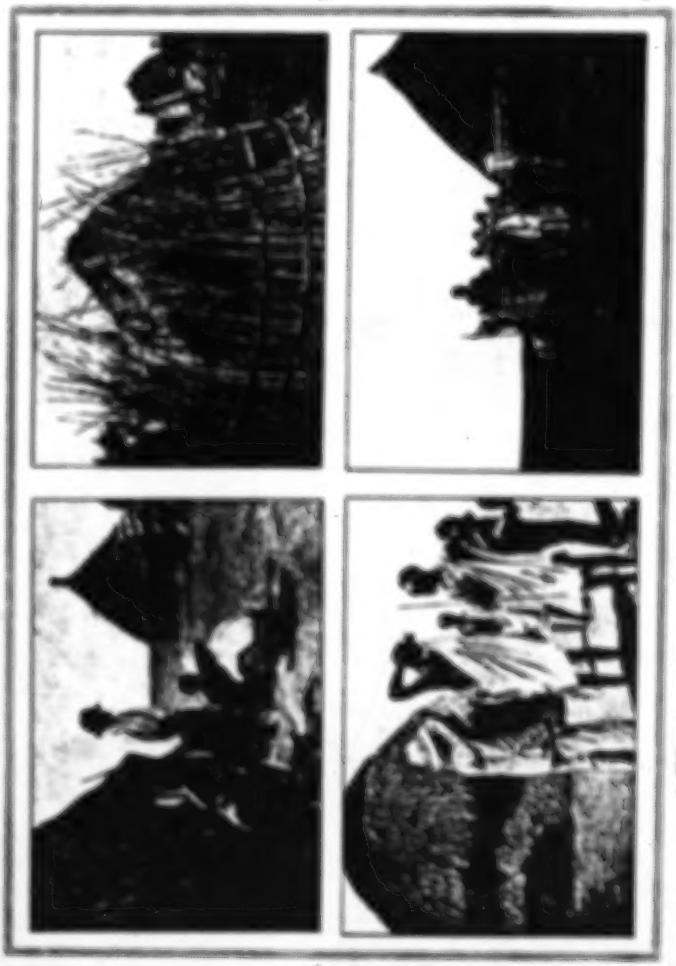
3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323



1. Village scene
2. "House of Wyborg"
3. A typical group of Shilluks; Indian servant with white, at the left a Shilluk dog
4. A Shilluk girl

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778
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516

[Facing p. 42]

463

bʒʒe ádʒʒí who beats the small drum "*ádʒʒí*".
bʒʒe ɣʒʒ ki ʃí who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bʒʒe tuɔ́ɔ́k who cups.
bʒʒe ádí ki wʒí who dresses the horn of cattle.
bʒʒe rʒɔ́k who castrates bulls.
bʒʒe ʒʒ́r who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
bʒʒe kuɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ wʒ́r the leader in singing.
bʒʒe kɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ ki ɣʒʒ́ who makes the dancing-sticks.
bʒʒe tapí kuɣu who makes chairs.
bʒʒe ʒʒ́ʒ́ who makes the neck supports or rests.
bʒʒe kɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ kuʒ́l who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bʒʒe tuoy kʒ́l ɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bʒʒe tapí ki ɣʒʒ́e dʒʒ́r who makes mat-doors.
bʒʒe ɔ́ɔ́uɣy ki kʒ́ɣʒ́ net-maker.
bʒʒe ɔ́ɔ́uɣy ki ʒʒ́ɣʒ́ door-maker.
bʒʒe ɔ́ɔ́uɣá ki ɣʒ́ɔ́n salt-maker.
bʒʒe ʒʒ́ɔ́ʒ́ ʒʒ́ɔ́n maker of iron bracelets.
bʒʒe ʒʒ́ɔ́ʒ́ kʒ́r one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bʒʒe kuɣu ɣʒʒ́e wʒ́r who makes the foundations of huts.
bʒʒe wɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ diver.
bʒʒe dʒʒ́r ki ɣʒ́r hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
bʒʒe wʒ́r hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
bʒʒe wʒ́ɔ́ʒ́ ʒʒ́r hippo-hunteman.
ɣʒʒ́ɣ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
413

dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ hammer.
kʒ́ʒ́ʒ́ anvil.
ɔ́ɣʒ́ʒ́l file.
dʒʒ́ʒ́ bellows.
ɔ́ɔ́r a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
dʒʒ́ʒ́ʒ́ tongs.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ chisel.
ʒʒ́rʒ́ an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291
301

ɔ́ɔ́u skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
ɔ́ɔ́ɣʒ́ɔ́ʒ́ loin-cloth for women.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ʒ́ front-cloth for women.
dʒʒ́ skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

yĕr skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the wrist.
dyŭnŭ ear-rings of tin.
pwŭlŭ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, foot.
pwŭle yŭ ear-ring.
yŭl bracelet for the wrist.
yŭl knee-ring of skin.
dyŭlŭ brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
yyŭlŭ ivory ring
ŭkŭl ivory ring.
ŭŭ ivory ring carved in conical form.
ŭŭŭl ivory ring, a small strip.
ŭŭnŭ ivory ring, big.
ŭŭ knee-bells, used in dancing.
dŭnŭ a small bell.
dŭŭŭn bell, similar to *ŭŭ*.
ŭŭŭŭ dancing-bell
ŭŭ cow-bell, used in dancing.
ŭŭŭ small cow-bell.
ŭŭ, ŭŭŭ a common name for beads.
ŭŭŭŭ blue beads, worn by women.
ŭŭ ostrich shell beads.
ŭŭ big beads, worn on the neck by men.
ŭŭ ŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭ a kind of small beads.
ŭŭ green beads, round, small.
ŭŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭŭ a kind of beads.
ŭŭŭŭ white beads.
ŭŭŭŭ black beads.
ŭŭ ŭŭŭŭ blue beads.
ŭŭ red beads.
ŭŭŭŭ yellow beads.
ŭŭ ŭŭŭ "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
ŭŭŭ cowry shell.
ŭŭŭŭ a string for tying together clothes.
ŭŭ a kind of bottom worn in the hair.
ŭŭŭ brown giraffe-tail hairs.
ŭŭŭ white giraffe-tail hairs.
ŭŭŭ tooth-brush.
ŭŭŭ a head-dress.
ŭŭŭŭ a head-dress.
ŭŭ a head-dress.
ŭŭ a head-dress, "like a shield".
ŭŭŭ a head-dress, "like a shield".
ŭŭŭ bleached hair, long.
ŭŭŭŭŭŭ a chain, worn as ornament.
ŭŭŭŭ rattle, made of leaves of the doleib, tied on leg or loin.
ŭŭŭ } arm-ring of ambach.
ŭŭŭ }
ŭŭ loin-ring.
ŭŭ ŭŭŭ "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ŭŭŭ iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

ŭŭŭ cow; common name. Plural: *ŭŭ* cattle.
ŭŭ bull.
ŭŭŭ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

Other body marks are also made at still and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scarification, tigers, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Anfangsschmuck und Varliche für Fete und Schmuck, so gering die Hosen für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Abgesehen der Mann in Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Kleide in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Longsam begannen nun auch unter diesen Volke, seitdem christlichen Kultur und Religion ins Land gegangen ist, Anzüchen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Häuptlinge der Shilluk von diesen Seite als verschwunden betrachten." (20). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at home as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmayer.(22) Yet the question is that this is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It resembles and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1927. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 30 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress, (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Sudanese. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Col, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Col sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the difference between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [17]

There is also a traditional economy of importance in the Shilluk political organization. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LUO with the king "personally putting this robe over the juge's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homestead in a settlement) may be invested with a LUO "directly (from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 613

[18] "much great attention and predilection has dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " While the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, a sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

281 Invested with a LEK, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief." (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LEK plays a symbolic role in the 631 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters 643 of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

281 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluk, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Refer.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G., & B. Z.(Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 p.40
(2) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk. Jan 1927. p 247.
[6] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tetzlff, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948, p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and queries in anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 1)
(9) Hofmayer A., The Shilluk, Jan 1927, p 9)
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1926, pp. 594/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligman, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p. 438
(12) see above, Table "C" No 4, and A 5, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "
(15) see above , table "C", part in B 3, to use the son of King Fiu, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmayer, A., The Shilluk, Jan 1927, p 244
(19) Ibid, p. 249
(20) Ibid, p. 249
[14] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) noted when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Fetkaar, sent a sourjamgarral lashes in length... on the shoulder -left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder-cloth."
(22) Hofmayer, A., 1927, p 249/248
[m 247] (23) This is the man I have observed the Shilluk who came under the influence of missions or who was converted to Christianity wore European shirts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmayer, A., 1927, p 28
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1952, p. 30
(26) Ibid, p 30
[17] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Nuer of investing the new chief's with a leaf dress.

T.Tucker R-5 (1919-1933) 1933

F223 Shelfmk F223
Bag. F35
M.Hu F38

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

B
S4
S24
S16
Z91
W7

FIG. 1.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 2.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

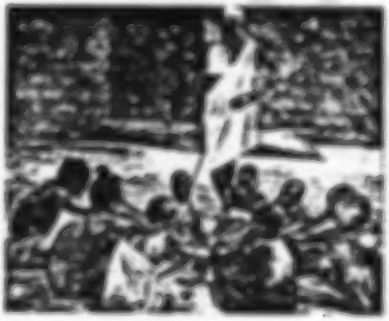

FIG. 3.—[illegible] "[illegible]" (Ashanti).

FIG. 4.—"[illegible]" (Ashanti).

FIG. 5.—"[illegible]" (Benin).

FIG. 6.—"[illegible]."

[illegible]

[illegible] (A)

7.Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Dinka FJ12
Latuko FJ17

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

AD
S
524
516
291
797

FIG. 1.—SHILLUK PLAYING "LION AND HORSE."

FIG. 2.—DINKA PLAYING "LION AND HORSE."

FIG. 3.—"ON HORSE" AMONG THE LATUKO.

FIG. 4.—"THE CHIEFTAIN FIRST OFFENDER" (DINKA).

FIG. 5.—"MEN MAKE THEIR HEAD" (DINKA).

FIG. 6.—"MEN CRACK NUTS" (DINKA).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 167(a)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

F323 Shilluk F323
Azande F07
Lohiko F717
Ila F3N

A
L
J
S
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524
797
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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVII.

FIG. 1.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 2.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 3.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 4.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 5.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

CP. 187(d)

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [59] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 681 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cigâ) "my wife."

683 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his 593 initiation, his father is angry, and says, "Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women?"

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, "Do you have a name?" If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, "Is that his name now?"

428 If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 983 say, "His property is on the ground (junø ya pîl). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukî).

541 People who are of the same age are called (tîpâ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

• 291 The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 681 develop (tîno atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her.

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season.

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox.

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a bgba. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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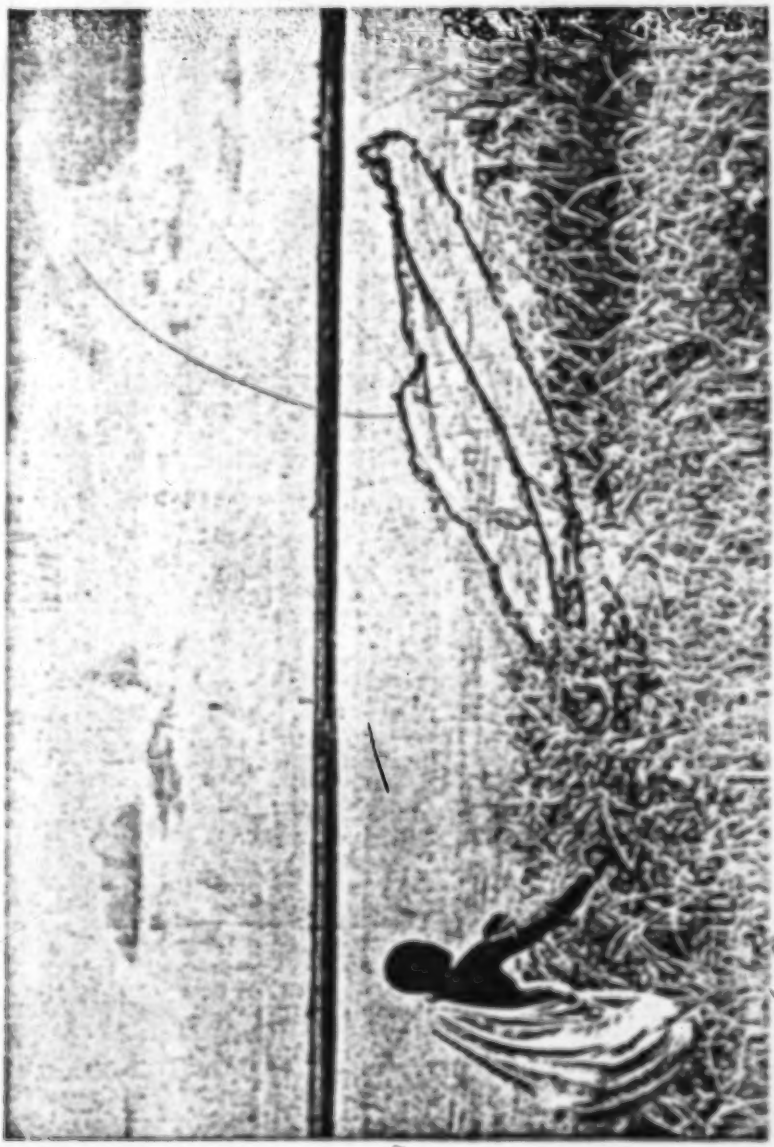

SHILLUK PUMPHREY

[FACING p. viii]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished
[534] work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[281] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and
[411] sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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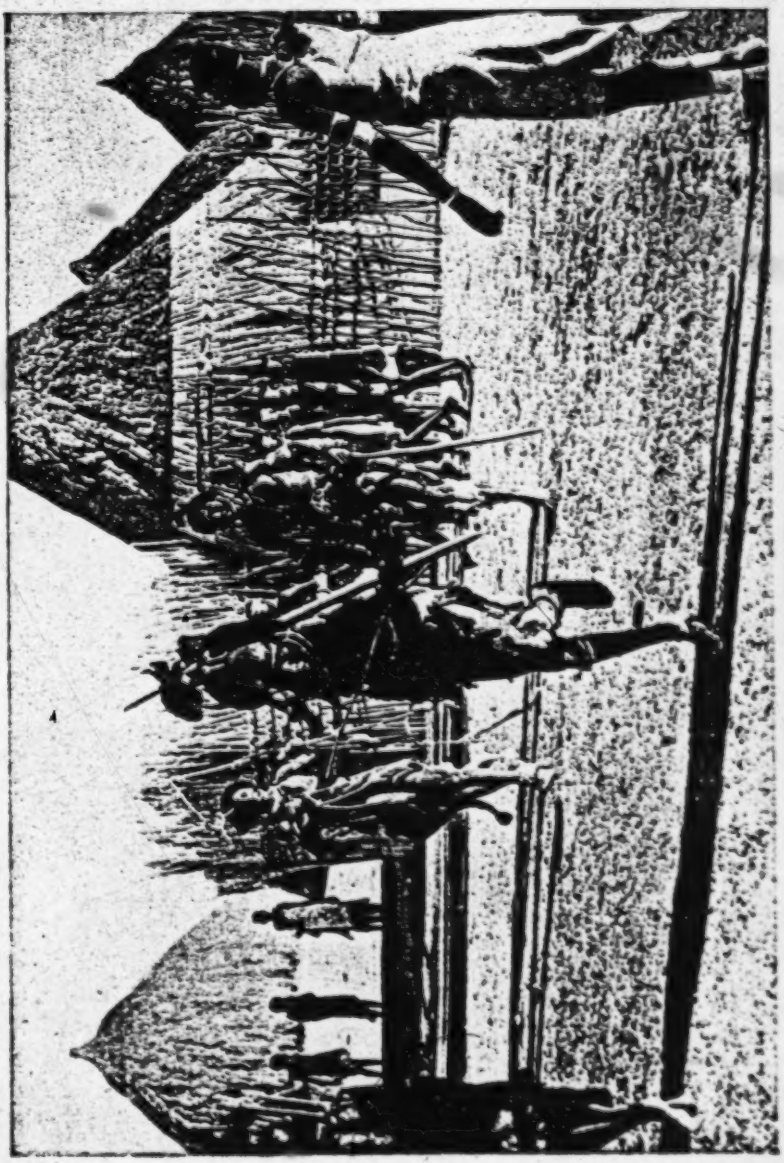

[p. 62 D]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.

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1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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2.—The drums of Fafiti.

There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFIIL
(*Second day*)

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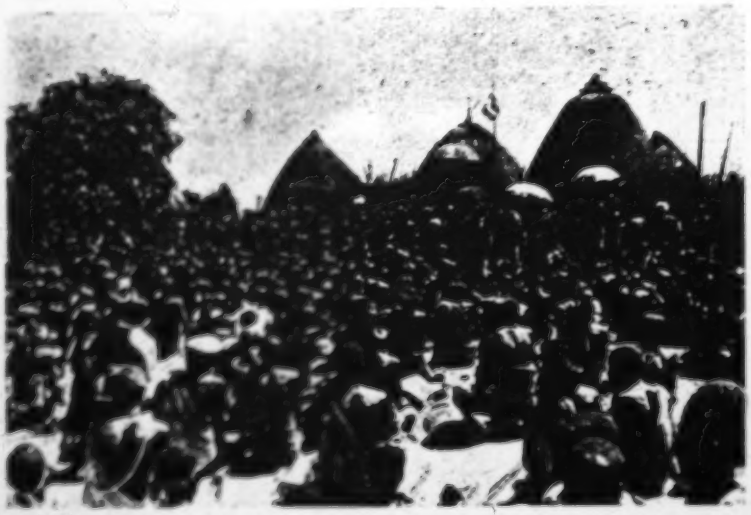
701

3.—A Shillak regiment enters the village of the late *reth*.

766
516



4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late *reth*.

[FACING p. 26]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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643
778

1.—Dak leads, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of *Reik Fulöi*.

[FACING P. 40]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FIRST DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.

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643

1.—DERALO. Just before the march to Fashoda.
The *reth* dressed in white with a dark sash is standing outside his quarters awaiting the gathering of his warriors.

643

2.—ANEREYUK. Casting the black bull over which the *reth* must step before the crowning.

[FACING P. 51]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Speech Day.

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411
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631
644

1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the cult as a sign of homage.

2.—The cult's party below Atwots, with the spears and shield of Tyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING p 70]

766

PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir around the village of Kojo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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915
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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

E.P. 164/(A)

PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

643

Nyikang and Duk advance to meet the Reth's forces.

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643

At Debsio: The Reth Steps over a bull before his departure.

[FACING P. 196]

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482

Opposite Footnote. The *kaw* Nyikwum lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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778

The substitution on the mound. Nyikang has withdrawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the mound underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. H. Dawson

[FACING p. 177]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry stones symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bio, ya bio* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Faliti was taken across in his turur (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Faliti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Faliti, who in accordance with custom was dressed in the ordinary Shilluk lou (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel[11]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

---

[11] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nyo Kwor (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of town).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kolo — a section founded by Okolo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the meal for the Tobi (lunch stones). Another tradition states that Okolo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Dolwin Hill).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

142
156
262
291
301

By courtesy of Fr. Rev. J. P. Crazzolara

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. 111]
[frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [316]
cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 292
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 302
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301]
ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
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[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennedy

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Detwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Easter egg

Chubby girl

Soap-plants, profile

Soap-plants, front view

Photo: Dr. F. Spokowska

Shilluk hair-styles

[facing p. 21]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five "soap-plaits" in different stages of growth

Photo: D. F. Spencer

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: R. C. Sabonis

A dredge that means a bridge. Shilluk women are off for the Nile to fetch water. From Denwak—a mile each way

[facing p. 53]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding
[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: D. F. Quinnelier

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p. 55]

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shillok FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spiteuler

Sisters' Convent, Detwok. Sister gives catechism class

[Facing p. 16]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: [illegible]

Nurse Indemaurieu gives an injection at Derwok

[facing p.117]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The 461 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too *797 early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[291 *hawet* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *hawet* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kwgo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alwdi*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
239] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alwdi*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1911 we were much struck with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
783 time (1911) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadien—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[569] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
643] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants, as well as the village beasts.

young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hang over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[291]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Gibbs in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and anklets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not brass, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the older women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin above the waist.]

[309]

● 302 [535] [301]

When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

9:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

●292 535 301 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face, arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

[303]

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

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15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722] in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. [558] In the few cases that I have known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wîn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajõño" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished. It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [212] of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village. Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and [173] the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [237] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[14] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 324 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 252 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[132] 14. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwe reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and oib by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lew*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301-302] [1.43] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 643 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang were the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Goi Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 643 242

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue. 643 644

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang. Like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

232 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dinka. They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
181 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending
361 from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[289] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well 461
make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of 535
anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of 535
a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a 881
mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of [302] Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he [292] wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a [237] coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging [301]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have become dominant in powerful settlements in the country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

Without the collective participation of the halves of the country the investiture of a king, which takes place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans are responsible for performing various parts of the

ceremonial and for providing the various objects required in its enactment: silver and cloth from the Arabs of the north (presumably obtained by raiding in the old days), ostrich feathers for the effigies of Nyikang and his son, skins of the rare Mrs Gray antelope from Fanyikang island for the ceremonial robes of the king and the other more important participants in the ceremony, sacred spears, royal drums, fibre of the dom palm for ceremonial robes, cowrie shells, new huts, beasts for sacrifice, and so forth.

I will recount briefly the chief phases by which the kingship envelops the king-elect. The effigy of Nyikang, which is kept in the principal of his provincial shrines, at Akurwa in the most northerly district of Shillukland, is brought out by his priests, to whom the king-elect has to make considerable gifts for their service in this matter, and together with the effigy of his son Dak is taken to beat the northern bounds of the kingdom and then southwards, supported by an army of the north, to fight the king-elect for possession of the capital. As the effigies pass through each district the people gather to pay their respects to Nyikang and to escort him to the next district, for it appears that during the interregnum the effigy is believed to contain the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *dak* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it wandered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the *khor* to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pamsiri class remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FADITI YOR.

Reth Faditi Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medicine assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not so simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an intestinal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

Piny Juggu—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceases to be."

The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* Faditi. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Faditi on his deathbed expressed

19: Howell & Thomson K, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
F223 Shillak F223

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The Dawns Day or the Sacrament.
Sylkany and Deb go up into the mount Ararwis to make peace with the sun.

993
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The Forty Day : Greater Day.
The sun comes down from Ararwis.
He is wound from the left and dressed in a Mtu Gray antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

[PACINF p.68]

their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reik* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 13th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reik* was confirmed as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Akurwa, and all the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwow* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwow*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a bowl, the property of the Kwa Wang who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lance-bearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wang.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwow* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Akurwa there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reik* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reik* was led down the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver armlet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Atorwin. A big white bull was then brought by the Ocuro and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [248]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bar Nyilim, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognise you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1955 F323 Shilluk F323

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang was arrayed and helmed, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Ampejar. The *kwa* Nyikwam, armed with whips, then dashed forward and these armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwam lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwow*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adal* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for operating it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.**

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adal*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

* From the *kwa* Nyikwar of Limo.

** In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adal*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akur, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ukolo. Nyikang was apparently enraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realized that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwalo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*ago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 F323 Shillak F323

Then Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people left in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Dinger where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Col,[a] was with them. Col was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *lues* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, ringing the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[b] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Miles walks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Atharwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummers then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Atharwic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Atharwic* surrounded by the *ocoro* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[a] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
[411] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[439] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5' (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

142
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Easter egg

Cherry pie

Soup-plate, profile

Soup-plate, front view

Photo: Fr. F. Spokanka

Shilluk hair-styles

[facing p. 21]

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine Attendants as well as the village beasts,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513] [237] [301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

302 301 young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS [461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the elder women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh. [301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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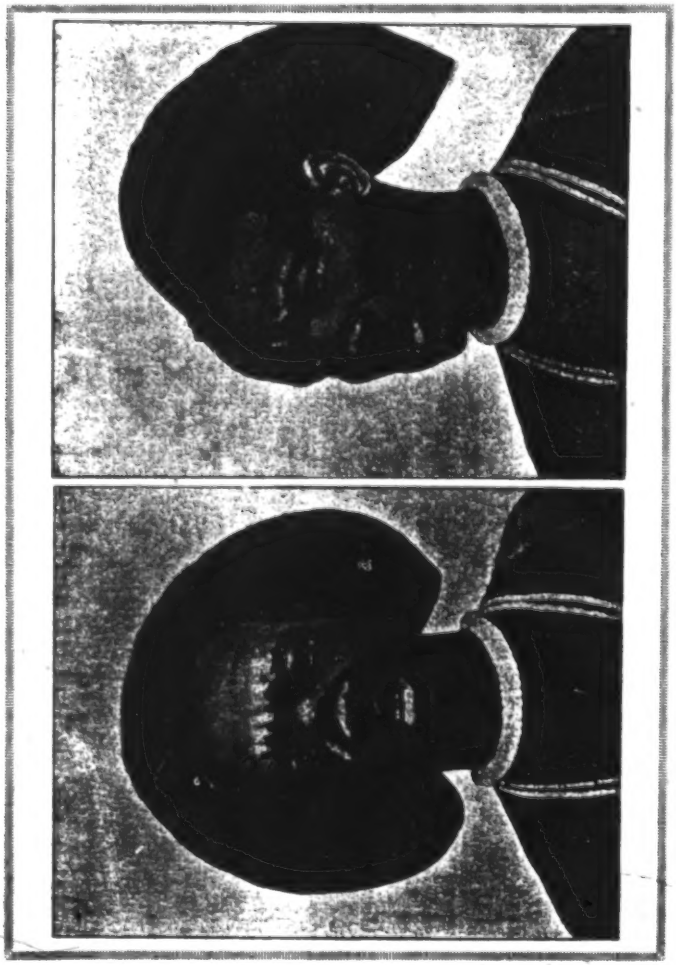

A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

[facing p. xxxii]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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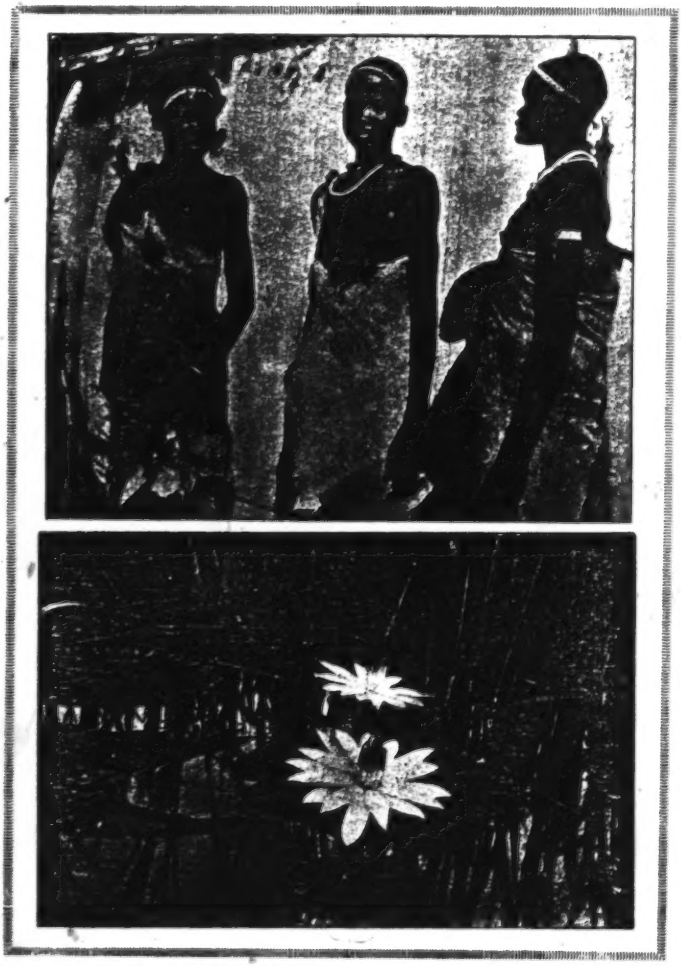

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

bōṯe ńálẹ́ṅ who beats the small drum "*ńálẹ́ṅ*".

463 *bōṯe gẹ́ṭ ki jè* who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.

bōṯe twéch who cups.

bōṯe ńát ki wọṯ who dresses the horn of cattle.

bōṯe rọ́ch who castrates bulls.

bōṯe ńẹ́r who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.

bōṯe kwụ̂ńọ̀ wụ́r the leader in singing.

bōṯe kúdọ̀ ki ḍáṅ who makes the dancing-sticks.

bōṯe tegṅ kwọm who makes chairs.

bōṯe ṭáṇì who makes the neck supports or rests.

bōṯe káké lwọ́l who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.

bōṯe twoy kụ̂l lùkọ̀ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.

bōṯe tegṅ ki ḍọke dọ̄t who makes mat-doors.

bōṯe shwọy ki bọ̄yì net-maker.

bōṯe shwọy ki ṭìgọ̀ door-maker.

bōṯe shwọṅ ki dybm salt-maker.

bōṯe tọ́kè ṭéàu maker of iron bracelets.

bōṯe fìèḍọ̀ lụ̂ṭ one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.

bōṯe kygre tygle wọt who makes the foundations of huts.

bōṯe wụ́ńọ̀ diver.

bōṯe dọ́k ki yei hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.

bōṯe mēt hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.

bōṯe nẹ́kè fàrọ̀ hippo-huntsman.

oyjnọ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326 413

ábáń hammer.

kíkịt anvil.

tọ́yụ̀jì file.

óbụ̀k bellows.

chụ̂r a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.

dụ̀kụ̂bị thongs.

tụ́ọ̀ń chisel.

tọ́rẹ́k an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291 301

lụ̂u skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.

óchyḭnọ̀ loin-cloth for women.

obáṅọ̀ front-cloth for women.

dụ̀t skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

yḷr skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyṵ́mò ear-rings of tin.
gwḕlọ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, feet.
gwọle yiḷ ear-ring.
yiél bracelet for the wrist.
gḷk knee-ring of skin.
ógḷ̀nò brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
gyẹlọ ivory ring
achóḷ ivory ring.
wḷ̀ḷ ivory ring carved in conical form.
owḷ̀dḷ̀ ivory ring, a small strip.
órḷ́mò ivory ring, big.
orọk knee-bells, used in dancing.
ótyaṅ a small bell.
átútúm bell, similar to *orọk*.
òlóèlóé dancing-bell
òkḷ̀t cow-bell, used in dancing.
agyẹr small cow-bell.
ḹẹgo, teẹgọ a common name for beads.
amanjúr blue beads, worn by women.
rḕk ostrich shell beads.
gór big beads, worn on the neck by men.
bọl ḹẹnọ a kind of beads.
tḷ́dḷ̀ a kind of small beads.
yèlḷ̀ green beads, round, small.
àbàḹṅrò a kind of beads.
óṅyḕṅ a kind of beads.
dèṅ a kind of beads.
bàkó a kind of beads.
ádémḷ̀t a kind of beads.
aḷ́ék a kind of beads.
ápíù a kind of beads.
óbọ́ù white beads.
tḷ́tḷ́ṅ black beads.
kḕn ówḷ̀dḷ̀ blue beads.
ɣèrò red beads.
ádwọ̀gò yellow beads.
wáṅ ágàk "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
gāgọ cowry shell.
tḷ̀mỵ̄ḷ̀gò a string for tying together clothes.
gaṅ a kind of button worn in the hair.
wḕnò brown giraffe-tail hairs.
óchḕrḷ̀ white giraffe-tail hairs.
achḷ́t tooth-brush.
dwọ́p a head-dress.
óchóch a head-dress.
dḕm a head-dress.
mèt a head-dress, "like a shield".
agérò a head-dress, "like a shield".
nwọr bleached hair, long.
áshíshwèl a chain, worn as ornament.
gáṅkù rattle, made of leaves of the deleib, tied on leg or loin.
ógḷ̀nò / *adḕrò* } arm-ring of ambach.
wḷ̀l loin-ring.
shyl gwọk "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ṅwaṅ iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

ḷeàṅ cow; common name. Plural: *ḷọk* cattle.
wọ́ḷ bull.
rḕjọ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

*539 *gyɛlǫ. Ka riɩ e wɛ̀rò, ka nǫ̂k kǫ̂l gɛ̨ gîr, ka ḍǫk chōl ga pyār aṅwɛn, kí jɛ̀ gá pyārǫ; riɩ kɛ̨ch; a dwǫk chwak, a chike chōl ké ḍǫ̀k, kí jɛ̀, a kōbi riɩ kine: wei bɛ̄dɛ, tūṅà yè kɛ́r.*

173 The eldest son of a king whose name was Alǫki, was brought to be elected king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were *539 going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, wich he called Pwot ("beaten"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I [643 don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out ●301] of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

*539 *Jal mɛ̨kǫ Akūṅò Bàkò, ka e bɛ̨nǫ, chama riɩ, e chyɛ̨k, ka Chǫlǫ yɛ̄i, mɛn an ka lɛ̨da riɩ anan; wa yɛ̄i ki ɛn. Ka jal mɛ̨kǫ kyɛ̨dǫ: ɛ̄, fate riɩ! A rāp āṅǫ? A chyɛ̨ki nau, yā kyɛ̨t! Ka jal ɛni e bɛ̨nǫ, ka pɛ̨ka tūṅ yǭ, bɛ̨ lɛ̨pe gòn. Ká gò lɛ̨pɛ́, ka Akúṅò Bàkò bɛ̨nò, ka e buɛgo, ka e rɛn. Ka jal ɛni ko: yi rɛna kɛ́n? Ma yi kōba yin, che yina riɩ? yi chyɛ̨te ṅǫ kɛ̨te? Ka tɛ̨rǫ ko: ā, wa chɛ́n ɛ̀nà yi ḍāpe nau? Ka Akúṅò-Bàkò e bɛ̨nǫ, ka tɛ̨ṅa fān, ka ye yíyí. Tɛ̨rǫ kudi yau. Gɛ̨y ṭōm! Tɛ̨rǫ kudi yau. Ka jāɛ̨ǫ kōbǫ: gɛ̨ṅe wunǫ! Ka wunǫ gɛ̨ṅ yan ṭɛ̨nǫ. Ká é rɛ́ṅò, ka Chǫlǫ ṅɛ̨ṭǫ: á, fate riɩ! Ka Chǫlǫ ko: nɛ̨k! Ka tɛ̨ṅa yinǫ, a pɛr.*

173 A man whose name was Akūnyo Bàko, came and wanted to become king. He was a short man. The Shilluks consented, "This man shall be king now, we *539 are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, Akūnyo Bàko came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

[1] Formerly only the king was authorised to wear ivory bracelets.

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōno" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [212]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul*
[534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting
[411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.

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766

1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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766
342

2.—The drums of Fafiti.

There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwa reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and cob by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lau*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301 302] [292] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 643 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 643 292

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue. 643 644

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang; like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life. 643

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there. 114 778 775 824

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocoro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.* 301

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up. 643

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1948. 114 643 644

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of 643 644 778

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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136
262
291
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By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennelly

Shilluk with baby crocodile
(delicacy esteemed by all Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka)

[facing p. iii]
[frontispiece]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [386]
cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil-smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 832
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 302
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301]
ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well 461
make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of 535
anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of 535
a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a 881
mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered [302]
with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of [292]
Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he [237]
wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a [301]
coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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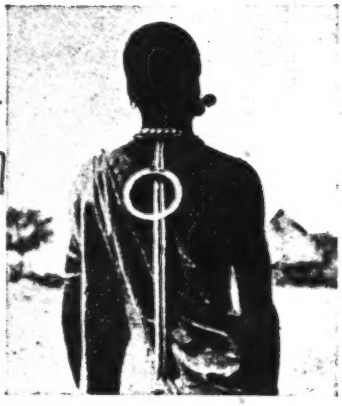

A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photos: Fr. F. Spokauskas

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 During this time also active preparations are on foot for the 796 ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, [326] ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of [301] bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the conni- [237] vance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation [326] ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 There is great activity during this period of preparation 796 in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own 778 sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king dis- 775 appeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers 796 are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march 778 to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by [614] members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all. 578 628

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out. 578 628 535 302 301

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that 578 628

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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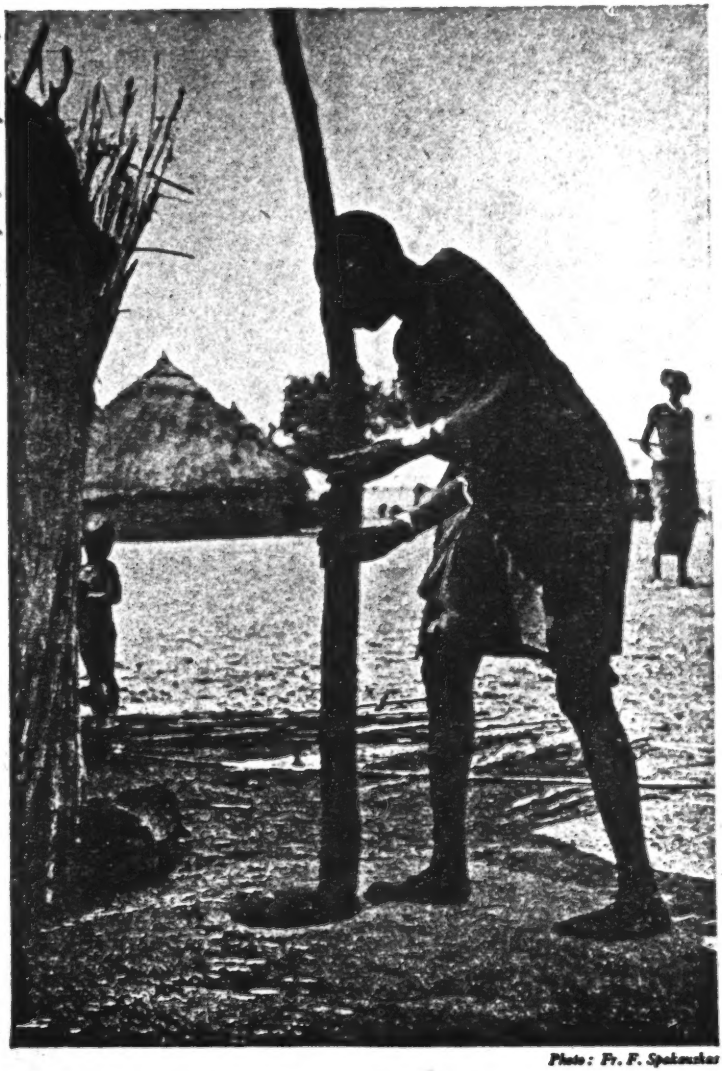

Photo: Fr. F. Spokauskas

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokanskas

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p.85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [527] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these [628] communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances: There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [833 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

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Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [481]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the theeth

304 [753]

[1] five feet ten inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the lockers; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron stamper in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyebrows. — They do not circumcise.

●302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyebrows sometimes give the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, flanked with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513]

[237]

[B01]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

301 young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the older women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

[301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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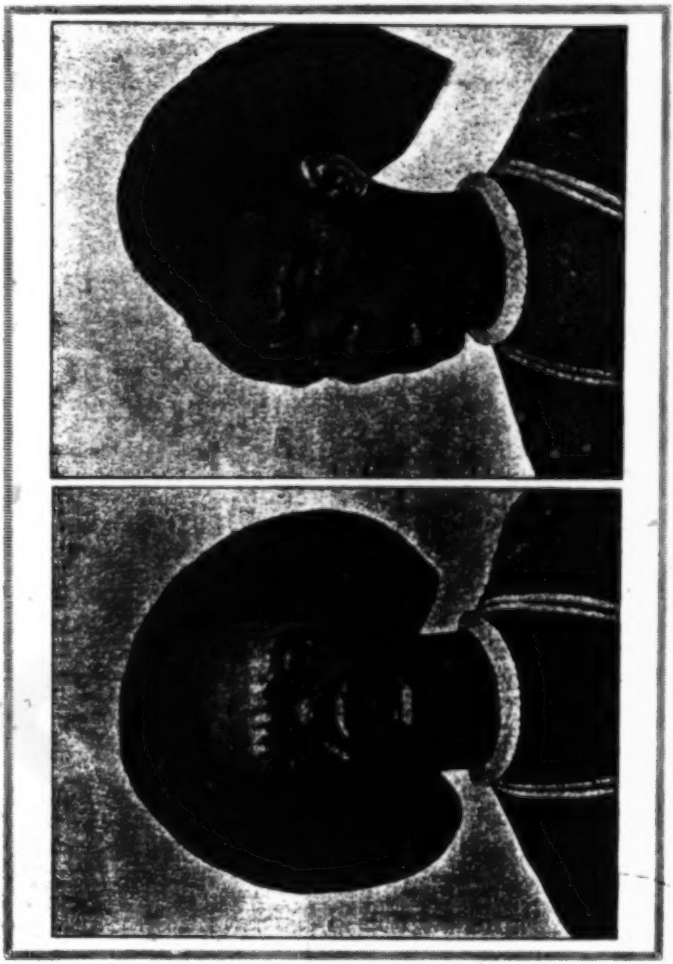

A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

[facing p. xxxii]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[FACING p. XLVIII (A)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms

A Shilluk Warrior withtwo spears and a club; below knee stripe of sheep-skin. Note the tattoings on the breast

[Facing p. LVII]

FJ23 Xl 4/11 30/4

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Acholi FK4
Latuko FJ17
Azande F07

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This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "chin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

S
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19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Nuts and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step :—

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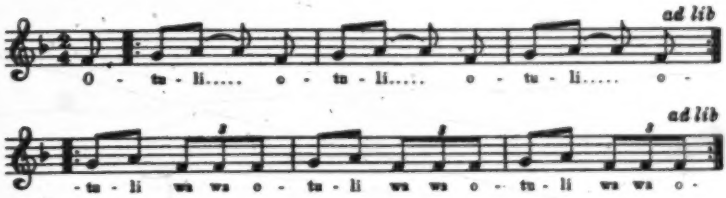

without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

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Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song :—

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the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

IMITATIONS OF ANIMALS, ETC.

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Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs :—

20. *Bush-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbodi,"

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 751 754 [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows. [556]

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine. 6 72 751 754

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear. 754 826

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person. 626 754 431 735

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye. 751 754 626

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

683 754 pay a fine unless he has caught the man actually working a charm. The accused says : «Whom have I injured in your house?». He does not try to plead that he is innocent of such work, but only that he has not injured his accuser.

754 The malignant medicine man has many means of bringing disaster to people. If he is able to get a bit of hair, the parings of the nails, spittle or any thing else that has been part of the body, or the clothing of the body, he can work a charm on it, so that the owner will die. If he is ignorant of the identity of the owner, he can do nothing with these things. For that reason, when a man cuts his hair or his nails, he either hides the [302] part removed or else puts it on a public road, so that the identity of the owner can not be learned.

A case that illustrated their belief in that power occurred here once. One afternoon a man came in great wrath with his daughter. He said someone on the place had killed his daughter that morning. As she seemed to be in good health, his statement seemed to be a little ridiculous. When asked to explain, he said that she had been carrying water, and that she had laid off her outer garment which was of calf skin. When she returned to get her garment, she found that someone had cut a piece out of it. We was sure a man with the occult power to kill had done the deed. When examined the edge of the marred place was seen to be rough. Others, who had been working were called to see if the identity of the person doing the wrong could be ascertained. At last a boy said that he had seen two pups playing with the skin and dragging it about. He had driven them away, and returned it to its place. The man was satisfied that harm had not been intended against his daughter, and she returned to work.

Over a bit of mud taken from the wall of a house, or a bit of grass from the roof, a charm can be worked that will kill the owner of the house.

When a man's club falls into the hands of one of these evil men, he buries it, which is symbolical of the burial of the owner which will soon occur, or he may kill the man by cutting the club in two, or a hoe may be given to him by the children while the older people are away. He throws the hoe into the river, and the arm of the owner is destroyed so that he can not hoe. He may also steal a cow rope or a spear and work a charm on it that will kill the owner.

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōṅo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [212]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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ANEI KUR, RETH OF THE SHILLUK.

[FACING p. 7]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwa reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and cob by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lau*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301 302] [292] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 643 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 643 292

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue 643 644

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang; like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
537 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini*,
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [386]
cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil/smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 832
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 302
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301]
ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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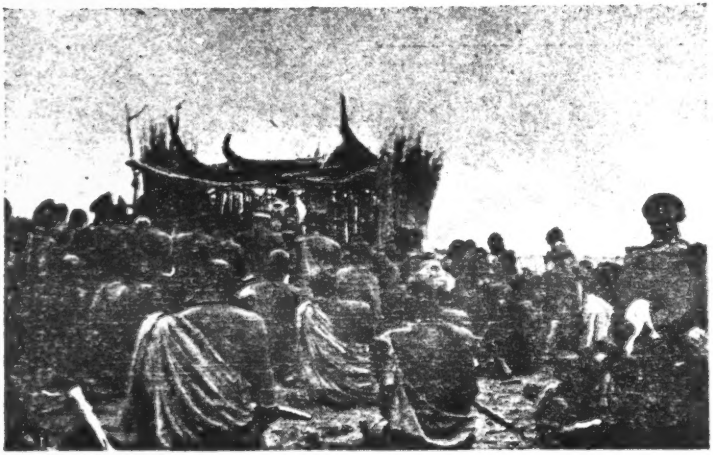

The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennelly

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Dètwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well 461
make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of 535
anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of 535
a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a 881
mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered [302]
with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of 292
Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he 237
wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a 301
coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photos: Fr. F. Spokanskas

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all.

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out.

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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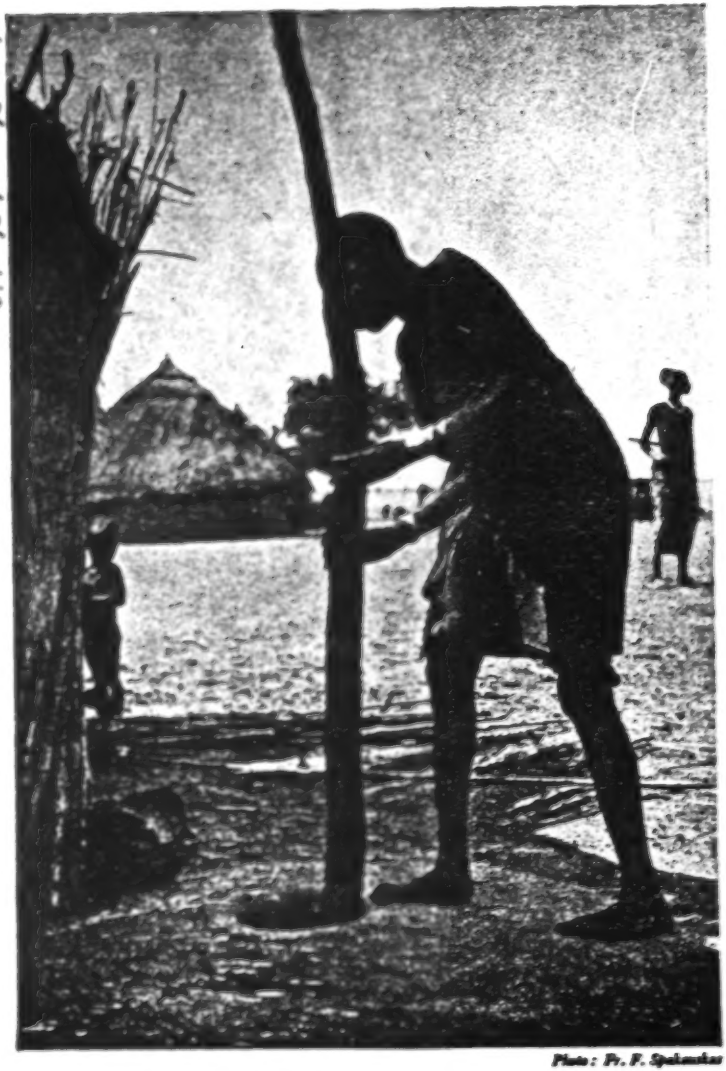

Photo: Fr. F. Spolanskas

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokmacker

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p.85]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
565 *nyinyireth*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *orore*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *orore* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *orore* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *orore*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowal, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Dowal succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowal to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowal became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyagol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

583 72
604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither
● 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be
[881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal
[565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here
[683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young
881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man
[305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term,
881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go
883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man.
[561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex. 304

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act. 262 833

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose. [853] [888] [857] [231]

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking. 513 264 [415]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [833 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but little calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

142 516 147

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [481]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

304 [753]

[1] Five feet ten inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattoosings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513] [237] [301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; [illegible] the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the h[illegible] sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other [illegible] feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather, the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms

A Shilluk Warrior withtwo spears and a club; below knee strips of sheep-skin. Note the tattoings on the breast

[facing p. 147]

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. mm	N.I. mm	S. mm	mx.
D 6	72.6	85.4	78.3	43.3	176.9										
C 5	77.7	84.3			183.4	+					25	777			+
B 2	70.1	89.1			182.4		+				25			+	
D10	69.8	82.6	88.8	53.1	178.4							+	+		
C 9	74.4	83.7			168.9	+	+	+	+					+	
D 4	75.3	88.0	83.7	47.4	181.4						25				
	73.3	85.5			179.5										
D 8	67.7	97.7	85.3	44.9	172.5	+					23	+			
B 8	71.6	102.2			170.0	+					22			+	
B10	71.5	100.0			169.1	+					20				
B 9	69.9	97.7			178.8	+		+	+		19				
C 4	71.9	88.2			170.2	+		+	+	+	26				
C 3	73.1	68.6			164.3	+					23		+	+	
B 6	72.1	82.0			168.3	+					24				
B 5	70.1	76.2			179.4	+					25				
B 4	71.4	71.9			179.1						30				
A10	72.5	83.7			170.4		+	+	+	+					
A 9	70.6	75.0			189.4	+									+
A 8	72.5	82.3			183.1										
A 7	75.4	80.3			167.6		+	+	+	+			+		
A 6	75.1	78.4			183.3										
A 5	71.5	85.4			174.3			+		+					
A 4	71.6	83.9			182.3			+		+					
A 3	71.8	92.0			169.0	+	+								
	71.7	85.0			174.5										
C10	74.3	86.9			158.3	+	+				31	+		+	
D 2	73.5	84.0			159.7	+	+		+	+	26				
D 1	70.0	92.8			169.0	+	+	+	+		28	+		+	+
C 2	71.5	82.6			164.9		+		+		30		+		
C 1	71.3	84.4			163.0	+	+	+	+	+	25				
	71.7	85.0			163.9										
B 3	71.6	83.3			165.0								+	+	
A 2	70.1	76.9			174.2						23		+		
A 1	72.1	91.4	86.0	43.3	184.1										
C 7	68.8	91.8			187.4						30				
D 5	68.1	82.0	77.5	42.0	185.5						23				
C 6	77.0	78.0			176.2	+	+				34		+		
	71.1	83.9			178.7										

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	marks R	marks B	marks A	dots	C.I. mn.	C.I. mx.	N.I. mn.	N.I. mx.	S mn.	S mx.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			175.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	88.7	85.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	71.5	87.9			179.2												
D 3	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder R = right upper arm and shoulder B = Back A = Abdomen

mn = minimum mx = maximum

Tribal Marks.

304 The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of
619 dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of those dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots
[114] or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Nuer and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum, as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower
114 incissors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation
184 "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk
304 the royal family alone keep their teeth intact." (17) From the results I have
619 obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:
a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,
b) that some royal members practice it.
304 The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to
177 knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that
[753] changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes .

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Stande als verschwunden betrachten." (20) During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that the LAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It stands unique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Moslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [855] [177] [171] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jago's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children."

[19] " While the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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ANEI KUR, RETH OF THE SHILLUK.

[FACING p. 7]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [565] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be [881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal [565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here [683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young 881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man [305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, 881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. [561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

136 ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest is python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60 000 souls,[1] who live in a little more
162 than 1200 villages, and 10 000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three
[62] to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the
361 Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In
162 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of
361 the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a
● 311 distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high;
114 the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60 000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

Some Observations of a Floldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' E. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilo - meters north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-Hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 228] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Lelle which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lelle. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. [79 This khor is the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Delob(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°53'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
512 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *lwaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle,
[554] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
512 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
883 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain
[224] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
512 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[341] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to have his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
512 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are
[341] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[392] dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
[415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
482 of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *pak* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying 133
grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently
breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away
the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since
nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inun-
dations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile
the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly
with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, 361
Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river,
at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood.
Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing [491]
from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the
Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles
inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places 312
the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-
covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under
conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a dis-
count, and social or parochial calls present their own
problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source
of water for most villages, even those situated miles away
from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common [512]
sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission
at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five
miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back [482]
balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot
reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will [512]
have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning
meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two
days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthen-
ware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than
five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through [281]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 Father Beduschi wrote that the site of the new mission was
[798] unhealthy, and that it had no resources, unless clouds of mosquitoes and flies and armies of white ants could be called resources. As soon as the rains had ended, the new arrivals
● [312] dug two wells for water, to the amazement of the natives,
[177] who could not understand the need for a well when the river was only half a mile away, and who refused to drink the water from the wells, thinking it was bewitched. Father Beduschi managed to gather a few boys together and start a school, but his work was undone by the chiefs, witch doctors, and old people who came and took the children away by force. In other ways, too, ill-luck dogged the new foundation: the few crops they had succeeded in planting in the poor soil failed; the road they had made from the mission to the river was nearly all carried away by floods; a bridge they had built was burned; a great pile of grass gathered for roofing the huts was destroyed by fire.

Father Beduschi had hoped to obtain catechists from Uganda, but when this was found impossible he borrowed some from Lul and sent them into the surrounding villages. He wrote also to the Mother General of the Verona Missionary Sisters asking her to send some Sisters to work in the mission as a present for the Silver Jubilee of his ordination and his coming to Africa. 'Detwok,' he wrote, 'is made up of thorns and crosses; I cannot promise the good Sisters anything but work and trouble; I even promise them disappointments and not consolations, but I do promise them a missionary life, and what more do they desire?' He did not live to see the Sisters arrive, for on November 10th, 1924, he
[164] died of blackwater fever, offering his life for the salvation of the Shilluk people. When he was dying, his companion, Father Brambilla, offered up to two shillings for a bottle of milk to give him, but the neighbouring villagers refused to let him have it.

[164] Brother Joshua who was with him both at Tonga and again at the Detwok mission died eventually as a leper. In Tonga he had made friends with a leper in an effort to

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bōdo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

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A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men 342
learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of [565]
grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house.

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The [462]
women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house.

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut [322]
and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse 283
grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass 342
down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick.

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with 342
sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner

[1] I. e. Shillukz.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ŋguep*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
294 shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
411 and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[439] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bŋŋo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ákpíè a kind of mat made of ambach, as a seat for chiefs only.

dím a sieve of cloth, for straining beer.

wíjí grass for stopping up cracks in the wall, to keep out mosquitoes. 352

ajíwí a pot.

ñyì?

tyrl?

11. Handicrafts.

bìyè means a skilful man, one who is particularly skilled in some work, and who, therefore, likes to do this work, and is asked by others to do it for them, so that this craft becomes "his work". Of course it is not his sole occupation, except perhaps in the case of the worker in metal. His is a trade held in high esteem, so that he has become the *bìyè* par excellence; if the natives simply speak of a *bìyè*, they mean the smith or metal-worker. He does not practice his craft in one place, but goes from village to village. The other craftsmen practice their craft only occasionally. But as a rule one man knows and practices only one of the arts enumerated below. 463 [326]

bìyì tjòì maker of spears; plural: *bìyí tjòì*.

bìyì tyyk kí tjòì the man who files spears.

bìyì tapì kí bíl tjòì the man who makes the spear-handles straight.

bìyì dak tobacco-pipe maker.

bìyì yéj kí bíl tjòì the man who makes spear-handles.

bìyì twook kí pùk potter, generally a woman.

bìyì gwéte lìt who carves, makes figures on gourds.

bìyì yòr kí tyíl who makes the string on which the gourds are hung.

bìyì wìch who makes the roof of huts.

bìyì ñwídè kí ñìn who makes skin-clothes.

bìyì ápìj who makes cotton clothes.

bìyì tapì carpenter.

bìyì ñdì who tattooes.

bìyì tapì kí loj who makes clubs.

bìyì chík kí kòt shield-maker.

bìyì tapì kí kwòr who makes shields to protect against clubs.

bìyì yyt kí ñìn tailor, sewer.

bìyì tapì kí bòl drum-maker.

bìyè kwòchì bòl who covers the drum with a skin.

bìyè fwòtì bòl who beats the drum.

bìyè lgw kí tíyì who polishes beads.

bìyè flch kí rjk who makes ostrich shell beads.

463

bîjr ɛdîjî who beats the small drum "*ɛdîjî*".
bîjr pît bî jî who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bîjr tuɔ̂k who cups.
bîjr ɛît bî wuj who dresses the horn of cattle.
bîjr ɛjɔk who castrates bulls.
bîjr ɛîr who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in earrings.
bîjr kwîjîj wɔjr the leader in singing.
bîjr bîdî bî ɡîɔ́ who makes the dancing-sticks.
bîjr tupî kwɔn who makes chairs.
bîjr ɡîjî who makes the neck supports or rests.
bîjr kîbî lwjî who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bîjr twny bîjî lîkî who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bîjr tupî bî ɡîɔ̂r dîjr who makes mat-doors.
bîjr ɔbwjy bî bîjyî net-maker.
bîjr ɔbwjy bî ɡîjyî door-maker.
bîjr ɔbwjɔ́ bî dɔ̂ɔ̂w salt-maker.
bîjr ɛjîɔ́ jîîw maker of iron bracelets.
bîjr fîɔ̂jî lîj one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bîjr kwɔ̂r tɔ̂jîr wɔjr who makes the foundations of huts.
bîjr wɔ̂ɔ̂j diver.
bîjr dîjî bî yɔ́ hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
bîjr wîr hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
bîjr wjîî fîɔ̂j hippo-hunteman.
ɔyîɔ̂ɔ̂ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
413

ɔîɔ́ɔ́ hammer.
bîjr anvil.
ɛjɔ́ɔ́jî file.
dîjî bellows.
ɔîɔ́r a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
dîjîjî tongs.
ɛîɔ́ɔ́ chisel.
ɛjɔ́jî an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291
301

îîw skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
ɔɔ̂ɔ̂jɔ̂j loin-cloth for women.
ɔîɔ́ɔ́j front-cloth for women.
dîr skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

There were various dignitaries created *fages* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *wyiretks*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372 326]

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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643 643 [535] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [324] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

[237] [324]

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

[237]

643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *Ñgâ*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

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[461] 177

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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance if being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

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Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the naive boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish. 797* [164]

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to build. [177] [339]

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week late. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission 761 643 797* 643 797*

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unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and 797*
permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or 346
three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in [136]
the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must 797*
try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that 339
he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word 464
goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to 797*
be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule 461
is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been 797*
good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

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461 Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his [648] tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be [651] demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work, they won't, and no amount of persuading will make
• 399 them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers,
*797 a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

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797*
[339]

bricks he requires and is doubtful whether those that are made will ever be built into a kiln and burnt; and, should he get over that stage, whether the bricklayers will be forthcoming to put up even the minimum number of buildings he requires. So he tears his hair and goes through his list again and reduces it building by building, until there is left not a stone standing on a stone, even on paper. The Sisters' convent, however, must be done. He will be able to find a couple of bricklayers and to scrape together sufficient labourers to do that; indeed, he must, for he dare not face the Reverend Mother and tell her that she and her Sisters must, by their prayers, hold up that tottering wall for yet another year. His school expansion programme must suffer; the present crumbling and already overcrowded buildings will have to take yet a few more, and if there are more applicants than he can fit in, then they will have to be turned away.

The missionary, dear reader, is a kindly and humane man. He earnestly desires the spiritual and material welfare of the people among whom his lot has been cast, and he works hard and long to attain that end. But he is after all but a frail mortal, and once he has experienced the frustration of a wasted dry season—wasted through no fault of his, but because of the plenty that surrounds his flock—he cannot help but wish that Providence had not yielded up the fruits of the earth so liberally, and trusts that in future years the mission building programme also may be taken into Heaven's consideration. And so other rainy seasons find him watching the weather, not in the hope, as one might expect, of seeing a lowering sky and the preparations gathering overhead for a real life-saving storm, but quite the contrary. Of course he would be appalled and would indignantly and, as he thinks, quite honestly deny it, were he taxed with harbouring such base feelings as to hope that the labours of the planting season should be, if not exactly in ruin, still, not so bountifully blessed as they might be. If it is a choice between a bumper crop and a full and busy building season, there is no doubt where his preference lies. 'Of course,' he hastily tells himself, 'he doesn't want the people to starve. What an

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*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The 461 *797 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

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of sand carriers fully employed; half a dozen more, to their greater disgust, are given picks and sent to dig out the foundations of the new buildings, and of the remainder some are led to the site for the new huts and put to work to clean up the ground so that the foundations can be marked out, and others given the job of making and puddling mud for the replastering of the present mud buildings. 339 ● 797 *

Now commences a period of unceasing activity on the part of the missionary. There are some seventy workmen employed in four different parts of the mission estate, and, except for the bricknakers who are paid a set price for every thousand bricks, each and every one of them is only too ready to steal away and fold his hands and close his eyes in repose as soon as theboss's back is turned. He, poor harassed man, has become the complete Pooh-Bah of the building industry; he must act as architect, general contractor, storekeeper, clerk of works, foreman, timekeeper and cashier, and at the same time keep the mission running normally. He does not forget his priestly duties, and so he is up long before the dawn to say his Mass and have as much as possible of his Office said before he goes out at 6 a.m. to call the roll and start the men on their day's work. He returns to the house to bolt his brakfast, but before he has finished, there are half a dozen ouside clamouring for attention. A wheel has come off a water cart, and the crew, never dreaming of putting it back themselves and finding a nail to hold it in place, but only too happy to have a legitimate excuse to sit down and do nothing, are doing just that. He slaps it back into place on the axle, secures it with a bolt and nut and scares the watermen into actually galloping off towards the river. A brickmaker has broken his mould and that requires a little carpentry and a few new screws. A digger complains that he can't find his shovel, is led firmly to the tool shed and falls over the missing article as he enters the doorway. A crowd of people has gathered at the back of the house and the number is increasing as more people come from the villages carrying poles or hanks of grass rope for sale. Each pole and hank has to be inspected, its value appraised and paid for on the spot. 797 * 466 461 [339] [465] [437]

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*797 paid for on the spot. But the Reverend Pooh-Bah leaves them
466 for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection.
461 He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the
[462] bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies —don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to
465 inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are
● 339 really putting their backs into it, for the more bricks they
*797 make, the more money they will earn, and already there are
466 long double lines of newly made bricks stretching out in
461 front of each man. In one case it is a matter of more haste, less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team
*797 vehemently arguing the matter among themselves, since a
466 man from the hut-plastering squad comes along to tell him
461 that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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So he continues his tour of inspection, galvanizing the dilatory workers into fresh activity, and then returns to the house and commences the buying of the rope and roofing poles. That occupies the best part of an hour, and then, grown wise in the ways of these children of Nyikang, he makes sure that his purchases are put away, the poles on the flat roof of the house, the rope in a store-room where the wily Shilluk cannot filch them to re-sell them to him. Then it is time to make another round of the workmen, a procedure that he will carry out yet twice more during the morning and another three times during the afternoon. At 10.30 the morning's work is finished, and the labourers go home to reassemble at half-past two. There is no respite for Pooh-Bah, however. The affairs of the mission demand his attention, another group of rope sellers have gathered, the post-boat is due the next day, and he must write to Malakal for cement and to Kodok about the wood for the brick burning. He disposes of these tasks and also manages to find time to finish his Office before lunch. The afternoon's work is a repetition of the morning's; a continual tour of the different groups, the attending to the wants of one here and another one there, with one or two visits to the house to dispose of the rope and pole sellers.

Thus one day succeeds another, and week follows week and still the work goes on. By Christmas there are fifty thousand bricks ready for burning, the foundations of the new classrooms and the teacher's house are dug, the old mud huts have been replastered and the walls of the six new ones are already well above the ground, and everybody, Pooh-Bah by no means among the least, is heartily sick of the sight of mud, whether in its natural state, or made into bricks, or built into a wall, and is only too glad of the few days' respite the Festival brings. As soon as Christmas is over, the work begins on the kiln. The base, a rectangle twenty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide, must be built with care since it has to support the weight of thirty thousand bricks. It is three feet in height and is pierced by six triangular firing tunnels, each two feet wide at the base and two feet

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 high at the apex. Its construction takes two bricklayers a full
●339 fortnight, and then another week is required to build up the bricks on the foundation, six men piling row upon row on edge in a herringbone pattern that leaves plenty of space for the flames to penetrate. Thirty thousand bricks are thus built up into a solid block some nine feet high, and the whole mass is plastered with mud to seal off all the cracks in the walls.

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner, who had promised to use his good offices in procuring sufficient wood for burning the bricks, has been as good as his word, and one day a steamer arrives bringing one hundred and fifty cubic metres of firewood. It looks a small pile when dumped on the shore, but its transport to the brickfield presents a formidable problem when the only wheeled vehicle available is
[493] a rickety handcart. Yet if it isn't moved soon, its transport will present no problem at all; the Shilluk will see to that. Fortunately the District Commissioner solves that difficulty too, for he arrives by lorry shortly after the wood, and kindly gives the harassed priest the loan of truck and driver to bring the wood from the river. A strenuous day's work sees the job done and the wood neatly stacked in two piles, one on each side of the kiln.

*797 It is now the end of January. The brickmakers are well
466 into the second fifty thousand bricks, the walls of the six new huts are finished and the construction of the roofs is
[346] well in hand. Grass rope is still required, but the number of roofing poles required is now complete and the demand now is for millet stalks. Women come in from the fields bearing huge bundles of them on their heads, and wait patiently until busy Pooh-Bah has time to attend to them. The swamps are emptying rapidly with the fall of the river and in another month the grass will be drying out ready for cutting. The work is going well and is keeping up to the time-table, but all this has not been accomplished in complete harmony and smoothness. The same relentless vigilance has to be kept up day after day to keep the indolent up to scratch; disputes break out among the workmen and often sounds of strife at

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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one end of the compound bring Pooh-Bah hurrying from the other to add those of peacemaker and judge to his other rôles. Workmen tire of their particular jobs (water carrying is particularly hated) and demand another one. The water-carrying difficulty is not solved until a roster is formed so that everyone except the lordly brickmakers and bricklayers take their turn. Hoes begin to disappear, but that little pastime is effectively put an end to by stopping the price out of the wages of every individual in the squad concerned. After the second one disappears it is found to be too expensive.

Now it is time to fire the kiln. The six tunnels are roughly bricked up on one side and filled with firewood and straw from the other. The fires are lighted at dusk, and once they are kindled must not be allowed to go out until the firing is completed. Soon each fire is blazing merrily, and the draught forcing the fire back through the mass of dry wood and straw quickly turns each tunnel into a roaring cavern of flame. The kiln presents a grand spectacle in the darkness, as great tongues of fire lick out from the openings and billows of smoke from the wood and clouds of steam from the still drying bricks envelop the whole structure. The firing continues on one side for two nights and two days; then that side is bricked up and the other side opened and the process for firing continued for a like period. The interiors of the tunnels are before long glowing white-hot masses of fused brick, and the kiln soon becomes fiercely hot as the flames mount up, searching through each crack and crannny to reach the top of the mass. When the firing is completed, the tunnels are blocked up again, any cracks that have appeared in the walls are plastered over anew and the mass is left to cool down, a process that takes about a week. By now there are sufficient bricks to commence the second kiln and this is built in the same manner as the first. But the priest has noted with concern that the firing of the kiln has consumed far more wood than he had anticipated. The strong north wind which now blows with full force every day has helped on the fires more enthusiastically than he would have liked. He cannot go to the expense of getting more wood from Kodok, and the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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* 797 forest is too far away to make wood carrying from there an
339 economical proposition, so he has to fall back on what resources the mission can offer. A squad goes off armed with saws and axes to attack the leafy avenue of trees which line the road to the river. The operation is euphemistically called 'pruning', but by the time it is completed and the Father's wood hunger is satisfied, the trees present a sad and sorry appearance. However, they will recover, and anyhow he can't afford to shed a sentimental tear over their appearance with sixty thousand bricks yet at stake.

With the breaking down of the brick kiln, revealing the rows of lovely bricks, those on the top and sides baked a golden brown, and the centre ones red and blue, the real work of the season begins; the rebuilding of the Sisters' convent and the erection of the new schoolrooms and the teacher's house. This is a task beyond the amateur capabili-
* 797 ties of our Pooh-Bah, but expert assistance is at hand. One of the Prefecture staff is an authority on building, and he, accompanied by a Brother, arrives on the postboat, having been snatched from his labours in some other mission to start the work here. Scaffolding is erected round the dangerous wall and with consummate skill the expert directs the operation of pulling down the wall in sections, planning to rebuild one portion before passing on to the destruction and rebuilding of the next. The Brother meanwhile is setting out the foundations of the other buildings. The Reverend man-of-all-work, however, has little time to pause and admire such dexterity, for the unceasing daily round still claims his attention. The second kiln is nearing completion, and must be fired as soon as possible, and the first one, now being rapidly demolished, has to be rebuilt with the remaining mud bricks, about another thirty thousand, and fired again.
[437] He is still a one-man purchasing board for the produce of the district, but now the grass rope and millet stalks have given way to bundles of grass for thatching and the work of
[340] thatching the new huts and some of the old ones has already started.

So far, apart from minor hitches, accidents and squabbles,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 and can be burnt in a few days, one section of the convent wall has been rebuilt and the second started, the walls of the new brick buildings are rising and the thatching is going on as fast as grass can be obtained.

But yet another verse of missionary 'poetry' has to be written. The third and last kiln has been fired and during *797 the first night and day all goes well. During the second night ●339 of the firing, however, the faithless tenders of the fires desert 466 their posts to slumber and sleep during the night watches. The fires burn low and die out. In the morning the sleepers awake and try frantically to re-light the fires before their negligence is discovered and also before the kiln is spoiled. But they are too late on both counts. They are caught in the act by an angry Pooh-Bah who on his way to say Mass has noticed the lack of light and activity around the kiln. The fires are rekindled and the firing continues in the hope of saving the kiln, but the damage has been done. Most of the bricks are poor yellow specimens that crumble at a touch, and the kiln has to be written off as a loss. The unworthy servants are removed with ignominy from their stewardship. Still, despite this calamity, the work is able to *797 go on. With the two kilns already burned and the reserve from the previous year there are sufficient bricks to complete the jobs on hand, although there is no margin left for any emergency that might arise and no reserve for the following year. By the end of April one or two warning showers have fallen just to let one know that the rains are on the way. But the programme is almost completed. The Sisters are safe and secure behind a stout new wall, the walls of the classrooms and house are up and roofs are on and doors and windows are being fitted. The thatching is done and all the huts both old and new are tight and sound to withstand whatever storms the rainy season may bring.

Pooh-Bah stretches and yawns mightily, and then turns to his sadly neglected desk. He is well satisfied with what has been achieved, and his building troubles are over for another year.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls ● 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyiveths* throughout the country. [179] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1946)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath. 341 643 [182] [628]

Several other prohibitions govern the *reik's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reik* found himself unable to cross west of the big *ákor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang. 643 [352] [823]

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *ákors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reik* comes to a *ákor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reik* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pathe mooyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way. [173] [831]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbaß as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*arwyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*ryel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fo reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fo reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Anurwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Plate VI

342
644

Pachodo, Anuwak

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778

Akurwa, shrine of Nyakang in open

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Annak FJ4

Plate X

S
342
764

Shilluk homestead, grave in foreground

A
142
291
301
302
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Annak

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. Village scene
2. Typical group of Shilluks; ladies arranged with collars, of the left a Shilluk dog
3. "Shower of Sycamore"
4. A Shilluk giant

342
346
311
778
231
516

[Facing p. 62]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342
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670

516

1. Group of Native Huts 2. Group of Boys

3. Girls Sewing School at Dolaib Hill

[Facing p. XLVIII (B)]

I. OCCUPATIONS.

1. Housebuilding.

*539 *Tyyle wut hydr, ho tik (tik), ho lipiy kpl, ho lik tyil, ho wuyy kik tyel wut, ho chwirk, wuho tyel ewuyu, ho dyyy dil, ho ydr. Ko wuho chini dikhyil, ho wiiy lki, ho kwjr dwui, ho yy wjin, ho yy wuik fik, hi tiyiti ukt, ho dil kit, ho tyyly hydr, ho tyel tik, ho tuyuij kwin, hi wjt wuik, hi dil kiy. Ko dyyi kki, ho tit, ho tuyuij wirii wuik. Ko wut tik, hi lipi yuli chiy, ho kiy, ho chiuj twirk, hi tit, hi lkm ndr, hi kkyi dwui, ho yyy wul, ho ykl wdyi, ho kum kik, ho e wiiy. Ko wuii kiyy e dkki, ho e kiuy ki kwjr, wuyu wjk wuii kiyy, ho wuii kiyy wjk, hi dyyl wiki kiyy. Ko wiiy wut twirk, ho chiyu wut wil, ho tirkiyt (tirki wut) tyki, ho wut tjir, ho wuuyu, ho tiyy yuik, ho kul tit, ho ji dikki yyiy. Ko yyiuy kpl, ho ypch fik, ho ji dyiu yyy wut.*

● 382 *539 The foundation trenches of the house are dug out, and are smoothed off. Mud is brought, and thrown into the foundation trenches; and beer is poured into the foundation trenches. Now the walls are built; after four days the door-opening is made round; then they build again, and when five days have passed, they begin to make the roof. Poles are brought, they are burnt (to make them hard), and then cut, so that they are of equal length. Roof-sticks are cut, and they are tied up in a circle, and a circular ditch (corresponding to the poles tied together) is dug, and the ends of the roof-sticks are put into it, and buried. Now the roof is constructed; grass is twisted into a rope, with which the poles are tied together. When this is done, the roof-sticks are taken away, and the roof is lifted upon the wall. The junction between the wall and the thatch-poles inserted into it is made tight with mud, the lower roof-ends are tied to the wall, and are tied together. Then grass is cut, and the craftsman[1] is sent for; he climbs on the roof, takes a rope, and binds the grass on the poles. Thus he makes the roof, till only the point of the roof is left. The proprietor of the house now brings a hoe, which is for the making of the roof-point. (When he has given it to the craftsman), the roof-point is made. Then a sheep is given to the craftsman. The surface of the roof is become smooth, the dripping-eaves are cut even, a door is made, the floor of the house is filled up with mud, and is made hard and even. A door is worked, the fence is constructed, and then the people move into the new house. A fowl is brought, and left on the ground (as a sacrifice), and the people move into it.*

[1] Thatch-maker.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Titbick, of Duleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shollos[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it,—or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house. 342 [565]

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house. [462]

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cooked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular hoods for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are beaten with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick. [322] 283 342

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which remains in form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner 342

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shilluk call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the butt ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

134 123

[illegible]	black, rich earth	[illegible]	brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
[illegible]	sandy ground	[illegible]	red sand
[illegible]	red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots	[illegible]	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

241 124

[illegible]	dura	[illegible]	an eatable gourd
[illegible]	sesame	[illegible]	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
[illegible]	beans	[illegible]	onion
[illegible]	cotton	[illegible]	tobacco
[illegible]	a small, sweet gourd, in season.	[illegible]	maize.

4. Different kinds of durra.

The common name: [illegible]. The common name for white dura: [illegible].

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one description whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all. 080

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation. 128

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river. [131] 361

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or on land a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically. 105 221

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Kwareel (gol)

The gol is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about ten huts enclosed by a fence. Every married man has a gol which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition 592 [372]

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When
821 the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A hoe must
be placed in front of the door. If no hoe is in the house then a fish
[782] spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a hoe or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary uses after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal agoc, heaven hits). In
342 former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the
821 circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed
[766] inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in
[177] regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner
342 usually calls a servant of Deñ (Bäñ Deñ). After the servant of Deñ
782 arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deñ says bring an ox."
821 If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, "I do not ask for this offering, but Deñ asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning
782 may become a servant of Deñ (Bäñ Deñ), if he so desires. When they
821 travel they say, "Deñ asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deñ.

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deń rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deń, and that it is an honour to be called by Deń, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deń. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deń will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 342 783 821

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 782 821 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deń. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deń present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deń. While the servants of Deń put the higig branch (ŋk Deń) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 821 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer. One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deń. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 821 778 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deń is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deń's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*lwak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gwa*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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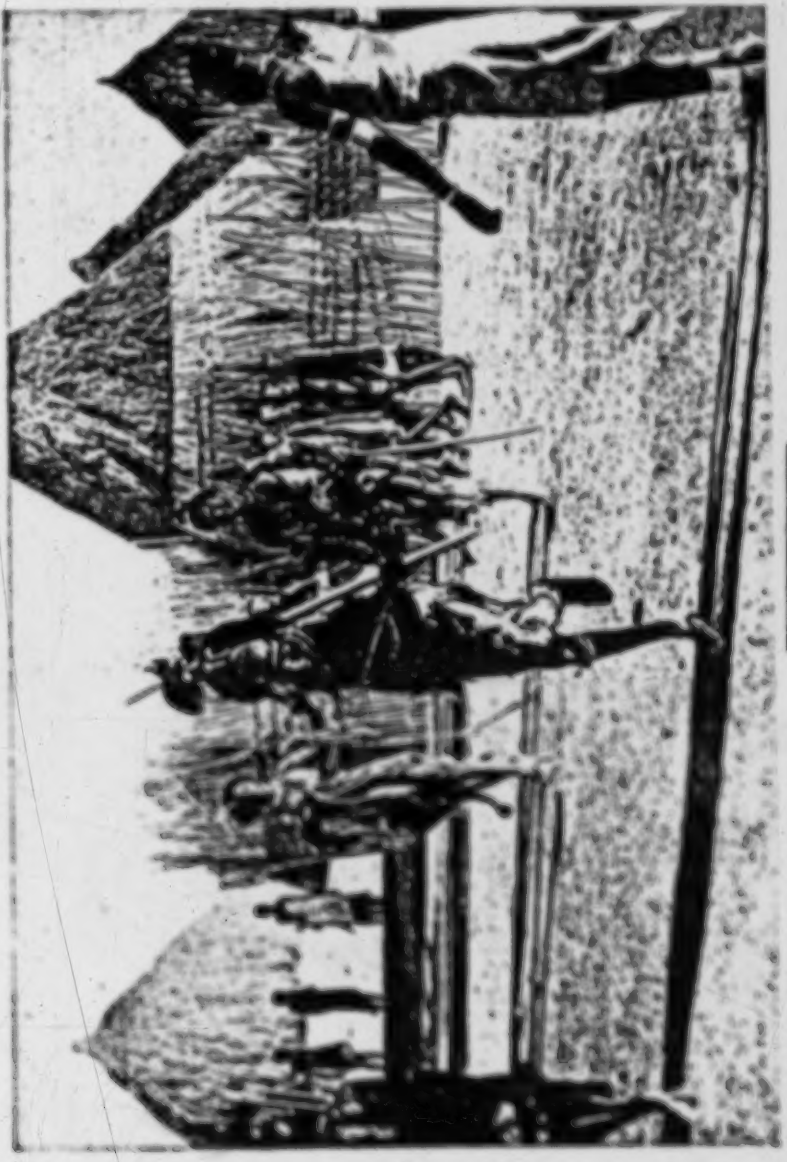

[p. 62 D]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Funeral Dance of Rain Fairy.

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534
766

1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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312

2.—The drums of Fadil.
There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shillok FJ23

The March of Nyikang and Dak to Fuwah.

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773

1.—Dak leads, Sorne by his lanyard. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of Kaik Pakik.

[FACING P. 40]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shillak FJ23

The First Day of the Initiation.

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643

1.—Gibbs. Just before the march to Fadeola.
The pith helmet is white with a dark mark in standing, recall: his quarters awaiting the gathering of his warriors.

643

2.—Antonyte. Casting the black ball over which the mill must step before the crossing.

[FACING P. 51]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SPEECH DAY.

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693
911
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651
644

1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the *reik* as a sign of homage.

2.—The *reik's* party below Atwein, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING p 70]

342
766
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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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766
516
788

PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

P164B

291
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482

Opposite Fashoda. The *kwe* Nyikwom lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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778

The substitution on the stool. Nyikang has withdrawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the stool underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. N. Donald

[FACING p. 197]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Koka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang drews near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dobolu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiri went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dobolu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoith of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mol[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret.

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mol stated by Werenskiold, p. 108 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Melekal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that daily in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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[253] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle so towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [343] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [392] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
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offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
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plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
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vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his food he must farm the land, and although his methods of husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net, harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [824]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824]
[283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by them? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [445]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the 342 476 operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the [462] thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house 342 may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, 644 but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradi- 183 tion must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

29:Dempsey M.S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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484
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Photo: R. F. Spencer

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shillok FJ23

142
301
302
291
342
252
412
415

Photo: Dr. F. Spdenslee

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

142
291
801
302
342
516

Photo: D. F. Spencer

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p. 85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and so we parted. The next evening, after tea, I mounted 763
my bicycle and pedalled leisurely towards the village. 797 *
Half-way there I met the father of one of the school boys, and we chatted for a few minutes about the progress, or rather lack of progress, his son was making. Then he asked me casually where I was going, and I replied just as casually that I was going to Pabiu to baptise so-and-so. 'So-and-so?' he said. 'He died half an hour ago.' I stared at him in amazement for a moment, and then, jumping on my bike, pedalled furiously to the village. It was only too true. I could hear the shrill crying of the women as I approached. The men were digging the grave and the body, not yet cold, [764] had been prepared for burial. Whether the lad had been "helped" out of this world, I could not say; I baptized him conditionally, and could but commend him and his good intentions to the mercy of God. Then, sick at heart, I rode slowly back to the mission.

One does not easily associate humour with the administration of the Sacraments to a person who is dying, but sometimes there can be, in retrospect, a funny side even to these solemn and awful occasions. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of Rachael, the old blind leper woman of Pabiu. Poor Rachael was long a-dying, and weary though she must have been of this world she had hung on to life long beyond anybody's expectation. I had long since given her the last Sacraments and every day expected to hear that she had gone to heaven. One morning the Sister told me that the old woman did seem to be near her end and probably would not last the morning, so I went across to Pabiu to render her what assistance I could in her agony. The entrance to a Shilluk hut is a round hole no more than [342] waist high so that one wishing to enter must bend double or even go on hands and knees to do so. Furthermore, the inside of the hut is in semi-darkness, and entering from the bright sunlight it takes a moment or two to accustom oneself to the surroundings. Hence, when I ducked through the doorway, I almost pitched headlong over a shapeless bundle

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

361
343

Fashoda

Fashoda, cattle byres and cattle

[Face p. 48]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

233 [192] [782] [435]

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

234 [462] [415] [171] [237]

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

343 233

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

221 233 [462]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the 361 sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very 621 large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year [345] as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a [513] normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put [237] the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have [825] a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an [342] area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The 592 family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by [417] transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere 592 is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of 672 its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* [422] leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater- [171] familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader [182] has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VI

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Fashoda, Aturwic

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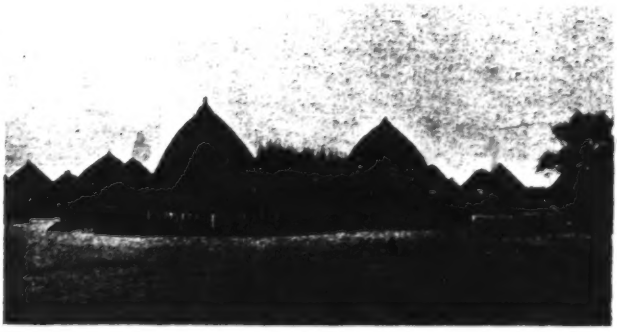

Akurwa, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1922

(face p. 58

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114] of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
[237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*ihom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kejo respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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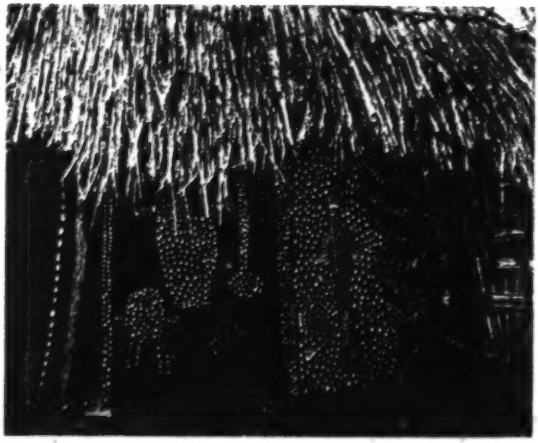
PLATE VIII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910, Kwayo (Duwad)

[532]



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang, wall-paintings

[facing p. 80

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[776] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
782 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PLATE IX

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Duta-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fenikang, shrine to Deng

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other

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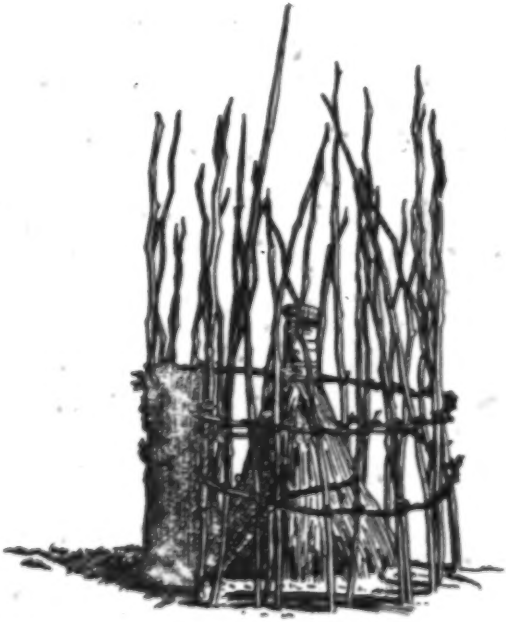


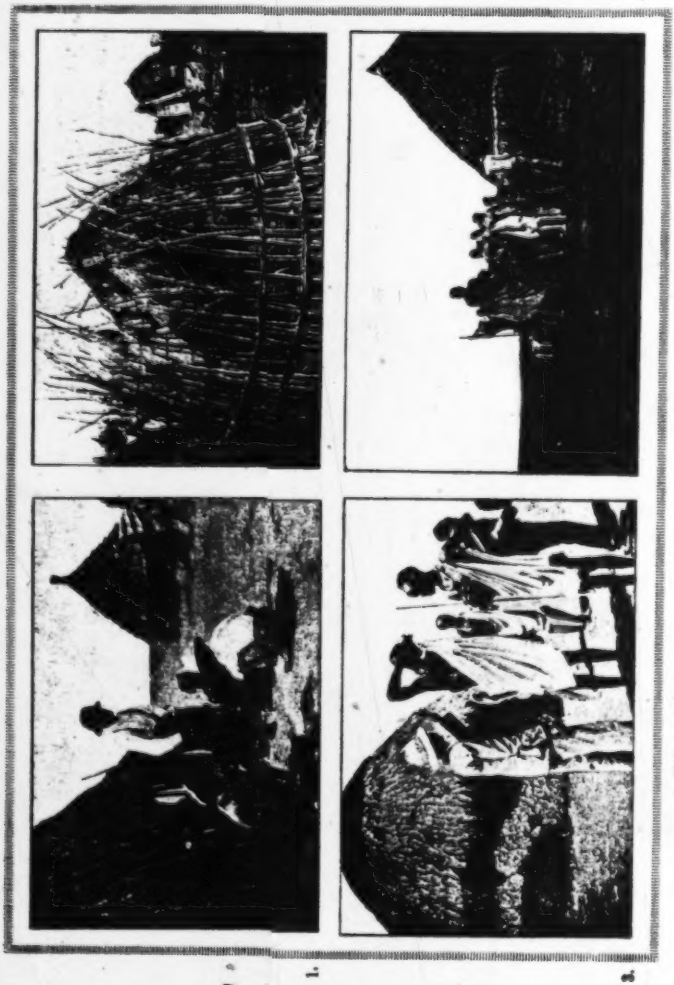
[346]

FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



1. Village scene 2. "House of Nyikang"
4. Typical group of Shilluks; bodies covered with ashes; at the left a Shillak dog 3. A Shilluk giant

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[Facing p. xl]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kɛ́ń ríṭ* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ńíbɔ̄ɣ̄ɖɔ)*, *Otɔ́ńɔ*, Nyelwal, *Oshārɔ*, *Otīgɔ*, *Dādīgɔ*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tanfikia and Kodok.

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Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind;
Juok *Nam*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acweci*, " creator;
Jame Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tim*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayim*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail. [753]

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bareth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine. 346 778 778 793

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are 778 782

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final 643 installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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THE FOURTH DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.
Nyikang and Dak go up into the mound Aturwic to make peace with the *reth*.

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THE FIFTH DAY : SPEECH DAY.
The *reth* comes down from Aturwic.
He is second from the left and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

[FACING p. 68]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile). [643] [825]

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, [805] a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal [1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang [2] from outside, and the temporary huts [3] built for the Ret,

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by WESTERMANN, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret. [773]

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart. [778] [346] [644] [843]

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound. [342]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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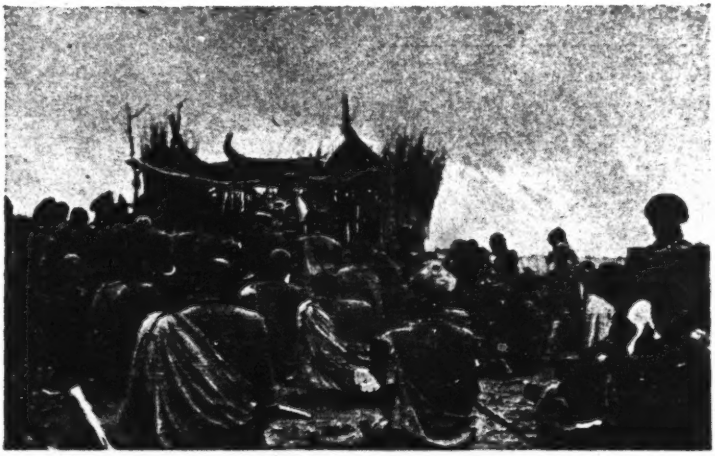
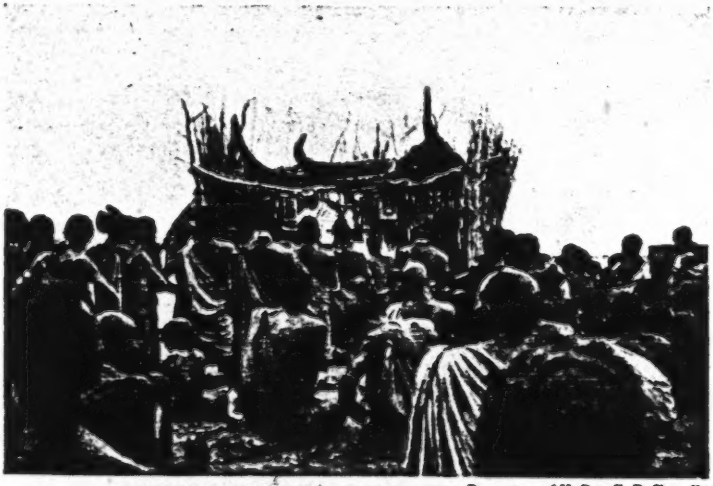


The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay



By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennelly

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Détwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called [643] the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this [643] same year, too, the British Government deposed the king, [648] Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was [346] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

[114] A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Another well-remembered figure is that of Mother Adalgesa who died in 1946 while still in the prime of life. She had been Mother Provincial in this mission for eight years after serving in Uganda for twelve. Her death was brought about by the long hours she spent in the sun treating those who sent for her aid during the epidemic of relapsing fever. She saved many lives and drew many souls to God by her self-sacrificing charity. She died in hospital in Malakal, thanking God that she was able to die in the mission and not in far-off Khartoum. 'It is only right,' she said, 'that I should die here among the Shilluk, since I have given my life for them.' When her body was brought to Lul for burial, the church was crowded with weeping people. 797* [164]

In 1929 the present convent was built, and later the Fathers' house was rebuilt and a school with five classrooms erected. [346]

Other stations than Lul were gradually established as the work among the Shilluk was extended. In 1904 a mission was opened at Tonga, the site originally given by the king. Father Beduschi was the first Superior, but success was very slow, and after ten years or so he went to work in Uganda. It was not until 1923 that a third mission was established, this time near the village of Detwok, from which it takes its name. The funds for its foundation came from a group of Milanese Catholics who wished to assist a mission in Central Africa, preferably among the Shilluk people. Father Beduschi was recalled to become the first Superior of the new foundation; he was well fitted for it, being well acquainted with the language and customs of the people, but having seen the difference between the people in Uganda and the Shilluk he returned to the scene of his former labours very unwillingly and with great misgivings. On his very last day in Tonga a spear had been thrown at him in an attempt on his life. He went with Father Brambilla and a laybrother, Brother Joshua, who had helped him in the foundation of Tonga and had been there since 1904; their first task was to build huts to serve as house, church and school. The same hostility on the part of the natives met them as it had in Lul and Tonga, and 797* 798

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spakauskas

Sisters' Convent, Detwok. Sister gives catechism class

[facing p. 116]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spokauskas

Sister Infirmarian gives an injection at Detwok

[facing p117]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter XIII

BUILDING

*797 Not one of the least headaches of a priest working in the foreign mission is the provision of the buildings he needs for his work. It is the great desire of every priest, of course, to have a church as beautiful and seemly as he can; in addition, he must for health's sake provide himself and the Sisters who may be working in the mission with him with well-built houses; there are also school buildings, teachers' houses and perhaps a hospital or dispensary to be constructed. There are no architects to be called on for plans, no contractors to be engaged to do the work; out of very slender resources, and with whatever ingenuity he can summon to his task, he has to do his best with what lies to his hand. I will try to describe to you, then, a session of building as it is conducted in one of our Sudan missions.

During the rainy season, as can be expected, nothing in the building line is possible, but with the end of the rains the mission begins to move with a little more liveliness than it has been able to do during the previous few months; to scrape the clogging masses of mud from its boots, to hang its waterlogged garments out to dry. Indeed if all goes well the place in a very short time will be a bustling hive of industry. For with the assurance that the last shower has fallen, the missionary begins to put into action the plans that have been maturing during the previous months. The school *797 is expanding and new classrooms must be built; more huts 346 must go up to accommodate the increasing number of scholars; he is getting a new teacher and must provide him with a house. Furthermore, he has noted with grave concern the dilapidated state to which many of the present buildings have been reduced. To build on cotton soil, lay the foundations as deep and as wide as you will, is as thankless and as

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

797* 346 [136]

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

797* 339 464 797* 461 797*

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*797 339 high at the apex. Its construction takes two bricklayers a full fortnight, and then another week is required to build up the bricks on the foundation, six men piling row upon row on edge in a herringbone pattern that leaves plenty of space for the flames to penetrate. Thirty thousand bricks are thus built up into a solid block some nine feet high, and the whole mass is plastered with mud to seal off all the cracks in the walls.

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner, who had promised to use his good offices in procuring sufficient wood for burning the bricks, has been as good as his word, and one day a steamer arrives bringing one hundred and fifty cubic metres of firewood. It looks a small pile when dumped on the shore, but its transport to the brickfield presents a formidable problem when the only wheeled vehicle available is [493] a rickety handcart. Yet if it isn't moved soon, its transport will present no problem at all; the Shilluk will see to that. Fortunately the District Commissioner solves that difficulty too, for he arrives by lorry shortly after the wood, and kindly gives the harassed priest the loan of truck and driver to bring the wood from the river. A strenuous day's work sees the job done and the wood neatly stacked in two piles, one on each side of the kiln.

*797 466 It is now the end of January. The brickmakers are well into the second fifty thousand bricks, the walls of the six new huts are finished and the construction of the roofs is well in hand. Grass rope is still required, but the number of [346] roofing poles required is now complete and the demand now is for millet stalks. Women come in from the fields bearing huge bundles of them on their heads, and wait patiently until busy Pooh-Bah has time to attend to them. The swamps are emptying rapidly with the fall of the river and in another month the grass will be drying out ready for cutting. The work is going well and is keeping up to the time-table, but all this has not been accomplished in complete harmony and smoothness. The same relentless vigilance has to be kept up day after day to keep the indolent up to scratch; disputes break out among the workmen and often sounds of strife at

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 339 forest is too far away to make wood carrying from there an economical proposition, so he has to fall back on what resources the mission can offer. A squad goes off armed with saws and axes to attack the leafy avenue of trees which line the road to the river. The operation is euphemistically called 'pruning', but by the time it is completed and the Father's wood hunger is satisfied, the trees present a sad and sorry appearance. However, they will recover, and anyhow he can't afford to shed a sentimental tear over their appearance with sixty thousand bricks yet at stake.

With the breaking down of the brick kiln, revealing the rows of lovely bricks, those on the top and sides baked a golden brown, and the centre ones red and blue, the real work of the season begins; the rebuilding of the Sisters' convent and the erection of the new schoolrooms and the teacher's house. This is a task beyond the amateur capabili-
* 797 ties of our Pooh-Bah, but expert assistance is at hand. One of the Prefecture staff is an authority on building, and he, accompanied by a Brother, arrives on the postboat, having been snatched from his labours in some other mission to start the work here. Scaffolding is erected round the dangerous wall and with consummate skill the expert directs the operation of pulling down the wall in sections, planning to rebuild one portion before passing on to the destruction and rebuilding of the next. The Brother meanwhile is setting out the foundations of the other buildings. The Reverend man-of-all-work, however, has little time to pause and admire such dexterity, for the unceasing daily round still claims his attention. The second kiln is nearing completion, and must be fired as soon as possible, and the first one, now being rapidly demolished, has to be rebuilt with the remaining mud bricks, about another thirty thousand, and fired again. [437] He is still a one-man purchasing board for the produce of the district, but now the grass rope and millet stalks have given way to bundles of grass for thatching and the work of
● [346] thatching the new huts and some of the old ones has already started.

So far, apart from minor hitches, accidents and squabbles,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Moral support at Detwok Dispensary

[facing p.148]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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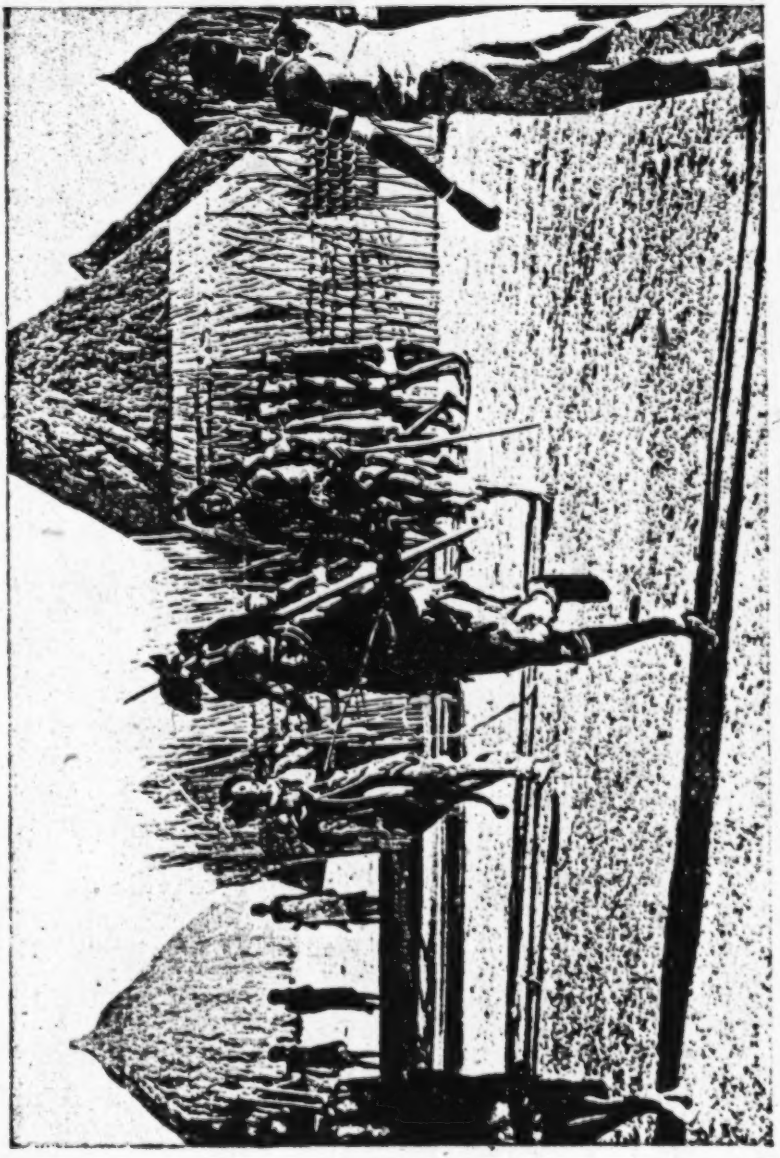

[p. 62 D]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the 351
side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his 342
enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled [565]
cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, [531]
or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence [343]
which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and 351
is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an [565]
ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight.

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle 343
byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much [233]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spekauskas

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

[facing p. 53]

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattoeing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattoeings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513] [237] [301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1 1/2—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
● 352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ngwo*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

9. Names of stars.

821

dwgi moon
ńèmân
àdậk three stars, the Uranus.
ńwòl
ábáń "4 northern stars".
shúrò
ţáfẹ̀rò
àkwòshèkân appears after the sun has set.
kyẹ̀lè jọ̄p a star ahead of the Venus.
kyẹ̀lè rùwọ̀u wèr Venus.
gyẹ̀nò "hen", Pleiades.
àyép comet.

10. Household-things.

352

tẹ̀dẹ̀t a stick to fasten the door with.
tẹ̀t the lower part of the door.
tigọ door.
túk hearth-stone, hearth.
fâl grinding-stone, whet-stone.
àdàu small whet-stone.
ţâńì neck-bench or support.
pyẹ̀n skin to sleep upon.
pàń, pẹ̀ń hole for pounding dura.
ţeańọ dura-stalk.
ḍwayọ a frame on which spears are put, to protect them from the white ants.
dọ̀lò a grass ring on which the *kộdò* is placed.
lwọl calabash, gourd.
ádàlò gourd for churning milk.
tâgi small calabashes for drinking water.
àbìń a spoon made out of a gourd, for taking the hot food out of the pot.
árệţ leaf of deleib or dom-palm, and basket made of it.
kộdò large basket for preserving dura.
ḍọ́ńò basket for dura etc.
àwẹ̀ch a small *kộdò*.
adudọ a basket.
ótâgò pot for cooking food.
fúk-fúkì water-pot.
átâi big pot for cooking large meals or beer.
tâbò dish.
fàrò a mat for covering food in pots, dishes.
lâi a sieve for sifting dura.
lẹ̄k pestle for pounding dura.
fâl spoon.
fâlò knife.
gwẹ̀ch stick for stirring food.
óbìrò small pot for preserving beer.
ókwâńò broom.
ţọ̀l rope.
kâdì a rope on which clothes, dancing-sticks, etc. are hung.
ówệţ mat of Arab making, to sleep on.
ódẹ̀k fence-mat.

ókɛ́nò a kind of mat made of ambach, as a seat for chiefs only.

dīm a sieve of cloth, for straining beer.

wíjí grass for stopping up cracks in the wall, to keep out mosquitoes. 352

aṭíwí a pot.

ṭìgò?

ṭyɛl?

11. Handicrafts.

bɔ̄ɔ̄dɔ means a skilful man, one who is particularly skilled in some work, and who, therefore, likes to do this work, and is asked by others to do it for them, so that this craft becomes "his work". Of course it is not his sole occupation except perhaps in the case of the worker in metal. His is a trade held in high esteem, so that he has become the *bɔ̄ɔ̄dɔ* par excellence; if the natives simply speak of a *bɔ̄ɔ̄dɔ*, they mean the smith or metal-worker. He does not practice his craft in one place, but goes from village to village. The other craftsmen practice their craft only occasionally. But as a rule one man knows and practices only one of the arts enumerated below. 463 [326]

bɔ̄ṭè tíṅ maker of spears; plural: *bɔ̄ṭé tɔṅ*.

bɔ̄ṭè tyɛk kí tɔṅ the man who files spears.

bɔ̄ṭè tegi kí bɔ́l tɔṅ the man who makes the spear-handles straight.

bɔ̄ṭè dak tobacco-pipe maker.

bɔ̄ṭè yɛ́ṭ kí bɔ́l tɔṅ the man who makes spear-handles.

bɔ̄ṭè twooch kí pŭk potter, generally a woman.

bɔ̄ṭè gwɔ́ṭe lɔ̄t who carves, makes figures on gourds.

bɔ̄ṭè yèr kí tyɛ́l who makes the string on which the gourds are hung.

bɔ̄ṭè wich who makes the roof of huts.

bɔ̄ṭè kwɔ̄dɔ ki lɔ̄n who makes skin-clothes.

bɔ̄ṭè ógòṭ who makes cotton clothes.

bɔ̄ṭè tegi carpenter.

bɔ̄ṭè ṭái who tattooes.

bɔ̄ṭè tegi ki loṭ who makes clubs.

bɔ̄ṭè chók ki kɔ̄t shield-maker.

bɔ̄ṭè tegi ki kwɔ́r who makes shields to protect against clubs.

bɔ̄ṭè ɣɔt ki lɔ̄n tailor, sewer.

bɔ̄ṭè tegi ki bɔ̄l drum-maker.

bɔ̄ṭe kwɔ́chè bɔ̄l who covers the drum with a skin.

bɔ̄ṭe fwɔ́tè bɔ̄l who beats the drum.

bɔ̄ṭe lɛu ki tígò who polishes beads.

bɔ̄ṭe flch ki rɛk who makes ostrich shell beads.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pothe manyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a complete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes. 462 512 [356]

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours. [273] [264]

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk. [241]

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord! [252 264 593]

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night. 512 233 857

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and [173] the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[11] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 224 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[136] 11. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Meanwhile the army of the *reth* was gathering below Aturwic, and the *reth*, dressed in white with a Mrs. Gray skin draped round him and five ivory bracelets on each arm, descended among them. Armed with millet stalks, they began to move slowly forwards in a threatening manner towards the army of Nyikang. When only a hundred yards separated them, a violent argument broke out about the bull, which should have been provided for the occasion to be tied down and walked over by the combatants (Note 21). Both parties retired and the *reth* went up on to the mound again, where he could be seen standing at the central entrance, a long millet stalk in his hand. Nyikang, Dak, and Cal retreated to a point just outside the shrine. After a long delay the bull was brought and placed between the two armies, who advanced, and the *reth* in front of his army walked forward to throw the first spear (millet stalk), which fell at the feet of Dak. Millet stalks began to fly, and in the general mêlée, the *reth* rushed forward with a small escort and wrested *nyakwer* from Nyikang, and hustled her away through the ranks of his warriors up to the mound behind them. Three furious counter-attacks followed by the Kwa Nyikwom, who dashed forward waving and whirling their ropes and whips. Finally, with Nyikang and Dak and Cal, at their head, they reached the bottom of the mound and went up to the huts on top. Shortly afterwards Nyikang and Dak descended from the mound. It was said that all hostility between Nyikang and the *reth* was now at an end, and that Nyikang had accepted him as his successor. Then they started on a tour of all the huts in Fashoda. This was considered an inspection of the houses, and those sections of Shilluk who are traditionally called upon to repair them were fined by Nyikang if they had not done so. The fines were one head of cattle each, and one chief was fined for initiating a song, the privilege of the Kwa Nyikwom. This part of the ceremonies was taken lightheartedly, and the victims subjected to much witticism.

Nyikang, Dak and Cal then retired to the shrine. They took no further part in the ceremonies and did not appear in public until

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
776

with the Arab population of the northern Sudan. [175 [101]] Their country was first subjected to intermittent taxation and raiding by the Turks about 1820 and was finally conquered by them in 1867 and became part of the Ottoman Empire. When the Turkish Administration succumbed to the Sudanese Mahdi the Shilluk were involved in a struggle against this new ruler and afterwards against his Khalifa. Lord Kitchener arrived in Shillukland at the end of 1898 and since that time the people have been under Anglo-Egyptian administration. I mention these political events because they have strongly influenced the Shilluk kingship for close on a century, during which the kings have been executed, exiled, deposed, and nominated, by foreign governments. The funerary rites of a dead king and the procedures of election and investiture of a new king were probably not performed in the full traditional manner during this period.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The hamlets of the Shilluk, who number about 110,000 souls, are almost continuous, like beads on a string, along the west bank of the Nile from near Lake No to about lat. 12 N. with a number of 361 161 131

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

621
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a population of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult 631]
males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone. That segmentation has taken this particular form [361] is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in the national polity that this lecture is particularly concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang, the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who led them into their present homeland, conquering it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be in every king and to have passed from king to king down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus a mythological personification of the timeless kingship which itself symbolizes the national structure, a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PLATE IV

142
291

Contrasting types of Shilluk

361

Shilluk villages from Nile

[See p. 40

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbañ as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

•361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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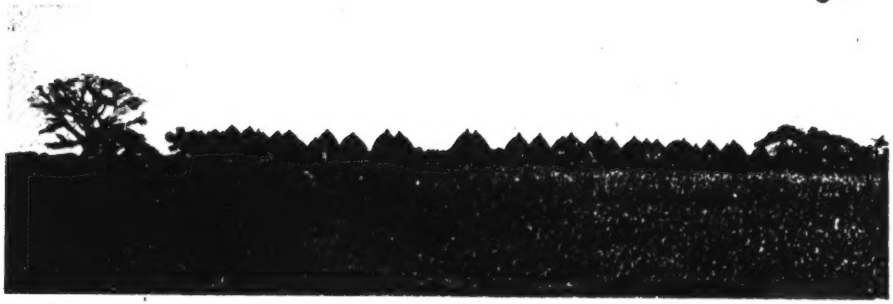
343



Fashoda

Fashoda, cattle byres and cattle

[View p. 48]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

136 ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60000 souls,[1] who live in a little more than 1200 villages, and 10000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

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To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361 HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

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[556]

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12173 head of cattle and 63473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 587 763 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 [361] 237 825 75 [20] 535 [574] Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

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1. Group of Native Huts 2. Group of Boys

3. Girls Sewing School at Doleib Hill

[Facing p. XLVIII (B)]

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subjects. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all. 000

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation. 128

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. Lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river. [13] 361

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically. 105 221

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The *gol* is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts encircled by a fence. Every married man has a *gol* which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition 592 [3 42]

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married [67] brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

34 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [882] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.
[613]

The Settlement (pouh)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [36] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog- 613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang, 621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin- [173] ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[622] The chief of the settlement, the *jago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkeland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Bogara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 226] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak (9°5'N) 1187 mm
Malakal (9°32') 737 mm
Kodok (9°55') 682 mm
Renk (11°45') 566 mm

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*podh*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pac*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pac*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out ' if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context '.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the
[171] institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[131] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their
361 permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *orere*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colle*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

[567] (iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to
[712 serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orere*, *colle*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
711 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of
[161 23,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946
233] and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·3 and 1:0·23. *Cf.* Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·3 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *Kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*Kwa Okelo*'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [554] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before [312] dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river [415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use 482 of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 [101] [221] [883] Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] 614 631 Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 182 721 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [63] [36]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

361 Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
613 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
621 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong* (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

613 With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
621 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
622 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

The Hamlet and the Homestead.

[613] Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.
Its plural is *myer*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*lwak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade. 361 621 [345] [513] [237] [825]

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note. [342] 592 [417]

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead. 592 672 [422] [171] [182]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

613 614

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

621

361 484 [182] [578]

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*. They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

182
chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds 613
authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic 621
influences backed by common residence which promote unity and 622
emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct 554
from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. 613
The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit 621
of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances [571] are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in 614
which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl* 613
of Pac,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying 621
number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster 361
of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river 621
bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained 166
that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enter- 361
prising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for 621
themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots [591] (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder. 361
621

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

361 621 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have 361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as [613] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 621 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacodo* = *Facodo* (*Fachodo*).

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok- Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok- Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 361 621 613 621 361

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 613 621

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,[2] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [622] [124]

2. The special status of the Ororo is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12). [see MPumphrey, His File. -Analyst]

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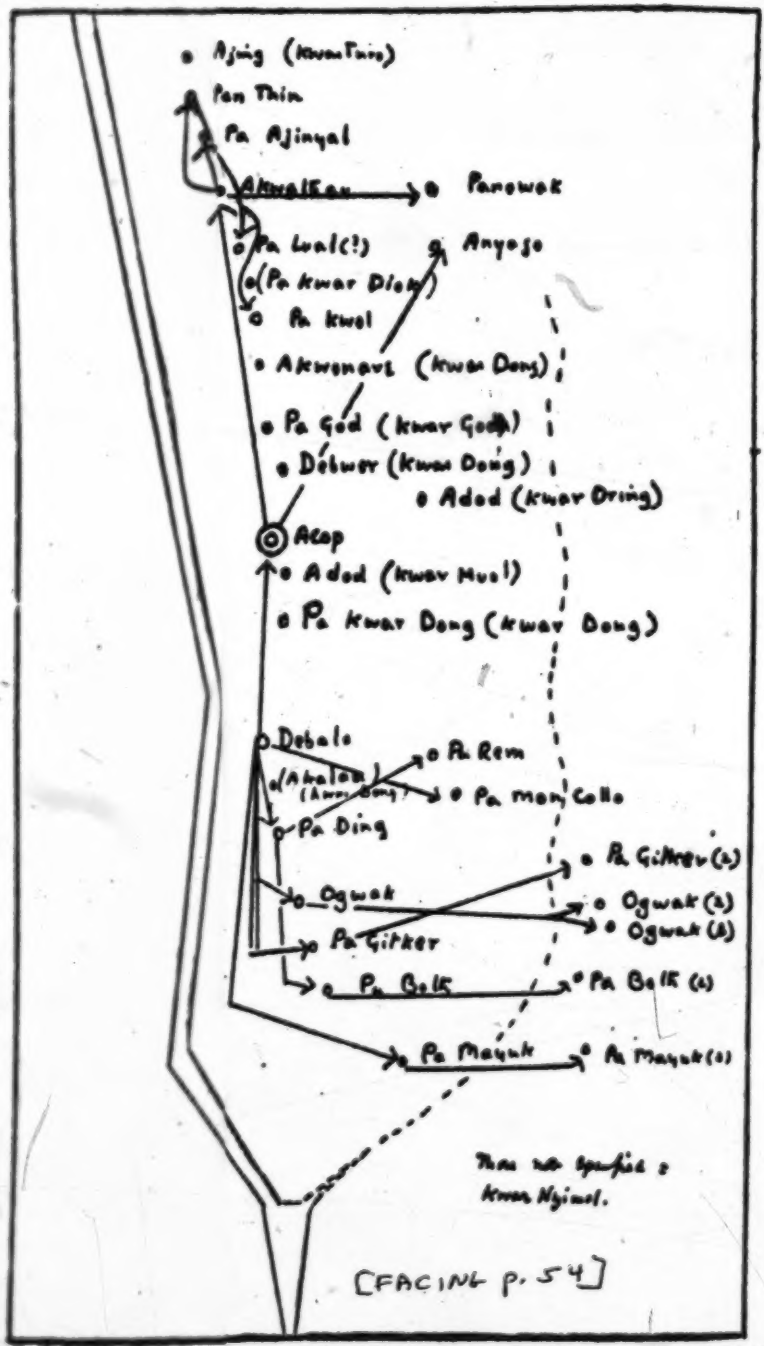

[FACING p. 54]

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameilah*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [128] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate • 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameilah* is now dead.

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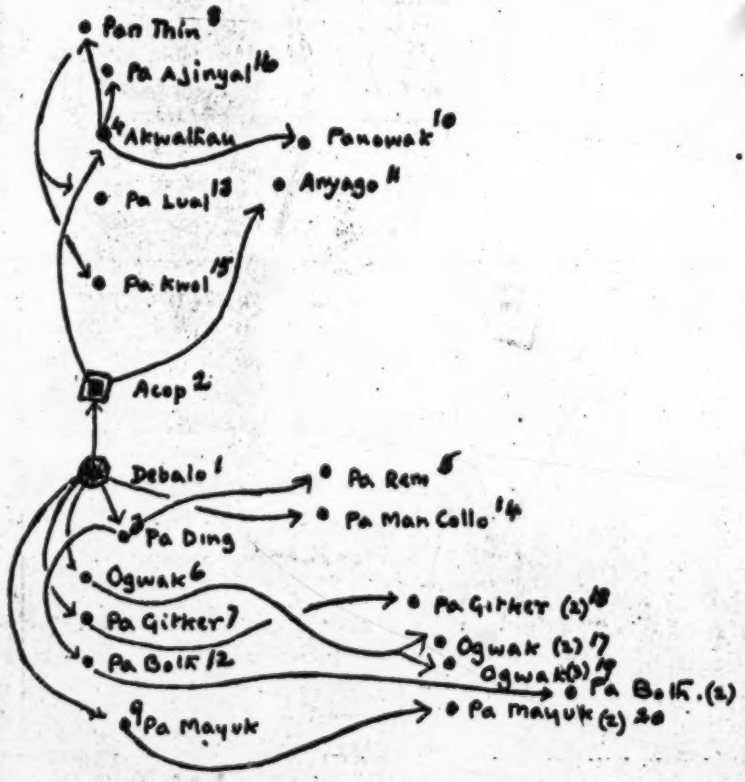

[FACING p. 55]

Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Man Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

•361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 631 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is the village or *bac*.[2]

[614] [621]

565 614 644 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement": *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.

3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.

For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :— 631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth's* mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. 644 648 602

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth's* burial. This 361 766 778

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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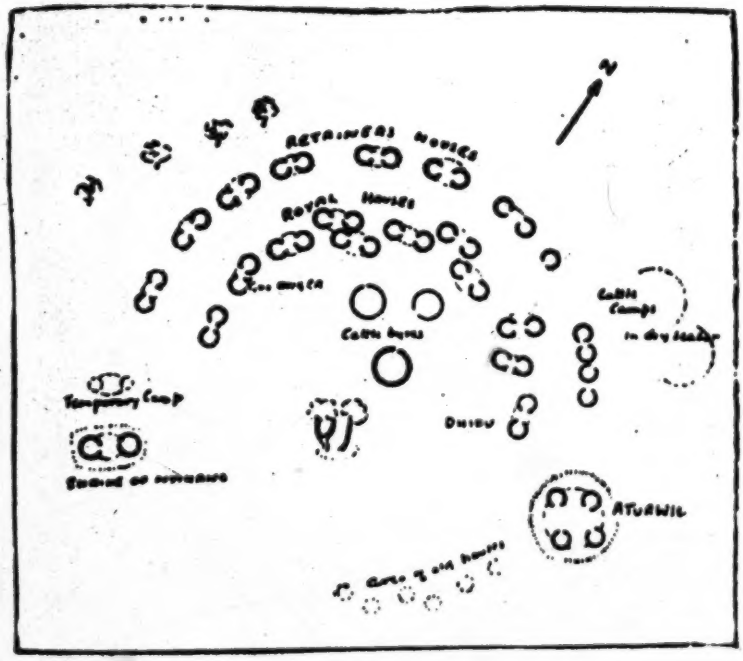


SKETCH PLAN OF FASHODA

[FACING P. 66]

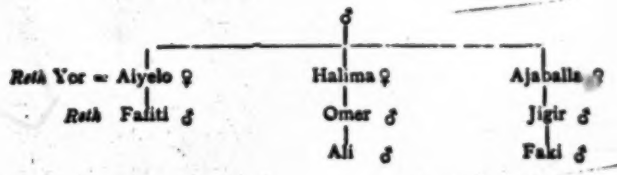
19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Note to Introduction.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

Notes to Part I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no funeral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizontally upon forked sticks.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE PROMISED LAND

I awoke refreshed from sleep, and in the bright morning 797
sunshine I was able to survey my new dwelling place. It was no Eden. In Africa there are many places of wonderful natural beauty, but Detwok is not one of them. Right in front of the house stood the ignoble remains of a brick kiln, and that together with the dried-up appearance of the soil gave one the impression of standing in a well-burnt brick-field. One looked ahead over an expanse of baked earth scarcely relieved by tufts of grass, yellow and shrivelled by the heat, and low clumps of thorn bushes and saw the river shining in the distance. To right and left of the house, indeed almost surrounding the compound in the rear, was a forest of vicious-looking thorn bush beyond which, half a mile away, could be seen the Shilluk villages thinly strung [361] out in line, like, as one writer has put it, 'beads on a string'. In the compound itself were the Fathers' house, a substantial building just recently completed by the Italian Fathers with bricks burnt in the kiln whose ruins still remained, the Convent of the Sisters and a two-storey building with a school below and chapel above.

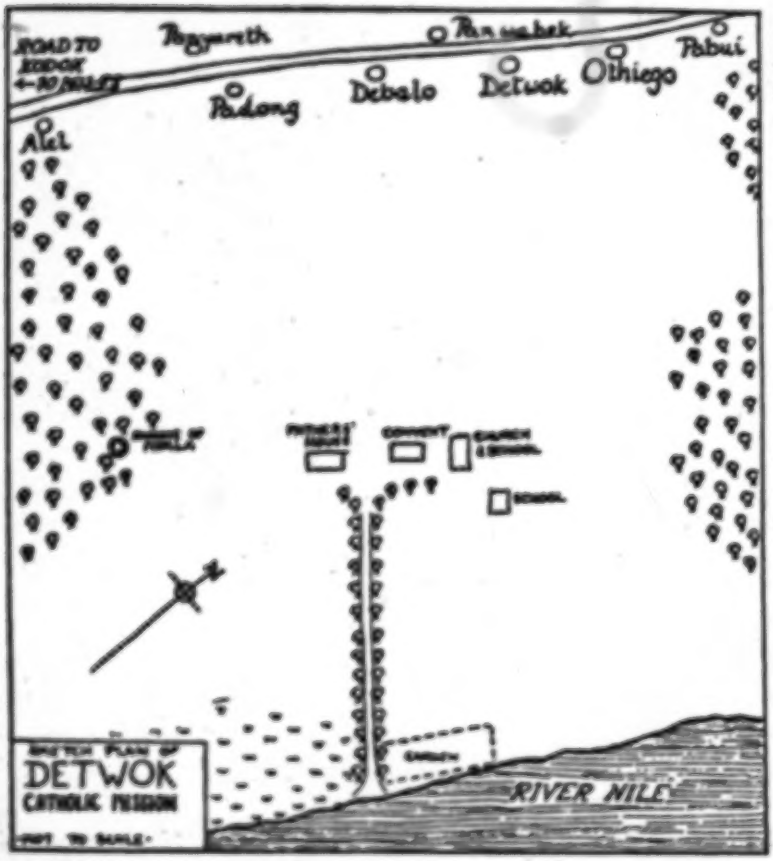
The scene was unlovely in the extreme. The earth of all 134
that portion of the Upper Nile Province apart from the swamps is cotton soil, which, though eminently suitable for the growing of cotton, is useful for little else. In the dry [132]
season, lasting from November to June, its surface is rough and hard, broken by large cracks into which a bicycle wheel can easily slip as far as the hub; in the time of the rains it soon becomes a mass of grey viscous mud as unsafe for a careless walker as the surface of an ice rink. After a few weeks of heavy rain most of the countryside turns into a vast swamp through which one must wade knee-deep in water,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



102
361
491
797

last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognised as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inundations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river, at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood. Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a discount, and social or parochial calls present their own problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source of water for most villages, even those situated miles away from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthenware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month
796 (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*.
[787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house

462 and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating

512 the fields.

FOOD

262 The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread (*kogo*), roasted,

[252] brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102.

Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The

[442] dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out,

or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a

[372] large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from

districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick

on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, dukhn, maize, beans, some onions, various

grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The

fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob

ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the

winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many

ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it.

[231] They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but

is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness;

of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted;

[171] they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept

and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom

with the Bari and Massai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and

the second at sunset.

273 BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merissa or

beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Then it is left till the

grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded

or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a

second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well,

a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and

allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more

water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered

through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep

about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do

great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food

than a beverage.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

There were various dignitaries created *fagos* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *nyireths*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January. A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372 326]

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle.

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 [644] by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food, and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reth* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

[372] We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reth*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice. [114] Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munro in his account of the instalation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reth* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reth* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up resilence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

643 776 The *reth's* stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reth* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reth* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reth* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The same evening, outside the shaive of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim them blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang. 643 783 [372] [688]

THE MAKING OF NEW FIRE AT FASHODA.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire-making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making

643 372 643 643 [787] [276]

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Analyst]

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766 [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *akodk*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] [783]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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4. *jago* Aturwel (Fadit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Olwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[5]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

[648] [372] [787]

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jung kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[8]

114 643

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

123 643

[5] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*akadh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood-[513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [372] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [825] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red [751] ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-[415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 643 796

king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village. [372]

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *entourage* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved [778]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [386] cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil-smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 832
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 302
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301] ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

J.Westermann E-5 (9160) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

1. The Goldcrowned Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

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[facing p. xxiv]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [469] [501]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the winch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with ease, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 185; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[647] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by private only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shillbak F323

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Shillbak and Jones at Dakar, 1911

[Facing p. xxxvi (B)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Shilluk Warrior ribbon-spears and a shield, below him strips of sheepskin. Note the bandage on the hand.

Two men in arms

Shilluk Women in arms for a stock-fight, carrying shields, spears and a "club-shield"

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[facing p. LVI]

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon being a violation of custom. Tremearn writes that " ... use bow, 643 and instrument legal on parell ces (tue un rai)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung, because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.

[641]

Now the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly from Ashmet Bid el Gon, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man 114 is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's 643 statements, we do not know exactly whether Ashmet Bid el Gon spoke about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Arad and Mr. Chatarny are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazogl the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to 643 try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamenes cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alleged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who 114 were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the 171 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, 174 because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be 643 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilizations that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the older substratum of 174 the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremearn, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 256
75) Seligman, p. 428
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 428.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Ceng*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Ceng* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Ceng* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul*
[534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[281] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting
[411] shield, for the *Ceng* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[304] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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S61
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Warriors salute the Drum.

[p.62 B]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasised by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAPITI.
(Second day)

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3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late reth.

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4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late reth.

[FACING p. 26]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[711 703] The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and [535] danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *uwo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 781 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Dak, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SPEECH DAY.

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1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the *reth* as a sign of homage.

2.—The *reth's* party below Atuwic, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING p. 70]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Personal Equipment.

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The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[534] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[45] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwic wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller.

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *ceik Fallti* in 1927, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Awepjur. The *bow* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *bow* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*bowe*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.*

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

* From the *bow* Nyikwom of Lima.

* In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*bowe*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Abur, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Chodo. Nyikang was apparently enraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realized that the actual ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called abandon—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *bowreth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*ayat*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote blood-woman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Goi Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Goi Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Derwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wao* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.*

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiri, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon cross-legged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
524 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
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[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
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[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering, obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle 224
taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo [643]
hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the [687]
hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the [411] harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcase is [628] floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, [643] including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[516]

A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photo: Fr. F. Spokanda

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

438 177 452 512

here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

262 [252] [462] [372]

FOOD

The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kuga)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, dooka, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as dabeib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

[231] [171]

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Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

273

BREWING OF BEER

A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merissa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Then it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

Kinds of white dura.

ʃjɔ́ is very long in ripening. *ábwiɔ̀k* maize.
mɔ́r has a longer ear than *ʃjɔ́*. *rɔ́wɔ́* Dutch (genic grass).
ábɔ́ʃjɔ́ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("kills the elephant"), *ɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́-mɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́*.

The stalks of many of the white duras are cooked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *ʃɔ́ʃjɔ́*.

ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́, *wɔ́ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *wɔ́ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́-ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("the Nubian"?), *ɔ́ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́-ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("of the white man"), *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *wɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("lion's eye") *wɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("crow's eye") *wɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*, *ɔ́ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("sheep-tail"), *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́* ("horse-tail"), *ʃjɔ́*, *ʃjɔ́ʃjɔ́*.

Agriculture Among The Shollas.[1]

By R. W. Titrick, of Dolelb Hill.

The Shollas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Sholla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of those animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Sholla to a larger village of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Sholla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

[24] The Shilluk has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

[22] All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river
[24] bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as
[245] there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shilluk has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our gardens or at the government stations.

The Shilluk plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a dateh palm limb and burning them.

As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole
[112] which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his feet. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shilluk begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does.
[112] His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ21

rabbit, and said, «Where is he that I may kill him?». The rabbit who had been hiding, in the grass, and listening said, «Here I am». The hyena gave chase, and the rabbit ran away. They had a very exciting chase until they came to the house of the porcupine, and the rabbit ran into it. The hyena called to the blue heron, «Go get the chain». (The chain is an iron bar used for digging. The name for it is the same as the verb for eating.) The heron flew away to the house of the hyena, and said to the women folk, «The hyena sent me to eat». They cooked food and set it before the heron, and after it had eaten it returned to the hyena saying, «I have eaten». Impatiently the hyena said, «It was not the food I meant a little while ago. It was the chain. Go get the chain.» The heron returned to the house of the hyena, and said, «I have returned. Bring food». He ate and returned to the hyena, saying, «I have eaten». The hyena in wrath said, «Sit down here. Remain here at the door lest the rabbit come out. I am going, but remain at the door itself.»

The hyena left, and the rabbit eyed the door (put his head out), and he said, «The hyena will dig». And the heron cursed the rabbit, and said, «Your ears have been drawn out long by the sun». And the rabbit laughed heartily, and said, «You cursed me, and cursed the hyena with a very bad curse». In turn the rabbit cursed the heron and said, «Your neck is so long it shakes like grass in the current». And the heron laughed, and the rabbit ran out. The hyena came and said, «This is what I meant, this is the chain, the thing to dig in the earth. Is the rabbit here?» «He is here». «He came to the door just now, and I talked to him». The hyena said, «Sit down over there». And the hyena dug to the end of the hole, and the rabbit was not there. He said, «The rabbit is absent. Shall I not eat you?». He said, «Do not eat me thus, but toss me up in the air, and I will turn into fat, and fall into your mouth». The hyena tossed it up, and held it upward with his eyes closed. The heron spit into the mouth of the hyena, and then flew away.

6. A boy named Ajok was not able to speak, although he could hear. A lion came to the village, and said, «I am looking for Ajok». He was told that Ajok could not speak, but he insisted, and said he would make Ajok speak. Ajok was brought, but he answered nothing to the greeting of the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
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[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shiluk FJ23

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Photo: Fr. F. Spkowska

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding
[facing p. 84]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

309 [545]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the lockers; but of this I am not sure.

[641] TRIBAL MARKS

[513]

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small cuts across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of bottom down tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyebrows. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSING

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyebrows sometimes give the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513]

[237]

[301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

463

ʃiŋo ɔtiʃi who beats the small drum "*ɔtiʃi*".
ʃiŋo ɲɛ̃ ʃi ɲɛ̃ who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
ʃiŋo ɲɔ́ɔ́ who cups.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ ʃi ɔŋ who dresses the horn of cattle.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ who castrates bulls.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ the leader in singing.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃi ʃi ɲɔ́ɔ́ who makes the dancing-sticks.
ʃiŋo ɔŋɔ́ ʃɔŋɔ who makes chairs.
ʃiŋo ɲɔ́ɔ́ who makes the neck supports or rests.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃi ʃɔ́ʃi who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
ʃiŋo ɔŋɔ́ ʃɔ́ʃi ʃɔ́ʃi who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
ʃiŋo ɔŋɔ́ ʃi ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ who makes mat-doors.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ɔŋ ʃi ʃɔ́ɔ́ cot-maker.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ɔŋ ʃi ɲɔ́ door-maker.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ʃi ʃi ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ salt-maker.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ɔ́ʃi ɲɔ́ɔ́ maker of iron bracelets.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃi ʃi one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ who makes the foundations of huts.
ʃiŋo wɔ́ɔ́ʃ diviner.
ʃiŋo ʃɔ́ʃi ʃi ɲɔ́ hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
ʃiŋo wɔ́ɔ́ hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
ʃiŋo ɔ́ʃɔ́ ʃɔ́ʃi hippo-hunteman.
ɔ́ɔ́ŋ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
413

ɔ́ʃɔ́ɔ́ hammer.
ʃɔ́ʃɔ́ anvil.
ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃɔ́ʃi file.
ɔ́ʃɔ́ʃi bellows.
ɔ́ʃɔ́ɔ́ a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
ʃɔ́ʃɔ́ʃi tongs.
ʃɔ́ʃɔ́ chisel.
ʃɔ́ɔ́ʃi an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291
301

ʃɔ́ɔ skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ʃɔ́ʃi loin-cloth for women.
ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ʃi front-cloth for women.
ɔ́ɔ́ skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyiwit* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Henry for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Henry could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gal* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *pero* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shillok FJ23

Plate IX

778
346
231

Three-fold mummy, sacrificial hall or shrine of Nyakang

778
346
171
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415

Fashoda, shrine to Dang

(See p. 10)

3:Westermann E-5 (0910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dressers of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Dyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the neck, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

233 [912] [782] [935]

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

239 [862] [919] [171] [239]

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of cow-stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are moved in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

343 233

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not endangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

221 233 [962]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by rubbing the edges against a stone with a cow's horn.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in salon. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

293 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the doum palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very dreamer work; but the boats they make are fairly well, they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the mahwah tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of thin pith-like, light cross tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[463]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called gow and a wind instrument resembling in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and bound with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The gow is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of sinews of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by twisting these strings and tightening or loosening them about the cross-piece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

323 POTTERY Pottery is the handiwork of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, bowls for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-bowls are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

[463]
[465]
[376
53]

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 the depredations of hyenas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
502 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *kuks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle,
[554] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
502 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
853 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys,
[224] and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
502 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[341] *durra* is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to have his pint until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to rest.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
502 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are
[341] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[502 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
[415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
462] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 643 778 of reik Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 778 They passed the village of the new reik, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, [533] [535] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover- [415] 288 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular [533] 539 song was :—

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

693 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still [755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Personal Equipment.

643 778 The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[534] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[45] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwie wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller.

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive.

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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● 415
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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

[P. 164 (A)]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [372] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against 825 these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red [751] ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
294 shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
237 hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
411 and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
412 to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering, obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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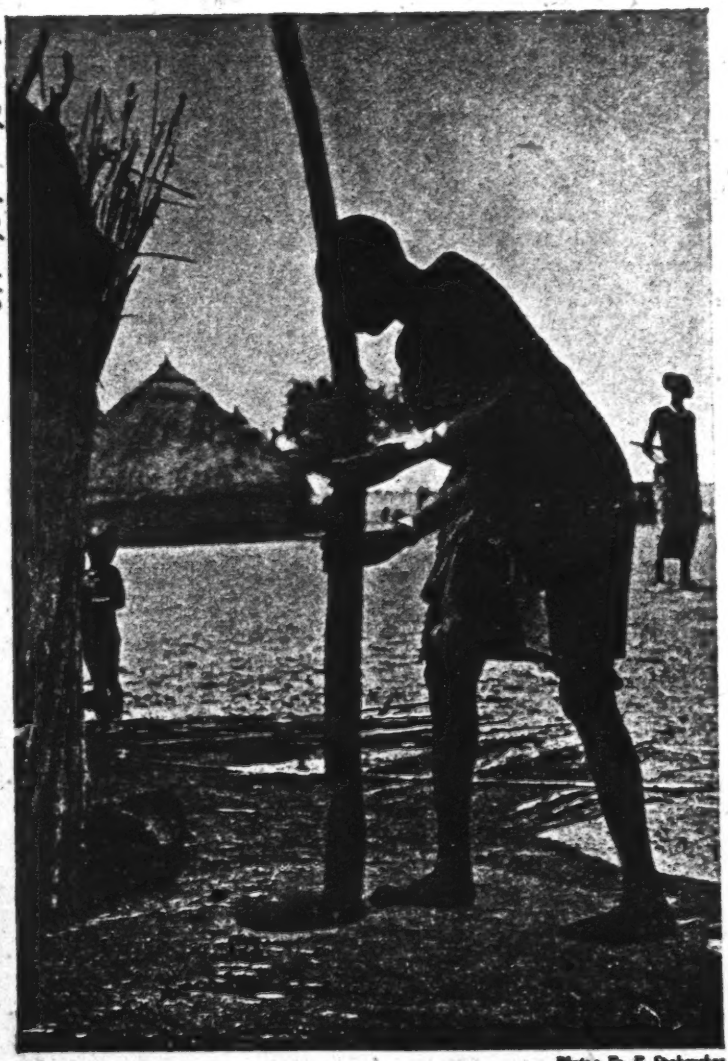

Photo: Fr. F. Spelmeier

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the 361 sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very 621 large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year [345] as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a [513] normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put [237] the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have [825] a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an [342] area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The 592 family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by [417] transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere 592 is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* 672 leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* [422] leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater- [171] familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader [182] has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants
643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[535] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *baugreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782]
to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753]
taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755]
to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [787]
upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty calabash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825]
of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782]
washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262]
meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417]
spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358]
repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
776

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the 361 sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very 621 large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year [345] as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a [513] normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put [237] the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have [825] a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an [342] area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The 592 family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by [417] transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere 592 is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of 672 its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* [422] leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater- [171] familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader [182] has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the Kwar entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[50]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [681] [626]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613 614 612]

50. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-
[684] mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
[182 The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
583] system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

428 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
544 there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks [1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

778 « Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
537 out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
422 the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
582 up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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114 [1] Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* 583 [584]
and by the girl's gol.

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

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15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425● 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 624 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on
her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
513] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring
out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they
desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in
a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and
the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with
the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We
were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no
longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the
ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members
of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept
for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men
of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women
divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a
rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the
vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about
[533] his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is:
"Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
426 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 ● 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been 788 given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman 735 takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles 241 it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

425 It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is 556 often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this purpose

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently
addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and
sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
776 sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
782 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the
ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in
a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the
water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the
sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased.
[425] The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is
made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as
the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach
and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is
cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the
deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with
a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in
the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
[262] to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the
sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man
of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are
carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the
bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined
by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 «We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given
as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we
thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Ñabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *una nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

587 763

517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

[361] [237] [825] 75 [20] 535 [574]

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
●428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all: so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dâṇ lẹ́pè, ywôdé, ẹ́ bíẹ́ wọ̀k, ka kẹ̀l, ka chíkì kèlò, ka nan ẹni e rẹ́ńò, ka biẹ́ bẹ́ kwôp: yá nẹ́ka ḍāṇ a war! Ká bûl gọ̀ch, ka ṭẹ̄rọ biẹ́ wọ̀k, ka tyẹ̀ń a mạn kẹ́ṭe bẹ́ yẹ́ké jam, gẹ́ kân. Ka tyẹ̀kẹ̀ bẹ̄nọ, leń riṭ; ka fach yâk, gyẹn mâk, ka byẹ́l kẹ̀l. Ka ṭẹ̄rọ bẹ̄nọ, ḍọk a kẹ̀l fōṭe Jạń. Ka ńi ụ dọk leńe riṭ, ká ḍọ̀k dùọ̀k. Ka ḍọk aryạu gọ́ń yi jāgọ, ka mūje riṭ, ka riṭ e wệrò, ká è kò: kẹ́ṭ, chôl! Ka ṭẹ̄rọ chùdò, ka mẹn e kānọ ḍeań, ka mẹn e kānọ ḍeań, ka ḍọk e tûmò, ga pyārọ. Ka chwọk wûr, ka e bẹ̄nọ, ka biẹ́ yi jāgọ, kịne: kwọ́p bẹ̀dà dì? Kịne: kwọf á ṭùm. Ka ḍọk kẹ̀l, ka gẹ́ ṭyẹ́r, ka gẹ́ mūjọ ki dyẹ́k, mọk kwache tyẹ̀ń riṭ. Ka tyẹ̀ń riṭ yiẹ̀ńò, kịne: ḍāṇ rach! Ka nẹ̀kè ki ḍeań mẹ̄kọ, ka ḍọk kẹ̀l, ka tyẹ̀ń riṭ e bẹ̄nọ, kẹ́ṭa Fashōdọ ki tyẹ̀ń ḍāṇ, tyẹ̀ń ḍāṇọ ṭōṭe ḍọk abich. Ka riṭ kẹ̀lọ ḍọk abich, wạṭ akyẹ́l ywọk ńál ẹ́ní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pun juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to 513 get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

● 428 If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya piñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tiiṅ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tiṅē atwi) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciatel. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work
[684] eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
[182 The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
583] system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remainng cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and intead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

● 428 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers. 428 592

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary. 581 [595] [589] [162]

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 585 [582] [583] 182 583 591

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odheh*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameileh*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture [428] and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameileh* is now dead.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the untraditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwor. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*);[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional [643] manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kur *wad* Fafiti.

It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and 643 mourning ceremonies (*wowo*) are to take place in close consultation with the 644 kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with 428 the *ororo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact 766 there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adieng, had taken stealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. 643 The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be 766 completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[767] [2] The *ororo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

A [i.e., reth Fadiet's. - Anglyst]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of [411 184] precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the [576] Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to [631] speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears [428] had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[*]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial 643 sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which 782 had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears [578] presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

[*] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [778] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

553

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

845

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Ñabol.

593 605

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

604

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

[428] [431]

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [583]

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, [583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of [482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard 431] of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 7 51 7 54 [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows. [556]

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine. 6 72 7 51 7 54

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear. 7 54 8 26

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person. 6 26 7 54 4 31 7 35

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye. 7 51 7 54 6 26

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [535 593] oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 755] will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, [788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about [533] his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. 431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Wath Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pothe manyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king [431]
and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [443]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, 132 principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides ●433 of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is 243 harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle 161 and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have 174 no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

[114] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter XIV

FAMINE AND FLOOD

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the Shilluk live in a state of chronic hunger. The poverty of the land they till, their primitive methods of husbandry, the elements which seem to fight against them in their annual struggle to raise a crop all contribute to make this so. And if despite all these handicaps, if perhaps in an occasional year the fates relent a little and send neither deluge nor drought, but a supply of rain liberal enough to nurture a plentiful field, then the weaver birds will descend in their millions to lay waste the great heads of mature but as yet unripened grain. The damage that these tiny predators can do is incredible. In the early dawn they swoop like a black cloud on the unprotected fields, settle and after a short time, rise again. But they leave behind them ruin; the heads of grain are in rags and tatters and the ground is carpeted green with the unripened grain. In three or four days the former flourishing field is laid waste.

Once, at daybreak, I saw a migration of weaver birds. They were flying up the Nile from north to south. I did not see the beginning of this great army, neither did I see the end, but for half an hour it flew in an unbroken mass which seemed to stretch across the entire breadth of the river and to be about a foot deep. Its passing boded ill for the luckless cultivators in the south.

Despite these misfortunes the Shilluk usually manage to garner something from their impoverished fields. From October and for the next few months they generally have sufficient to eat and after that, if they have money to buy it, grain imported from more prosperous parts of the country is available in the merchants' stores. But occasionally the whole country is stricken. The failure of the rains is

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, 233
are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how [192]
cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal [782]
occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a [435]
cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also 234
by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The [462]
quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are [415]
washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also [171]
wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the [237]
custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at 343
night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The 233
rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off 221
the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when 233
grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White [462]
Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 422 436 [454 566] [684] [182 583] [146]

Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

425 567

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

428 592

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This [173] embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[11] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins 224 of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are 292 required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, 356 but no new building in mud was done.

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[136] 11. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
411 and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of sand carriers fully employed; half a dozen more, to their greater disgust, are given picks and sent to dig out the foundations of the new buildings, and of the remainder some are led to the site for the new huts and put to work to clean up the ground so that the foundations can be marked out, and others given the job of making and puddling mud for the replastering of the present mud buildings. 339 797*

Now commences a period of unceasing activity on the part of the missionary. There are some seventy workmen employed in four different parts of the mission estate, and, except for the brickmakers who are paid a set price for every thousand bricks, each and every one of them is only too ready to steal away and fold his hands and close his eyes in repose as soon as the boss's back is turned. He, poor harassed man, has become the complete Pooh-Bah of the building industry; he must act as architect, general contractor, storekeeper, clerk of works, foreman, timekeeper and cashier, and at the same time keep the mission running normally. He does not forget his priestly duties, and so he is up long before the dawn to say his Mass and have as much as possible of his Office said before he goes out at 6 a.m. to call the roll and start the men on their day's work. He returns to the house to bolt his breakfast, but before he has finished, there are half a dozen outside clamouring for attention. A wheel has come off a water cart, and the crew, never dreaming of putting it back themselves and finding a nail to hold it in place, but only too happy to have a legitimate excuse to sit down and do nothing, are doing just that. He slaps it back into place on the axle, secures it with a bolt and nut and scares the watermen into actually galloping off towards the river. A brickmaker has broken his mould and that requires a little carpentry and a few new screws. A digger complains that he can't find his shovel, is led firmly to the tool shed and falls over the missing article as he enters the doorway. A crowd of people has gathered at the back of the house and the number is increasing as more people come from the villages carrying poles or hanks of grass rope for sale. Each pole and hank has to be inspected, its value appraised and paid for on the spot. 797* 466 461 [339] [465] [437]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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* 797 339 forest is too far away to make wood carrying from there an economical proposition, so he has to fall back on what resources the mission can offer. A squad goes off armed with saws and axes to attack the leafy avenue of trees which line the road to the river. The operation is euphemistically called 'pruning', but by the time it is completed and the Father's wood hunger is satisfied, the trees present a sad and sorry appearance. However, they will recover, and anyhow he can't afford to shed a sentimental tear over their appearance with sixty thousand bricks yet at stake.

With the breaking down of the brick kiln, revealing the rows of lovely bricks, those on the top and sides baked a golden brown, and the centre ones red and blue, the real work of the season begins; the rebuilding of the Sisters' convent and the erection of the new schoolrooms and the teacher's house. This is a task beyond the amateur capabili- * 797 ties of our Pooh-Bah, but expert assistance is at hand. One of the Prefecture staff is an authority on building, and he, accompanied by a Brother, arrives on the postboat, having been snatched from his labours in some other mission to start the work here. Scaffolding is erected round the dangerous wall and with consummate skill the expert directs the operation of pulling down the wall in sections, planning to rebuild one portion before passing on to the destruction and rebuilding of the next. The Brother meanwhile is setting out the foundations of the other buildings. The Reverend man-of-all-work, however, has little time to pause and admire such dexterity, for the unceasing daily round still claims his attention. The second kiln is nearing completion, and must be fired as soon as possible, and the first one, now being rapidly demolished, has to be rebuilt with the remaining mud bricks, about another thirty thousand, and fired again. He is still a one-man purchasing board for the produce of [437] the district, but now the grass rope and millet stalks have given way to bundles of grass for thatching and the work of [340] thatching the new huts and some of the old ones has already started.

So far, apart from minor hitches, accidents and squabbles,

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1 1/2—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a
[516] circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

● 438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: ŋanag, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear them-
[221] selves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

226 Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of
224 which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

32 The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work,
[316 though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by
439] trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are
501 necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus*
[137] *flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
● 439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

ARMS 411

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end.

CHARACTER 157 186

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc.

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

181

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black.

461 [464]

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work

[221]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bōdo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
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SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

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● 439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house
462 and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating
512 the fields.

FOOD

262 The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kwen)*, roasted,
[252] brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102.
Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The
[412] dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out,
or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a
[372] large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from
districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick
on a soft piece of wood.

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it.
[231] They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted;
[171] they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER

273 A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ñ(kàñò)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(àjwɔ̀gó)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lāmo* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwachɔ* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 782 [177] [193]

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk [778] *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most [411 727] of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought 439 from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the [177] anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was 648 emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance. 512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
463 to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least
[232] to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
411 and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering, obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

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276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
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about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are 243
cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest 185
has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps [432]
ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store [443]
run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining 342
back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing [221]
under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid [476]
for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter XIV

FAMINE AND FLOOD

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the Shilluk live in a state of chronic hunger. The poverty of the land they till, their primitive methods of husbandry, the elements which seem to fight against them in their annual struggle to raise a crop all contribute to make this so. And if despite all these handicaps, if perhaps in an occasional year the fates relent a little and send neither deluge nor drought, but a supply of rain liberal enough to nurture a plentiful field, then the weaver birds will descend in their millions to lay waste the great heads of mature but as yet unripened grain. The damage that these tiny predators can do is incredible. In the early dawn they swoop like a black cloud on the unprotected fields, settle and after a short time, rise again. But they leave behind them ruin; the heads of grain are in rags and tatters and the ground is carpeted green with the unripened grain. In three or four days the former flourishing field is laid waste.

Once, at daybreak, I saw a migration of weaver birds. They were flying up the Nile from north to south. I did not see the beginning of this great army, neither did I see the end, but for half an hour it flew in an unbroken mass which seemed to stretch across the entire breadth of the river and to be about a foot deep. Its passing boded ill for the luckless cultivators in the south.

Despite these misfortunes the Shilluk usually manage to garner something from their impoverished fields. From October and for the next few months they generally have sufficient to eat and after that, if they have money to buy it, grain imported from more prosperous parts of the country is available in the merchants' stores. But occasionally the whole country is stricken. The failure of the rains is

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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177 422 436 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. [454 566] The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. [684] [182 583] The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the [146] benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

429 567 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

428 592 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the elder women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

[301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly over as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 181

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 461 [469] [221]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to do, except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

439

[461] 177

326

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the end, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

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Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps. 512

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his food he must farm the land, and although his methods of husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net, harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the

461 464 463 342 501 824 824 283

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224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the [743] hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

● 461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

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the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

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unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and 797*
permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or 346
three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in [136]
the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must 797*
try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that 339
he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word 464
goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to 797*
be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule 46
is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been 797*
good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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461 Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his [648] tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be [651] demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make 339 them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, *797 a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

●461 And often enough, that is just what does happen. The *797 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of sand carriers fully employed; half a dozen more, to their 339
greater disgust, are given picks and sent to dig out the 797 *
foundations of the new buildings, and of the remainder some are led to the site for the new huts and put to work to clean up the ground so that the foundations can be marked out, and others given the job of making and puddling mud for the replastering of the present mud buildings.

Now commences a period of unceasing activity on the part 797 *
of the missionary. There are some seventy workmen em- 466
ployed in four different parts of the mission estate, and, 461 ●
except for the brickmakers who are paid a set price for every [339]
thousand bricks, each and every one of them is only too [465]
ready to steal away and fold his hands and close his eyes in repose as soon as the boss's back is turned. He, poor harassed man, has become the complete Pooh-Bah of the building industry; he must act as architect, general contractor, storekeeper, clerk of works, foreman, timekeeper and cashier, and at the same time keep the mission running normally. He does not forget his priestly duties, and so he is up long before the dawn to say his Mass and have as much as possible of his Office said before he goes out at 6 a.m. to call the roll and start the men on their day's work. He returns to the house to bolt his breakfast, but before he has finished, there are half a dozen outside clamouring for attention. A wheel has come off a water cart, and the crew, never dreaming of putting it back themselves and finding a nail to hold it in place, but only too happy to have a legitimate excuse to sit down and do nothing, are doing just that. He slaps it back into place on the axle, secures it with a bolt and nut and scares the watermen into actually galloping off towards the river. A brickmaker has broken his mould and that requires a little carpentry and a few new screws. A digger complains that he can't find his shovel, is led firmly to the tool shed and falls over the missing article as he enters the doorway. A crowd of people has gathered at the back of the house and [437]
the number is increasing as more people come from the villages carrying poles or hanks of grass rope for sale. Each pole and hank has to be inspected, its value appraised and paid for on the spot.

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* 797 paid for on the spot. But the Reverend Pooh-Bah leaves them
466 for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection.
461 He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the
[462] bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies —don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are
465 really putting their backs into it, for the more bricks they
339 make, the more money they will earn, and already there are
* 797 long double lines of newly made bricks stretching out in
466 front of each man. In one case it is a matter of more haste,
461 less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team
* 797 vehemently arguing the matter among themselves, since a
466 man from the hut-plastering squad comes along to tell him
461 that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

one end of the compound bring Pooh-Bah hurrying from the other to add those of peacemaker and judge to his other rôles. Workmen tire of their particular jobs (water carrying is particularly hated) and demand another one. The water-carrying difficulty is not solved until a roster is formed so that everyone except the lordly brickmakers and bricklayers take their turn. Hoes begin to disappear, but that little pastime is effectively put an end to by stopping the price out of the wages of every individual in the squad concerned. After the second one disappears it is found to be too expensive.

Now it is time to fire the kiln. The six tunnels are roughly bricked up on one side and filled with firewood and straw from the other. The fires are lighted at dusk, and once they are kindled must not be allowed to go out until the firing is completed. Soon each fire is blazing merrily, and the draught forcing the fire back through the mass of dry wood and straw quickly turns each tunnel into a roaring cavern of flame. The kiln presents a grand spectacle in the darkness, as great tongues of fire lick out from the openings and billows of smoke from the wood and clouds of steam from the still drying bricks envelop the whole structure. The firing continues on one side for two nights and two days; then that side is bricked up and the other side opened and the process for firing continued for a like period. The interiors of the tunnels are before long glowing white-hot masses of fused brick, and the kiln soon becomes fiercely hot as the flames mount up, searching through each crack and cranny to reach the top of the mass. When the firing is completed, the tunnels are blocked up again, any cracks that have appeared in the walls are plastered over anew and the mass is left to cool down, a process that takes about a week. By now there are sufficient bricks to commence the second kiln and this is built in the same manner as the first. But the priest has noted with concern that the firing of the kiln has consumed far more wood than he had anticipated. The strong north wind which now blows with full force every day has helped on the fires more enthusiastically than he would have liked. He cannot go to the expense of getting more wood from Kodok, and the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many [585] village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in
[556] cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
• [462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[173 539 114] [1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xiv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyakang came, he went to the Kiur Anfili, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the mold, so that Nyakang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the mold will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the mold broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ondo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 15 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which in, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not endangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep besides. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the native some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *lôgo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171 565]

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[461] 177

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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

285 462

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS

501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the aubach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[462]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *pen* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *pen* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wrenching these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

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322

POTTERY

323 Pottery is the handiwork of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

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[415]
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531]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

462 512

FOOD The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kuga)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

262 [252] [442] [372]

Besides dura they eat sesame, ducha, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as doleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

[231] [171]

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

273 BREWING OF BEER A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merissa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Then it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house. 342 [565]

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house. [462]

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cooked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick. [322] 283 342

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner 342

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

Kinds of white dura.

ŋ̀ŋ̀l is very long in ripening. *àbwòk* maize. 241
wèr has a longer ear than *ŋ̀ŋ̀l*. *rèwò* Duchn (panic grass). 824
àbwòdò "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

lìk-dìò, ìkòlò, àdìrìk, ofyòt lyòch ("kills the elephant"), *wòlò, dìòl, olòch-mòch, ànòdò, owòt, ekòòòòò, dìòch, ìlwò.*

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *lwòlò.*

ìòrò, wòjàl-fò-dìmò, wòjàl-fò-ànòrò, àdìò ("the Nubian"?), *nàòci-fòti-dwai, ànòìnò, ìòò, aòòò, ìwòch, nòfòyòò, àlwòl, bwòò* ("of the white man"), *ìlwònòl, ìmòrò, wòòò* ("lion's eye") *wònòòk* ("crow's eye") *wòrò, nòìòòò, nòyòmò-bwòk, ìwòì, nòfìlwòt, yìòrùmò* ("sheep-tail"), *yìòyòò* ("horse-tail"), *nòyò, àdòòì.*

Agriculture Among The Shullas.[1]

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shullas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of these animals. 241 233 [237 412]

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men idled their time away in the village. [462]

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp. [222]

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man 539*
went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask 586
your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father 593
asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know." The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have!' Then I said: 'Here am I!' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!" After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!"[1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal wąkę ɛí bịdà gwɔ̀ɣ̀; ka kìpa ɡìne gɔ́ɣ̀ kìne: í, ɛ̀ɛ̀n, ya líɛ̀o ɡal![2] *Ka* 539*
ɛ̀ɛ̀nɛ ɡàɛ̀kę ko: dɛ̀ɔ̀k! Ka e ko: bɛ̀ɔ̀k, ɡìl dɛ̀ɔ̀k ɡn! ɡìɣ yìga mɛ̀ɛ̀kwɛ́ yí ɡìl. Ká ɔ̀ ɡìdɔ̀. Ka e kɛ̀ɔ̀, ka kwɔ̀n ɡwɛ́, ka ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ ɡwɔ̀ra mɛ̀l, ka gɔ ɛí yɔ̀rɛ̀, ka gɔ ɛí kìɣɛ́ɣ̀ pɛ̀ɛ̀. Ka kwɔ̀nɛ ɛ̀kìɣɔ̀, ka wìy pɛ̀ɛ̀ rum yí pɔ̀ɣn, ka kwɔ̀n ɛ̀ɛ̀kę, ka lwɔ̀l dwɔ̀ɛ̀ ɡìɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀-gɔ̀l gɔ̀n. Ka mɔ̀n a ɡìɣɔ̀ wɛ́ɛ̀ɣ̀ɔ̀; ka e bìɔ̀ɛ̀ gɔ̀n ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀.[3]

Ka gìn chɔm e ɡɔm kí chɔm, e bìɔ̀ɛ̀ yɔ̀n, ka ɛ̀ɛ̀n a ɡàɛ̀kę kɔ̀ɣ̀n wɔ̀k, ka pɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀, ka gɔ yɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ e ɡìɛ̀, ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ ɡwɔ̀ɣ̀. Kìne: bɔ̀l, ɣ ya ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀? Ka ɛí bɔ̀ɣ̀ pɛ̀ɛ̀, ka ɛí ɡwɔ̀ɣ̀ɔ̀ mɛ̀l, ka ɛí gɛ̀ɣɔ̀, kìne: bɛ̀ɔ̀k, kɛ̀! Kwɔ̀ɣ̀ɔ̀ a ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀. Ka ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɡɔ́ɔ̀ ɡɔ̀n ko: á gìn ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀? Kìne: í, ɡɔ̀ɣ̀ gìn ɛí kwɔ̀ɣ̀ɔ̀! mì ɛ̀ɛ̀-ɡìɣ̀, chwɔ̀la: ɛí chɛ̀ɛ̀ chwɔ̀la yí ɛí chìɛ̀n ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀, ka ɡìɛ̀ɛ̀ gìn chɔm a tìn, a ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ pɔ̀ɛ̀. Kɔ́ɔ̀ ɡwí ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀n, dɛ̀ chwɔ̀la gìn chɛ̀ɛ̀ yí ɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀. A kɔ̀bɔ́ɔ̀ ɛ̀ɛ̀n a ɡàɛ̀kę kìne: wìy ɛ̀ɛ̀ra, yí nɔ̀ɛ̀ mɔ̀rɛ́ ɛ̀ɛ̀ chɔ̀n? Yo fa dɛ̀ɔ̀ɣ̀ɔ̀ ɡal kìɣɛ̀. Kɔ́ɔ̀ ɡwí ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀n; a ɡàɛ̀kę ɛ̀ɛ̀n a ɡàɛ̀kę mɛ̀l, a ɡìɣɔ̀ gìn chɔm, a chɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ka chɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ wɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will 462 ●
cook in place of you." The woman said: "All right!" He said (to himself): 539*
"Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the cows of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will come later", or: "do later, cooking": I will cook after, instead of you.
[3] He remained thinking of the food.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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He went and poured much water on the flour (to make bread), so that the foam floated on the surface. He skimmed the foam off and put it into the hole near the grinding-stone. When the bread was done, he covered the hole with a skin, and the bread he put into a large gourd for his wife, and what was left (in the pot), he scratched out for the children. (He did not take any food for himself, because) he was thinking of the foam. (He thought the foam was the best of the food, therefore he reserved it for himself).

When his people had finished eating, he sat quite still, waiting till his wife had gone out. Then he uncovered the hole and saw that the foam had gone, it had dried off! He said: "Dear me! what shall I do now?" He lay down, he got up again, he was quite perplexed. He could not say one word ("talk refused to return"). His wife asked: "What is the matter?" He answered: "Why, it is not a thing to be told; mother of my children, I thought because you are so fat, I thought it was because you used to eat foam, so I cooked the food today, and I put the foam into the hole. That is the matter. I thought you were so fat from eating foam. His wife said: "Father of my child, what greediness has been troubling you?" He replied: "I shall never cook again." That is it. The woman arose and cooked food, he ate, and was pleased.

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing-floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

[361] Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before 392 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use [415] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen 482 vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462 The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787 They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the King is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is 756 merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said : «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases. 756 766 787

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast. 755 [762] [756]

When a servant of a king begs he says : «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted. 756

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief. [766]

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer. 756 787

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people. 771 181

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people. 756

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

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342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradition must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

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funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with any- [181]
thing that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you off-hand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time.

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will [462]
at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

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* 797 paid for on the spot. But the Reverend Pooh-Bah leaves them
466 for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection.
461 He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies [462] —don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are
465 really putting their backs into it, for the more bricks they
339 make, the more money they will earn, and already there are
* 797 long double lines of newly made bricks stretching out in
466 front of each man. In one case it is a matter of more haste,
461 less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team
* 797 vehemently arguing the matter among themselves, since a
466 man from the hut-plastering squad comes along to tell him
461 that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.

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221 233 578 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the wind-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are eaten
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 185; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will pursue it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by private only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practice a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

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A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, bows, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *lâjo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS

An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS

Plaiting is practised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong guard with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a
[516] circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
756 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

● 463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working cock supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is undertaken by every Shilluk. The cock supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

COCK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[493] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ŋgang*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

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ñdáá a kind of mat made of ambach, as a seat for chiefs only.

dho a sieve of cloth, for straining beer.

wíjí grass for stopping up cracks in the wall, to keep out mosquitoes. 352

ojiwi a pot.

ñyó?

ŋwí?

11. Handicrafts.

Ñyíí means a skilled man, one who is particularly skilled in some work, and who, therefore, likes to do this work, and is asked by others to do it for them, so that this craft becomes "his work". Of course it is not his sole occupation, except perhaps in the case of the worker in metal. He is a trade hold in high esteem, so that he has become the *ñyíí* par excellence; if the natives simply speak of a *ñyíí*, they mean the smith or metal-worker. He does not practise his craft in one place, but goes from village to village. The other craftsmen practise their craft only occasionally. But as a rule one man knows and practises only one of the arts enumerated below. 463 [324]

ñyíí tjó maker of spears; plural: *ñyíí tjó*.

ñyíí tjó ñí tjó the man who files spears.

ñyíí tapí ñí ñíí tjó the man who makes the spear-handles straight.

ñyíí dak tobacco-pipe maker.

ñyíí ŋíí ñí ñíí tjó the man who makes spear-handles.

ñyíí nook ñí ŋíí potter, generally a woman.

ñyíí gwjo ñí who carves, makes figures on gourds.

ñyíí ŋáv ñí tjoí who makes the string on which the gourds are hung.

ñyíí wíck who makes the roof of huts.

ñyíí ñwíñí ñí ñíu who makes skin-clothes.

ñyíí ñyíŋ who makes cotton clothes.

ñyíí tapí carpenter.

ñyíí ŋíí who tattooes.

ñyíí tapí ñí ñŋ who makes clubs.

ñyíí ñíí ñí ñíí shield-maker.

ñyíí tapí ñí ñwjo who makes shields to protect against clubs.

ñyíí ŋíí ñí ñíu tailor, sewer.

ñyíí tapí ñí ñíí drum-maker.

ñyíí ñwíñí ñíí who covers the drum with a skin.

ñyíí ñwíñí ñíí who beats the drum.

ñyíí ñíu ñí ñíí who polishes beads.

ñyíí ñíñ ñí ñíí who makes ostrich shell beads.

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463

bjjo ɛdjjɛ who beats the small drum "*ɛdjjɛ*".
bjjo pɛ̃ bj jɔ who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bjjo tɛɛ̃ɔ who cups.
bjjo ɛɛ̃ bj wɛ̃ who dresses the horn of cattle.
bjjo ɛjɔ̃ɔ who carvesses bells.
bjjo ɛjɛ who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
bjjo bɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ wɛ̃ the leader in singing.
bjjo bɛ̃ɔ̃ bj ɛɛ̃ɔ who makes the dancing-sticks.
bjjo tɛɛ̃ bɛ̃ɔ who makes chairs.
bjjo ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ who makes the neck supports or rests.
bjjo bɛ̃ɛ̃ bɛ̃ɔ̃ who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bjjo tɛɛ̃ bɛ̃ɔ̃ bɛ̃ɔ̃ who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bjjo tɛɛ̃ bj ɛɛ̃ɔ ɛɛ̃ɔ who makes mat-doors.
bjjo ɔɔ̃ɔ bj bɛ̃ɔ̃ net-maker.
bjjo ɔɔ̃ɔ bj ɛɛ̃ɔ door-maker.
bjjo ɔɔ̃ɔ bj ɛɛ̃ɔ salt-maker.
bjjo ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ ɔɔ̃ɔ maker of iron bracelets.
bjjo ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ ɔɔ̃ one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bjjo bɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ wɛ̃ who makes the foundations of huts.
bjjo wɛ̃ɔ̃ diver.
bjjo ɛɛ̃ɔ bj ɔɔ̃ hair dresser who fashions the hair into small loops.
bjjo wɛ̃ hair dresser who makes the loops artificial hair-dresses.
bjjo wɛ̃ɔ̃ ɛɛ̃ɔ hippo-hunters.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
913

ɛɛ̃ɔ hammer.
bjjo anvil.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ file.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ bellows.
ɛɛ̃ɔ a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ tongs.
ɛɛ̃ɔ chisel.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291
301

ɛɛ̃ skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ bark-cloth for women.
ɛɛ̃ɔ̃ front-cloth for women.
ɛɛ̃ skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

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and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
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is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [824]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824]
[283]

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463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
824 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[283] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully
[323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which
[415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[274] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[324] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears
411 and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he
[437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering, obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang.

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stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks. 439

A Shilluk man hardly leaves his house without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The clubs are of common wood without any ornament. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end. ARMS 411

The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white man. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their modes of life. This strong distinctiveness is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc. CHARACTER 157 186

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive as many disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

As regards the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are concerned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black. 151

Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the minister has, during the last few years, had considerable trouble in educating the native to regular + obedient work. — If one sees a Shilluk standing for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the mdem of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work 161 [illegible] [illegible]

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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 764
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [797]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table [464]
boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [464]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

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797 must of necessity concentrate the greater part of his efforts
871 on the youth of the tribe through the medium of the school. Here the teaching of the 'three Rs' is combined with a solid grounding in the Catechism, and at the end of the boy's third year, if he has proved a satisfactory pupil and desires to become a Christian, he is baptized. A further year in the
[872] mission Elementary School is followed by four years Intermediate education. At the end of this period the boy may,
873 if of sufficient ability, pass on to the Secondary School, and may ultimately attain to the highest honours of University College, Khartoum. Alternatively, when his Intermediate or
464 Secondary course is finished, the pupil, either of his own choice, or because further promotion is denied him, may elect to seek employment, usually in one of the Government
[874] departments, or to proceed to a course of training as an Elementary or Primary School teacher.

797 In any case the priest is always at hand to guide, guard and
872 instruct him. In the mission school, naturally, he lives in a Catholic community and atmosphere. If he is transferred to a Government School, he finds a Catholic chaplain in residence who will continue his religious education, say Mass for him daily, give him the Sacraments and act as his mentor and guide in general. Our hope is that, with all these measures and safeguards, the Shilluk boy, now fast approaching manhood, with eight or ten years' schooling behind him, his character strengthened and firmly set in Catholic practices, will bring a Catholic influence into his tribe, will marry a Catholic wife and found a Catholic family, and so will prove a corner-stone in the building up of Christianity in the tribe during the next generation.

This is the reason why I, in common with the majority of newly-arrived missionaries, was set to serve my apprenticeship in the school. Two days after my arrival at Detwok, I was firmly though not unkindly conducted to a classroom, confronted by two rows of husky youths and told, 'This is Class IV; go ahead and teach them.' Left to my fate, I gave the class what I fondly hoped was a friendly grin but which was probably a sickly leer, and the pupils responded with a

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unsatisfying a task as to build on sand. With no solid and permanent base on which to rest, a building after two or three rainy seasons begins to move and sink, and so the missionary ruefully surveys the ominous cracks that have already appeared in the walls of school buildings that only two years ago were his pride and joy. Windows and doors have warped and white ants have already wrought havoc in the woodwork. All the mud buildings need to be replastered without and limewashed within and the thatched roofs of many of them must be renewed. The Sisters' convent is in a bad way, although they, good souls, never complain; however, if something is not done about the back wall this year, it may be that they will be past complaining. And the church, too; but that is really beyond repair. It should be pulled down and rebuilt, but when and how, and who is expert enough to do it, and what he is going to use for money to pay for it, the missionary has not the slightest idea. In the meantime he hopes devoutly that the pictures on the walls will continue to hold the cracks together for another year or two.

797* 346 [136]

The immediate task, however, is brickmaking. He must try to get a hundred thousand bricks made this year so that he will be able to satisfy his present requirements and leave a margin for further operations next year. Well, one thing about the Upper Nile is that it provides him with plenty of material for making bricks, namely, mud. Still, the stuff has to be dug and puddled and moulded into the right shape and size and then built into a kiln and fired. So the word goes forth among the Shilluk that there is a job of work to be done up at the mission and that applications for appointments as soil diggers, water carriers, sand carriers, mud puddlers and brickmakers and, later on, as kiln builders, furnace tenders, brick carriers, pole fetchers, roof makers, grass carriers and thatchers, will be given every consideration. The invitations, I say, go out, but the Shilluk as a rule is in no hurry to come in. And if his crop of grain has been good, he probably won't respond at all. What does that crazy white man up at the mission think that he, the Shilluk, is?

797* 339

464 797* 461 797*

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of sand carriers fully employed; half a dozen more, to their greater disgust, are given picks and sent to dig out the foundations of the new buildings, and of the remainder some are led to the site for the new huts and put to work to clean up the ground so that the foundations can be marked out, and others given the job of making and puddling mud for the replastering of the present mud buildings. 339 797*

Now commences a period of unceasing activity on the part of the missionary. There are some seventy workmen employed in four different parts of the mission estate, and, except for the brickmakers who are paid a set price for every thousand bricks, each and every one of them is only too ready to steal away and fold his hands and close his eyes in repose as soon as the boss's back is turned. He, poor harassed man, has become the complete Pooh-Bah of the building industry; he must act as architect, general contractor, storekeeper, clerk of works, foreman, timekeeper and cashier, and at the same time keep the mission running normally. He does not forget his priestly duties, and so he is up long before the dawn to say his Mass and have as much as possible of his Office said before he goes out at 6 a.m. to call the roll and start the men on their day's work. He returns to the house to bolt his breakfast, but before he has finished, there are half a dozen outside clamouring for attention. A wheel has come off a water cart, and the crew, never dreaming of putting it back themselves and finding a nail to hold it in place, but only too happy to have a legitimate excuse to sit down and do nothing, are doing just that. He slaps it back into place on the axle, secures it with a bolt and nut and scares the watermen into actually galoping off towards the river. A brickmaker has broken his mould and that requires a little carpentry and a few new screws. A digger complains that he can't find his shovel, is led firmly to the tool shed and falls over the missing article as he enters the doorway. A crowd of people has gathered at the back of the house and the number is increasing as more people come from the villages carrying poles or hanks of grass rope for sale. Each pole and hank has to be inspected, its value appraised and paid for on the spot. 797* 466 461 339 465 437

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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466 for the time being and goes off on the first tour of inspection.
461 He meets the sand carriers on their way from the sand pit to the brickfield, and his suspicions are aroused by the easy and jaunty manner in which they are carrying the baskets which should be at least half full of sand. Examination of the first basket reveals just a couple of inches of sand in the bottom. The rest of the girls—for the sand carriers are ladies [462] —don't wait to be inspected, but shrieking with laughter scamper off back to the sand pit where he follows them and ensures that they carry one legitimate load at least. Then having threatened the bearers with all kinds of penalties if they don't bring a proper load each time, he goes off to inspect the bricks. The moulders and their assistants are
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339 make, the more money they will earn, and already there are
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461 less speed, for yesterday's output belonging to one man has gaped and split in the hot sun, a sign that the mud has been badly mixed and the puddling has been scamped. These useless ones are rejected and the number deducted from the culprit's total. The missionary leaves the erring team
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461 that they are held up for lack of water, and that the water carriers have been gone long enough to have made several journeys. He goes back to the house to get his bicycle, and ignoring the clamour that the pole and rope carriers set up at his appearance, speeds down to the river. The cart is there all right, half-way down the path, but there is no sign of the men who are supposed to be filling the drum. He spots one of them, almost hidden in the tall grass, engaged in washing himself, and a splashing a little further down reveals the presence of the other two happily employed in casting for mud fish. In a remarkably short space of time, however, they have the drum filled and are hastening back to the waiting plasterers, the irate Father grimly bringing up the rear.

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So he continues his tour of inspection, galvanizing the dilatory workers into fresh activity, and then returns to the house and commences the buying of the rope and roofing poles. That occupies the best part of an hour, and then, grown wise in the ways of these children of Nyikang, he makes sure that his purchases are put away, the poles on the flat roof of the house, the rope in a store-room where the wily Shilluk cannot filch them to re-sell them to him. Then it is time to make another round of the workmen, a procedure that he will carry out yet twice more during the morning and another three times during the afternoon. At 10.30 the morning's work is finished, and the labourers go home to reassemble at half-past two. There is no respite for Pooh-Bah, however. The affairs of the mission demand his attention, another group of rope sellers have gathered, the post-boat is due the next day, and he must write to Malakal for cement and to Kodok about the wood for the brick burning. He disposes of these tasks and also manages to find time to finish his Office before lunch. The afternoon's work is a repetition of the morning's; a continual tour of the different groups, the attending to the wants of one here and another one there, with one or two visits to the house to dispose of the rope and pole sellers.

Thus one day succeeds another, and week follows week and still the work goes on. By Christmas there are fifty thousand bricks ready for burning, the foundations of the new classrooms and the teacher's house are dug, the old mud huts have been replastered and the walls of the six new ones are already well above the ground, and everybody, Pooh-Bah by no means among the least, is heartily sick of the sight of mud, whether in its natural state, or made into bricks, or built into a wall, and is only too glad of the few days' respite the Festival brings. As soon as Christmas is over, the work begins on the kiln. The base, a rectangle twenty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide, must be built with care since it has to support the weight of thirty thousand bricks. It is three feet in height and is pierced by six triangular firing tunnels, each two feet wide at the base and two feet

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*797 339 high at the apex. Its construction takes two bricklayers a full fortnight, and then another week is required to build up the bricks on the foundation, six men piling row upon row on edge in a herringbone pattern that leaves plenty of space for the flames to penetrate. Thirty thousand bricks are thus built up into a solid block some nine feet high, and the whole mass is plastered with mud to seal off all the cracks in the walls.

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner, who had promised to use his good offices in procuring sufficient wood for burning the bricks, has been as good as his word, and one day a steamer arrives bringing one hundred and fifty cubic metres of firewood. It looks a small pile when dumped on the shore, but its transport to the brickfield presents a formidable problem when the only wheeled vehicle available is [493] a rickety handcart. Yet if it isn't moved soon, its transport will present no problem at all; the Shilluk will see to that. Fortunately the District Commissioner solves that difficulty too, for he arrives by lorry shortly after the wood, and kindly gives the harassed priest the loan of truck and driver to bring the wood from the river. A strenuous day's work sees the job done and the wood neatly stacked in two piles, one on each side of the kiln.

*797 466 It is now the end of January. The brickmakers are well into the second fifty thousand bricks, the walls of the six new huts are finished and the construction of the roofs is [346] well in hand. Grass rope is still required, but the number of roofing poles required is now complete and the demand now is for millet stalks. Women come in from the fields bearing huge bundles of them on their heads, and wait patiently until busy Pooh-Bah has time to attend to them. The swamps are emptying rapidly with the fall of the river and in another month the grass will be drying out ready for cutting. The work is going well and is keeping up to the time-table, but all this has not been accomplished in complete harmony and smoothness. The same relentless vigilance has to be kept up day after day to keep the indolent up to scratch; disputes break out among the workmen and often sounds of strife at

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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everything has gone wonderfully well, but now a serious misfortune occurs. The schoolboys too have been roped in to assist in cutting and collecting some of the great quantity of grass that is required for the thatching, and as a result of their labours about three hundred and fifty heads of grass are standing in the field near the river waiting to be transported to the building sites. One bright and too breezy morning two small boys, a couple of miles north of the mission, light a small fire to cook some fish that they have caught, the north wind scatters the fire among the tall, tinder-like grass and before anyone in the mission is aware of what has happened, a great mass of fire comes sweeping and roaring down, not on the mission itself, which is not in the direct path of the flames, but on the field of cut grass and the mission garden by the river. It happens to be Good Friday when the building operations have been suspended and no outside help is available. Two priests, a few mission employees and a handful of schoolboys attempt to rescue the grass and save the garden, but without success. The grass is destroyed and although the garden itself is protected by fire lines, the fierce heat so scorches the fruit trees and vegetable beds as to deprive the mission of vegetables for the next few months and of fruit for the remainder of the year. The fire is stopped only by the steep grassless bank of the path, but even so, it manages to reach out and burn several of the fine trees that line the path. One pious Sister consolingly reminds poor blackened Pooh-Bah, now turned fire-fighter, that such incidents are the 'poetry of the missionary life'. Such a mishap is not a complete disaster, however. It means that more grass must be bought from the villagers and the roofing of some of the huts will be delayed, but the rest of the work goes on as before. Not quite as before perhaps, for now it is March, and the programme is frequently interrupted by fishing days. These are the Shilluk equivalent of Bank Holidays and the missionary must be resigned to one or perhaps two days a week of idleness while the fishing lasts. However, he has no cause for anxiety. The second kiln has been successfully fired and the third is nearing completion

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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*797 and can be burnt in a few days, one section of the convent wall has been rebuilt and the second started, the walls of the new brick buildings are rising and the thatching is going on as fast as grass can be obtained.

But yet another verse of missionary 'poetry' has to be written. The third and last kiln has been fired and during *797 the first night and day all goes well. During the second night 889 of the firing, however, the faithless tenders of the fires desert 466 their posts to slumber and sleep during the night watches. The fires burn low and die out. In the morning the sleepers awake and try frantically to re-light the fires before their negligence is discovered and also before the kiln is spoiled. But they are too late on both counts. They are caught in the act by an angry Pooh-Bah who on his way to say Mass has noticed the lack of light and activity around the kiln. The fires are rekindled and the firing continues in the hope of saving the kiln, but the damage has been done. Most of the bricks are poor yellow specimens that crumble at a touch, and the kiln has to be written off as a loss. The unworthy servants are removed with ignominy from their stewardship. Still, despite this calamity, the work is able to *797 go on. With the two kilns already burned and the reserve from the previous year there are sufficient bricks to complete the jobs on hand, although there is no margin left for any emergency that might arise and no reserve for the following year. By the end of April one or two warning showers have fallen just to let one know that the rains are on the way. But the programme is almost completed. The Sisters are safe and secure behind a stout new wall, the walls of the classrooms and house are up and roofs are on and doors and windows are being fitted. The thatching is done and all the huts both old and new are tight and sound to withstand whatever storms the rainy season may bring.

Pooh-Bah stretches and yawns mightily, and then turns to his sadly neglected desk. He is well satisfied with what has been achieved, and his building troubles are over for another year.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many [585] village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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unhappy task to try to choose fairly so that, if not every individual, at least every village should be given a turn. It was an even more difficult and unhappy task to send the disappointed ones away; to turn a deaf ear to their pleadings; to close one's eyes to the mute appeal in theirs.

But in actual fact the ones who worked were little better off than those who didn't, for although they had a little money there was no grain to buy. In view of the opening of the new school we had been forming a reserve of grain, but the scheme had to be abandoned in the face of such complete shortage. We doled out what we had and by dint of careful and stringent rationing we were able to keep about twenty families, I will not say 'fed', but at least from starvation from October until February when our store was exhausted and we could do no more.

The Government stepped in and took control of all the grain in the country in order to ensure a fair distribution. We had at that time about 120 people—schoolchildren and permanent employees—to feed every day, and normally used a 2-cwt sack of grain per day. We were allotted ten sacks per month, one third of our usual consumption, and so had to make a proportionate reduction in the food bowl. But there was no question of the Shilluk schoolboy being thankful for small mercies in receiving a little every day whilst his less fortunate parents and brothers and sisters at home got nothing. There were protest meetings among the boys generally followed by an indignant procession carrying the meagrely filled bowls so that the Father—myself—who in their eyes was responsible for this shortage could see for himself the result of his gross neglect in not cornering the entire grain supply for their benefit. In vain I pointed out that the famine was no fault of mine and that they were better off than their brethren in the village. They replied in effect that such arguments were beside the point. Since they had done me the favour of coming to the mission to be fed, clothed, housed—and incidentally taught—for nothing, the least I could do in return was to see that the feeding was adequate, and since I had so obviously failed in this respect,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *ac*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the [591] husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 585 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 F J23 Shilluk F J23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 43

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [423]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [424]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction. It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, participates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The subdivisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the hump and leg only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringement is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten,—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

After this the newly appointed *Bai* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this procession enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bai* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organise mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name, usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented with a bull (*Wath Owone*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult states.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets. At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male Shilluk are organised according to their respective age-sets. There are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owone* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the *Zeral* mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Gollaigo to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organised age-sets limited by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age-mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organisation functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
F323 Shilluk F323

about mid-October, and then the large heads of grain are cut off and stacked on tables to dry out before being loaded into baskets and carried off to the village by the women. The stalks are left standing in the fields to be collected when they are needed. For the time being, then, the Shilluk is contented, having plenty to eat and drink. If the harvest has not been too good, he still has enough food for the next six months, and beyond that he refuses to look. Why should he worry about next year when he might be dead by then? His wife, equally thriftless, will load her basket with the golden grain and set off to the nearest merchants, perhaps ten or fifteen miles away, to exchange it for a handful of piastres. She knows full well that before the next rains have even begun she will have to go back to the same merchant to buy back her grain at twice the price she was given for it, or watch her family struggle in semi-starvation for the remainder of the year, but that does not deter her from crossing the road from the grain store to the general store run by the same merchant and squandering her money on a few strings of beads, a few feet of copper wire, a small mirror or such other trifles.

In the new year, when the swamps and khors are draining back to the Nile and the tall grass is drying and yellowing under the fierce heat of the sun, it is time to think of re-building and re-thatching. A well-made house will stand the rigours of perhaps ten rainy seasons; a good thatched roof for two or three. After the roof has been renewed three times, the cracking and crumbling walls are beyond further patching up, and the house must be pulled down and rebuilt. Building is a community affair, and the builders are paid for their labour in beer, the brewing of large quantities of which is an essential preparation for the work.

If a new hut is to be built, a circle of about twelve feet in diameter is marked out on the ground and a shallow trench dug round the circumference. Stakes are driven into this every six inches, so that they stand four feet above the ground, and these are bound together by coarsely plaited grass ropes woven around and in and out from bottom to top.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the 342 476 operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the [462] thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house 342 644 may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradi- 183 tion must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954)1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build 342
himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventila- 644
tion of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window. 183

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of har- 226
poon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of [227]
a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape [227] weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the [221] real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together [628] to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, [476] it becomes a real community effort. The day before that [462] appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [833 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1·80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but little calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very slower in running and jumping, and are capable of enduring considerable fatigue.

142 516 147

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinos seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [981]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk removes the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

304 [753]

[1] Five feet two inches.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each reth, and on the death of a reth the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ocuro messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalises people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [382] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kel ui jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our boggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [481] [533] 539 [776]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

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17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS

501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[482]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *tom* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *tom* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wettening these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

323 POTTERY

[462] [415] [276 531] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, [583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They [illegible] him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of [482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); 431] after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

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539*

bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadōke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

Riṭ Ḏókṇṭ ká è mṇ̄ṅò, mṇ̄ṅ2 fōṭe Ḏọṅ, ka ḍāl yi Ḏòṅ, Ḏọṅ ṅi rẹ́ṅá māl wiy kit. Ka e ko: búh, dẹ Ḏọṅ a ḍálí yán, y ṭich èdì? ẹ́ rei (ṛei) wá ṭàch! Ka ṭày rēi, ka e ko: yey kit! Ka kit e yéch, ka ḍọgọ́ kṵ́ṅé feṅ. A māgi Ḏọṅ, a kálì gòn, a gẹ́ri gọ́ pārẹ́, gọ́ lọgọ́ bāṅẹ́; a chágẹ́ ṅíne fān gni gọ́ Aḍọkọṅ.

A kálẹ́ mār, a ṅwaṅ gọ́ bwóṅọ́, ka bwoṅọ́ mágẹ́, kálí gòn, a lọgọ́ bāṅẹ́, a gẹ́rí pach, gọn Awarejwọk. Ka Chólọ̀ kōbọ́ kine: a rāṇe ṅọ, a rich mṇ̄ṅ? A ko kine: búh! Kine: Chól, bẹṇ́ kwọ́pí ànàn? A kwaṅ mār, a lẹ̄ṅ gò nàm, ka Chọlọ e waṅ kí yù màr kí bōle párẹ́.

Pay mẹ̄kọ chwọlá Oṅ̄ẹ̄gò, ka Chọl ṅi kẹ̄tò kí jyr, ka Chọle ṅi chyẹ̄tì. Ka rāṇ ẹ rẹ́ṅ, Chól dẹ chyẹ̄tọ; a rọn Akwọt. Ka Akwọt e mṇ̄ṅọ; ka lén chyẹ̄tò, ka e bẹ̄ṇò, ka e ko: búh, wá gẹ̄gò dí? A bẹ̄ṇí bọl Oṅ̄ẹ̄gó, a chọ́ṅí bāṅe Ḏókṇṭ, a pyeje gin kine: mār e lẹ̄ṅè kẹ́ṅ? A kōbí jal mẹ̄kọ kine: y ṭich edi? Kine: y duái nâm! Kine: búh, Akwọt, dẹ́ bá gẹ̄n? yi ky waṅe kẹjẹ? A kōbí kine: yá bà wáṅ! Kine: ṅẹ̄! A keau yūṭ, a keau gọn. A kẹ̄l ḍòk, a mak ḍeaṅ Oṅ̄ẹ̄gọ, a kẹ̄l ḍeaṅ mẹ̄kọ, a mágí Wajwọk, a kẹ̄l ḍeaṅ mẹ̄ko, a māge yi Aḍọkọṅ, a kẹ̄l ḍeaṅ mẹ̄kọ, a kẹ̄ti ẹ̄rọ gat, a lẹ̄mí, a chwọ́p ḍèaṅ. A kẹ̄ti Akwọt fén, a rọṅ ṭa pí, ká é chwọ́nò. Ka Chọlọ kōbọ kine: riṭ ṭẹ̄k, ba bi kẹ̄tẹ! Ka chaṅ waṇọ mal, chaṅ e kẹ̄chò, ka riṭ bẹ̄ṇọ, ka mar kálẹ́ kí ṭa pí. A kōbí kine: tìṅ lén! A kẹ̄t lén, a maṅ Dinjọl, a nágẹ́, a maṅ ṅwọle, ka ḍọk e kōl kí mṇ̄ṅé. A maṅa Agẹ̄r, a maṅí Chai, a māk peṅ bẹ̄ṇè, a kōbí Chólọ̀ kine: a rāṇe ṅọ, a chẹ̄gò kípà lén? A ko: búh, kwọ́pí, yina Chólọ̀! A kwaṅ mār, a lẹ̄ṅ gò nàm.

539*

King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adọkọng.

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539*

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwọk.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.

[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.

[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom, it was to be filled with "holy water" *(pi jwọk)*, which was used for different religions rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.

[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

[482] [777]

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [482]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualize the fate of his victims. For example,

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 512 857 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luahs*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, [556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 512 883 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain [226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

241 462 512 At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the [361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 512 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are [361] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river [312] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use [415] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen 482 vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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1.—Dak leads, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of *Reth* Fafiti.

[FACING p. 40]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, 533
while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual 535
songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed 643
the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a [201] byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. [516] Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying [482] baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The 535
two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced 643
before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they 778
proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

[P. 164 (A)]

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Opposite Fashoda. The *kwa* Nyikwom lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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The substitution on the stool. Nyikang has withdawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the stool underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. N. DONALD

[FACING p. 197]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo [1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery : cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang : a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are : *a*) to carry the Ret; *b*) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for : he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniuret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inundations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river, at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood. Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a discount, and social or parochial calls present their own problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source of water for most villages, even those situated miles away from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthenware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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[Facing p. 53]

Photo: Fr. F. Spokauskas

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok *(juȯk)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ńíkàṅò)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(àjuȯ́gó)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok *(juȯk)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lāmo* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwacho* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 782 [177] [193]

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [484] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on 751 a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [224] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [726] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [752] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The 755 power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 789 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [535 543] oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 755] will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about [533] his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. 431 Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

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Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

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The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

361 484 [182] [678]

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Law Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] [Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood-[513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a 825 protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered 372 cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-[415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[facing p. 53]

Photo: Fr. F. Spokauskas

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

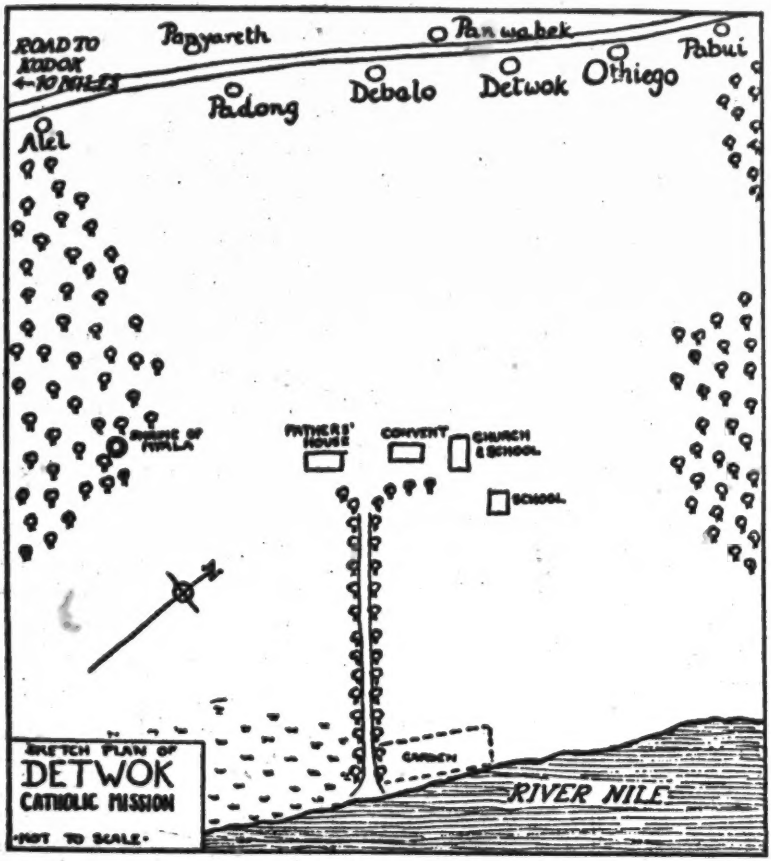
312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying 133
grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently
breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away
the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since
nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inun-
dations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile
the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly
with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, 361
Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river,
at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood.
Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing [491]
from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the
Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles
inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places 312
the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-
covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under
conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a dis-
count, and social or parochial calls present their own
problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source
of water for most villages, even those situated miles away
from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common [512]
sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission
at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five
miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back [482]
balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot
reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will [512]
have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning
meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two
days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthen-
ware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than
five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through [281]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month
796 (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*.
[787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262

kuǫ́n a kind of dura-bread or mush.

àkǫ̨́lǫ́ a food of dura.

àpǫ̨́tǫ́ a food of dura.

àréyǫ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

àdǫ̨́lǫ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

mǫ́nandr a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.

mǫ́kǫ̨́ǫ̨́ti a common dura-food.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 339 high at the apex. Its construction takes two bricklayers a full fortnight, and then another week is required to build up the bricks on the foundation, six men piling row upon row on edge in a herringbone pattern that leaves plenty of space for the flames to penetrate. Thirty thousand bricks are thus built up into a solid block some nine feet high, and the whole mass is plastered with mud to seal off all the cracks in the walls.

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner, who had promised to use his good offices in procuring sufficient wood for burning the bricks, has been as good as his word, and one day a steamer arrives bringing one hundred and fifty cubic metres of firewood. It looks a small pile when dumped on the shore, but its transport to the brickfield presents a formidable problem when the only wheeled vehicle available is a rickety handcart. Yet if it isn't moved soon, its transport will present no problem at all; the Shilluk will see to that. Fortunately the District Commissioner solves that difficulty too, for he arrives by lorry shortly after the wood, and kindly gives the harassed priest the loan of truck and driver to bring the wood from the river. A strenuous day's work sees the job done and the wood neatly stacked in two piles, one on each side of the kiln. [493]

* 797 466 It is now the end of January. The brickmakers are well into the second fifty thousand bricks, the walls of the six new huts are finished and the construction of the roofs is well in hand. Grass rope is still required, but the number of roofing poles required is now complete and the demand now is for millet stalks. Women come in from the fields bearing huge bundles of them on their heads, and wait patiently until busy Pooh-Bah has time to attend to them. The swamps are emptying rapidly with the fall of the river and in another month the grass will be drying out ready for cutting. The work is going well and is keeping up to the time-table, but all this has not been accomplished in complete harmony and smoothness. The same relentless vigilance has to be kept up day after day to keep the indolent up to scratch; disputes break out among the workmen and often sounds of strife at [346]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

[Facing p. xxiv]

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504
516
411
291

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[482]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *gom* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *gom* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wettening these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

POTTERY 323 [462] [415] [276 53] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the chief is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda. 539* 501

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country beginning from south. 635

1. *Tûnẹ̀*	2. *Ńẹ̀jwàdẹ̀*	3. *Dèńẹ̀*
4. *Dẹr*	5. *Ńelbwák*	6. *Wóbò*
7. *Dyẹ̀l*	8. *Fẽńlkàń*	9. *Aryẹ́kẹ̀r*
10. *Agunjwẹk*	11. *Ajẹ̀gẹ̀*	12. *Fàkàń*
13. *Obàyàbwíjẹ̀p*	14. *Obai-Dẹ̀gẹ̀*	15. *Aḍiḍeań*
16. *Feńidwáì*	17. *Owẹ́shì*	18. *Ṭwẹ̀rẹ́*
19. *Awáu*	20. *Dur*	21. *Adẹ̀dẹ̀*
22. *Dẹ̀t*	23. *Aḍóḳẹ́ń*	24. *Awárẹ́jwẹ̀k*
25. *Kwẹ̀gẹ̀*	26. *Obwá*	27. *Málákál*
28. *Famệt*	29. *Ogẹ̀t*	30. *Wáu*
31. *Fádẹ̀t*	32. *Fáṭệu*	33. *Bòṭ*
34. *Ńéńárẹ̀*	35. *Bọ́l*	36. *Fábúr*
37. *Béó*	38. *Agẹ̀dẹ́*	39. *Yòń*
40. *Lụl*	41. *Kwẹ̀m*	42. *Pàchẽdẹ̀*
43. *Agwẹ̀rẹ̀*	44. *Ńegèr*	45. *Gòlbáńẹ̀*
46. *Fàḍeàń*	47. *Lẹ̄mẹ*	48. *Kódẹ́k*
49. *Gẹ̀lẹ̀*	50. *Kwòchàń*	51. *Alẹ̀l*
52. *Dẹ̀twẹ̀k*	53. *Búrbẹ̀k*	54. *Mál*
55. *Abyẹ́ńì*	56. *Ogẹ̀n*	57. *Fańlkàń-Otẹ̀gẹ̀*
58. *Ńélyèch*	59. *Aṭẹ̀ẹ̀ḍẹ̀wẹ̀ì*	60. *Ṭùrẹ̀*
61 *Ṭẹ̀mẹ̀ṭ*	62. *Akùruwár*	63. *Abúr*
64. *Mệńẹ̀*	65. *Mwẹ̀mẹ́.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal. 614

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill,* who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm up- [644]
wards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their [773]
daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his food he must farm the land, and although his methods of husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net, harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly
built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501] [824]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824] [283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my 643
needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. 797
I was taken into another house—a very special one into [343]
which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman
brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees,
presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I [262]
was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded
through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did,
dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very
fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyi- [778]
kang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was
a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's
reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as
a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who
made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for
home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully
ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could [501]
cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey
much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my
feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long.
But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced
in church the good news that the king was baptized and
all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no
hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King
Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary 766.
interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the
day following his death, he was taken to his own village of
Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried.
The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but [535]
took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks
after his death.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

take control of the government of his own country, the new Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudiments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

For some twenty-five years official educational efforts were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north. In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries 648
had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only 871
during the past decade that official steps have been taken to 797
promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the 648
Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and 743
took control of the public health of the country and gradu- 648
ally established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army 648
had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the 505
Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary 648
services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

3:Westermann E-5 /(1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

439 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

177 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

462 512 FOOD The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *(kwgn)*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, limed out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

262 [252] [412] [372]

Besides dura they eat sesame, duchn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never slain, meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Massai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

[231] [171]

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

273 BREWING OF BEER A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *buing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 181 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 883

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luaks* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
512 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *luahs*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle,
[556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
512 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
883 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain
[226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
512 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
512 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are
[361] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[312] dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
[415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
482] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls,

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes. 462 512 [356]

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours. [273] [264]

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk. [241]

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord! [252 264 593]

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night. 512 233 857

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter IV

SHILLUK LIFE

The Shilluk country is for the most part flat, low-lying grass-land. The river by constant pressure frequently breaks through its containing banks and, sweeping away the soft soil, inundates the land lying behind them. Since nothing is done to repair the broken banks, these inundations increase each year as with the rise of the Nile the waters creep ever further inland, receding only slowly with the fall of the flood waters. As a consequence of this, Shilluk villages are usually built well back from the river, at least half a mile from the highest point of the flood. Usually, too, they are built along the main road passing from Kaka to Tonga. In some areas, particularly in the Detwok-Kodok locality, villages can be found several miles inland, even up to as much as fourteen miles. In such places the people depend for their water supplies on the scum-covered water holes dug here and there. Naturally, under conditions like this personal hygiene is somewhat at a discount, and social or parochial calls present their own problems. During the dry season the Nile is the only source of water for most villages, even those situated miles away from the river. At Detwok, for instance, it is a common sight to see the women of Aguno trudging past the mission at six o'clock in the morning, having already walked five miles. In half an hour or so they will be on their way back balancing their full water-pots on their heads. They cannot reach their homes again before nine o'clock when they will have to set to work to grind millet and prepare the morning meal. If they are careful with the water it may last for two days, but then they will have to pick up the large earthenware pots and take the hated road to the Nile more than five miles off. Once when I happened to be passing through

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [825] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red [751] ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263] if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262] the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853] milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283] weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231] scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857] under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance. 512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventually quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incomplete without a more detailed picture of their activities, their work and their play. To them, as to most of the inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying, 'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk is no fonder of work than the next man, and he is not one of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy with hand and brain making and mending and improving. Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must provide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his food he must farm the land, and although his methods of husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net, harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [824]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety. To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [824]
[283]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, firmed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513]

[237]

[301]

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

[513] In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

[751 754] After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

751 754 When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their [515] backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back.

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *geu*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade. 361 621 [345] [513] [237] [825]

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note. [342] 592 [417]

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the paterfamilias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead. 592 672 [422] [171] [182]

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[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

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574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [372] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [825] *these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red* [751] ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [372] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [234] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound [252] of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

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643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room; no dogs
[195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers, as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's
[644] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the
[237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the
[513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were Abyssinians. 173
The Abyssinians came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks 539*
ran away to their villages.

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Ansars have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

47. Tribal War.

Kal akyɛl e bɛ̱no bia pūl, ka kal akyɛl e bɛ̱nǫ, ka leṅ kɛ̱tǫ̀. Ka ḍāṇ e kɛ̱l, ka 539*
ḍāṇ ṅí ḍḍǫ̀, ka ḍāṇ mɛ̱kǫ ṅi chiki kɛ̱lǫ̀, bɛ̱r (bɛ̱dǫ) jē gɛ gīr, ka leṅ rɛṅǫ, ka jē
nɛ̱k chyɛ̱, ḍāṇ chòp. Leṅ ḍẹ̀ṅ, tyɛṅ a mɛn bia bɛ tɛ̱rǫ ḍāṇ, ka gɛ tɛ̱rǫ pach. Bu
ḍāṇ ma kɛ̱tɛ ma ṅi bɛ̱dǫ wǫk ki wɛr. Jē ṅi bia bɛ ḅbǫ̀ ki wɛr. Jē ṅi lācha wǫt ki
yey ¹wǫl.

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, 539*
and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another 628
man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the warriors scatter. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time.

(After a war) the people come to lie in wait during the night.[1] — The people [514]●
are accustomed to urinate in the house, in a gourd.[2]

48. The War of Nyeker.

Jal mɛ̱kǫ chwǫlá Ńekɛ̄r, wǫde Dor, ṭɛ̱k, ṭɛ̱k, ka e kɛ̱ḍǫ, ka tǫṅa Tǫṅǫrǫ bɛ mɛ̱ṅǫ. 539*
Ka Tǫṅǫrǫ nɛ̱gɛ́, ka gǫ mɛ̱gɛ́. Ka ṅǫye yi Yodit, ka e lōṅǫ ki leṅ, ka mūṅa Diṅjǫl,
ka leṅ chyɛ̱t yi Diṅjǫl; ka leṅ gɛ̱ché nam, ka leṅ nɛ̱k; ka bia pach, ka e yɛwǫ.

Some man whose name was Nyekēr, the son of Dor, was very, very brave. 173
He went and turned towards Tongoro (in the Dinka country) to capture. He 539*
destroyed Tongoro and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was imitated by Yodit, he too raised an army and marched against Dingjol, but his army was chased by Dingjol, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. Yodit went home and repented what he had done.

49. The War of Deng.

Jal mɛ̱kǫ chwǫla Dɛṅ, ka fārɛ é kɛ̱tǫ̀ ki Duwɛ̱t; fa Yvéldit. Ka lɛ́ṅ tiṅ, tiṅ 539*
Yɛt, ka leṅ e kɛ̱tǫ, ka jē nɛ̱k ga pyārǫ. Ka Ojāṅǫ dwai, ka e ṭɛ̱ḍǫ̀, ka e ko: lɛ́ṅ a
ṅi kɛ̱ta mwǫl, ki mwǫl chɛt. Ka e mɔ̄lǫ, ka e butǫ ki yǔ, ka jē kā wǫk, ka kǫme

[1] This is blood revenge; if one tribe has more dead than the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.
[2] for fear of being killed when going out.

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763 lying right across the entrance. It was poor Rachael who
*797 had been stretched out across the threshold where anyone entering the hut could not fail to step on or fall over her. Sitting against the wall opposite the entrance were four
[521] ancient-looking hags who were simply passing the time away in gossip whilst waiting for the old woman to die. When I made my undignified entrance, one of the unlovely quartette, Rachael's daughter, said, 'Get up, Rachael. Here's the Father and he has brought you a burying cloth.' Said I, 'I haven't brought a burying cloth.' Chorus from the four beauties: 'He hasn't brought a cloth, Rachael; don't get up.' To me, 'What have you brought?' 'I have come to give her a blessing.' 'Oh! He's come to give you a blessing, Rachael; don't get up.' At this point poor Rachael dimly understood that someone had come to give her something, so she asked me to put it in her hand and not let the others get it.

I thought that I had better get on with the good work, and blessing the hut and Rachael with holy water, I began to recite the Litany of the Dying. Half-way through, there was an interruption from the daughter: '*Jal duong*'—a
[514] pause whilst she spits, across Rachael and through the doorway; a good ten feet.

Myself: 'What?'

Daughter: '*Yi bi.*'

[576] This normal Shilluk greeting often comes, not when first meeting a person, but halfway through the conversation or visit. I said something more than my prayers, while the four resumed their gossip and spitting.

Daughter: '*Jal duong, Jal duong.*'

Myself: 'All ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Shut up.'

Daughter: 'O-oh! He says: "Shut up," and I was going to tell him that I went to the Sister to tell her that my mother was dying and to ask for a cloth to bury her in.'

At length, without further interruption I finished the prayers for the Dying, and gave poor Rachael one final blessing and prepared to depart. The four beldams followed me out of the hut, and the following conversation resulted:

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

*539 *Jal mẹ̄kọ e ńwọmọ. Ka ńan a ḍachọ bẹ̄nọ, e kānọ pî; ka jal ẹni wêrò, kịne: à, ga pi ńọ? Ya bụ kẹch. Ka ńan a ḍachọ ka kwōna wọk. Ka gẹ nẹnọ, ka gẹ tōrọ yi kẹch; chama ńi butọ feń, ka ńiṅẹ báńà mẹ̀jò yi kẹch.*

Ka gẹ kẹḍọ bẹ̄ kwatọ ki byẹl, ka ńan a ḍachọ lōńa wọt (ɣọt), e kānọ gin cham. Ka gẹ bẹ̄nọ, gẹ kātọ byẹl, ka gẹ pẹ̄ka péń; ńan a ḍachọ kúchè gẹ́n, ńan a ḍachọ pạnọ ki gọre wọt. Ká gẹ̀ ńàmò, ka ńi ko: á, ọ́wá, chẹ (cha) duọ̀n a wań mēyi (mēi), ńwāl ẹ́ná! Ka gọ ńwāle. Ka gẹ yūjọ ki byẹl. Ka ńan a ḍachọ fẹ̄chọ kịne: ńimia, a kịdi? a ya re wa reẹ? Jal e ko: ẹ́ ńawọ-tyau! gọ̀ń ḍọga! Kịne: kịpańọ? Kịne: chá re a wēke ya kẹch? ko: ẹ́, faṭe yin a kōbị awa kịne: ga pi ńọ? Ka ńal ẹni kẹṭa wọk; ka wọn chwól, ka e bẹ̄nọ; e ko: á, pyeche ńa wun, wēke ya ḍọga! kịne: kịpańọ? Kịne: ẹ́, pyeche yau! A pyey ńān ẹni, kịne: ńān! á kịdí? A kōp ńate, cha wẹ̄kè yẹ ḍọgẹ! Kịne: ẹ́, kúchè yán! Ńa tyau, tẹ̄ kwóp! Ya kạla pi awa; a kōbị kịne: gẹn a pi ńọ? Kẹń ẹni anan; ẹ́na (ɣẹna) kẹ́ḍá. Kịne: ńḷ! A tōre yi kẹch, a kẹṭi gẹ bẹ̄ kwále byẹ́l, a kiṭa gin cham wọt, gẹ tḹk. Faṭe kẹń ẹni anan? a bẹ̄ni, a kōbị kịne: ówá, cha duọ̀n a wań byẹli! a ńām gẹ́n, ẹ́ná kóbá, kịne: yá nẹ̀n! A kōbị: ńa tyau! gọ̀ń ḍọga! A kōba kịne: búh! na yín a kyẹt áwá, kịne: ga pi ńọ? Faṭe kẹń ẹni a bẹ̄n anan? A kạla gin cham; a yḷ́dé. A kōbe wiy ńán ẹ́ní: yi kwata kapańọ? Adi? chól byẹ́lá a kwāl yị yín! A kōbe kịne: kịpańọ? Yā dẹ, a wēke ya kẹch! Yi cha (yá) kúwa! ḍọgi gḹńa yin. A kẹḍọ, a kạle wạṭ, mẹn lḹgẹ́, a lḹgẹ́ lwọge ọ́rẹ̀, a ṭumị kwọp.

● [515] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was *539 angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon 593 the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were 586 troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

[674] In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in the same house) went to steal dura. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen dura. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle."[1] She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

[1] This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

.. 11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

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[751 764] After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

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Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

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* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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164 villages, boiling, disinfecting or burning anything that could
744 harbour the deadly lice. It was a long struggle, and the sickness had spread south of Lul and managed to get a hold on the Malakal side of the river before it was finally destroyed.

*797 In the mission, we fought long and unceasingly, and
164 happily, not unsuccessfully, to keep the fever at bay. Natur-
744 ally in the school we had always maintained a very high standard of cleanliness. A morning bath for the children had
[515] always been enforced, their clothes had to be washed every Saturday, and classrooms and dormitories were swept and dusted daily. But we multiplied our efforts; the pupils' heads were kept shaved, and their clothes, blankets and mosquito nets were boiled. They were deprived of all beads, bracelets and trinkets—anything indeed where lice could find refuge. Stripped of their adornments for the first time, they appeared to be really naked, and they, and we, lived in a perpetual cloud of D.D.T. powder. As far as possible the villages were put out of bounds and the children's activities confined to the area between the mission and the river. Thanks to all these precautions only two boys went down with the sickness. These were promptly and rigorously isolated and, receiving immediate medical attention, both recovered.

164 Since the passing of the relapsing fever epidemic the district has been free from any serious outbreak of sickness. Every year, however, from November to March, when the really cold North wind comes howling across the country, many people, particularly among the old folk, get pneu-
*[797] monia, and the priest is ever on the alert for the knock on his door and the summons which may take him but ten minutes to answer, or on the other hand may mean a journey of twenty miles or more, and occupy him the best part of the day.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the theeth

[1] five feet ten inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

[Facing p. xxiv]

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

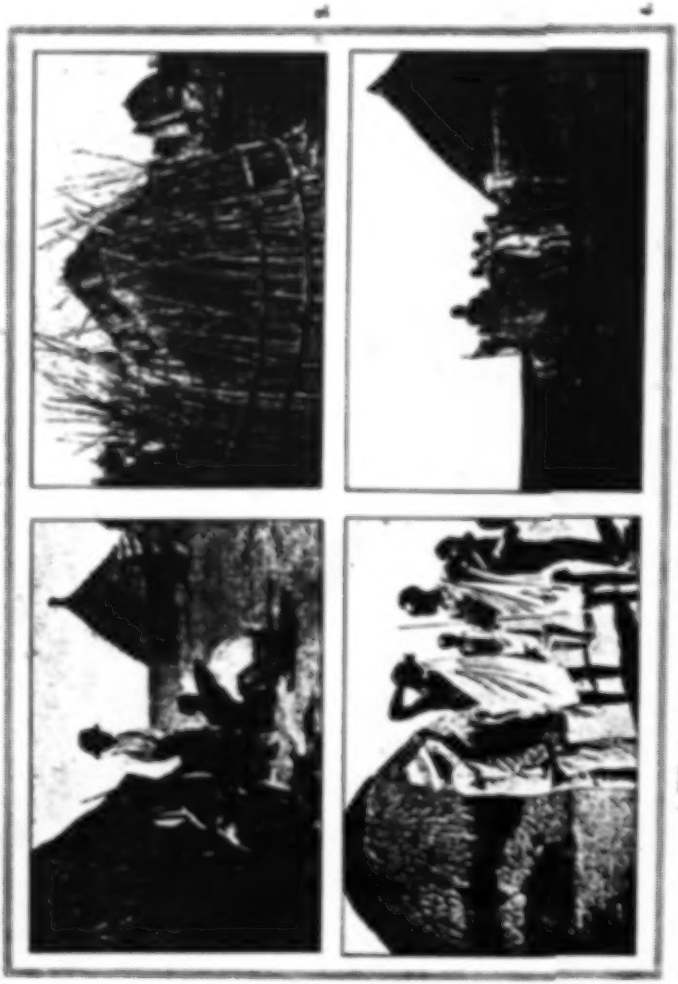
463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear-sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[443] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ágwg*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



1. Village scene 2. "House of Nyikang" 3. A Shilluk priest
4. Typical group of Shilluks; ladies covered with ashes; at the left a Shilluk dog

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[Facing p. xl]

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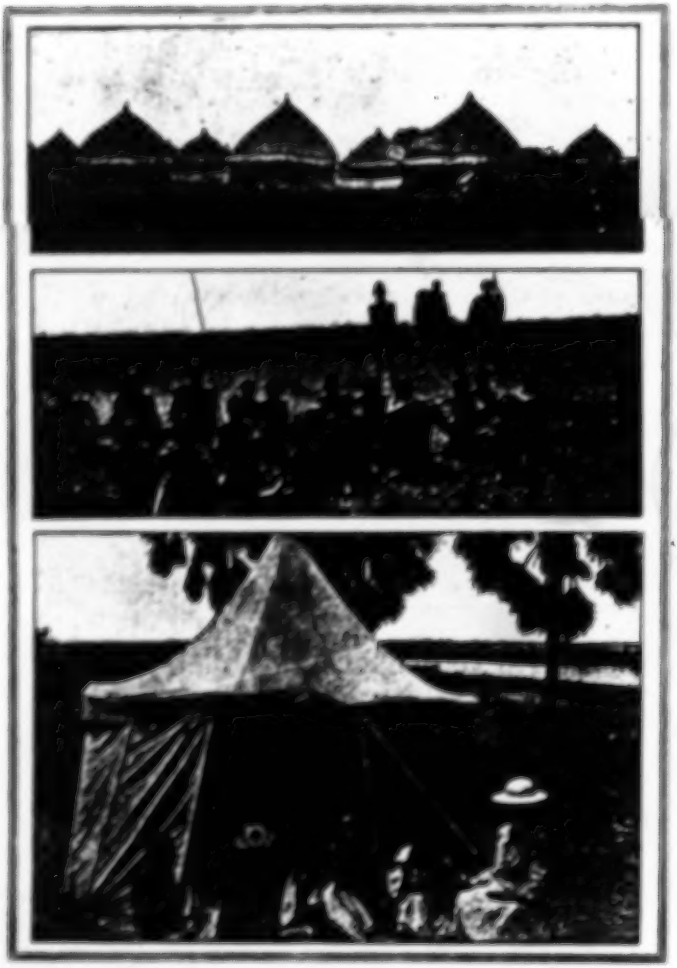

1. Group of Native Huts 2. Group of Boys

3. Girls Sewing School at Dolnik Hill

[Facing p. XLVIII (B)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Nilotes FJ2

N 126 524 533

whole body enters into the rhythm. It is this factor which is often overlooked by those who take and analyze phonograph records of native songs. It is difficult for a native to sing in proper *tempo* and with true gusto when he has to keep his head half buried in a phonograph horn all the time; and phonographs are notoriously bad for chorus work, as is well known. Phonographs have their use, of course, where difficult note intervals are met with, as will be obvious from several of the songs recorded here.

N 533

The words of these songs count for little, often having nothing to do with the action of the games; some are mere rubbish on crops or cattle; sometimes a song is altered out of recognition, and can only regain intelligibility after thorough dissection on the part of the investigator at a later and calmer period. In this aspect the Shilluks and Nuers are the greatest offenders, some of their songs consisting of mere nonsense syllables, which they themselves do not pretend to understand. (In such cases they usually give out that the words are "Dinka.") This being so, the translation of the vernacular given here, where this has been possible, must be regarded as very "free," as more attention has been paid to the song rhythm than to the literal meaning of the words.

S [533]

N 171

It is remarkable how much similarity there is between European children's games and the games that these children play, almost as though there were a sympathetic tie between children the world over. But it is worth noticing that we have lost much of our children's music, as witness the number of our games which are played without song. For the sake of simplicity, I shall classify these games roughly under the title of their nearest European equivalent.

N 128

[*Note on the music notation.*[1] Although the following tunes have been transcribed in staff notation, it must be noted that the scale intervals in the native singing voice are different from, and probably truer than, those on the piano (which have been compromised to enable one to play in different keys). Hence this rendering must be regarded as only *approximate*; where there is any appreciable difference between the song and the written note, I have indicated this in the text, the "uncertain note" being marked with an asterisk.

I have also taken liberties with the shape of the notes in these songs where *strophe* and *anti-strophe* are important. Thus: *Strophe*: words in italics and notes with tails up; *Anti-strophe*: words in normal script and notes with tails down. Where there is no part singing, I have transcribed the words in normal script.]

HAND-GAMES.

S 524 [516]

The great majority of singing games necessitate the players' squatting or standing in a ring, therefore I shall begin with a description of the principal squatting games.

1. *Hand the slipper.*—The "slipper" in this case is a ring or bangle, which is passed from hand to hand. Fig. 1, Pl. XV, shows the game as played among the Shilluk. The children sit round

[1] I am very much indebted here to Miss Ursula Northcote, who kindly read over this article in manuscript and offered constructive criticism with reference to the notation.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Dinka FJ12
Jur FJ14

D
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[316]

The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing inwards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is called the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S
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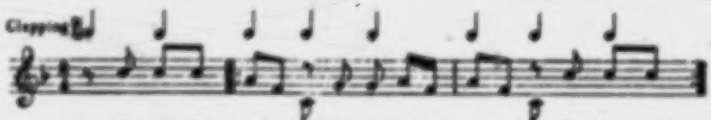
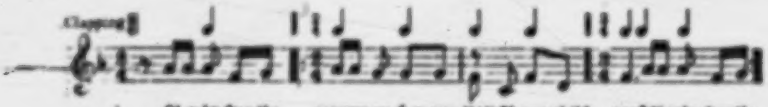
[516]

2. "*There stands a lady on the mountain.*" -There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (in 3/4 time): "Oh man child you," and the chorus shout "Hak" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to: -



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. -Soon the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has nobody's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

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J
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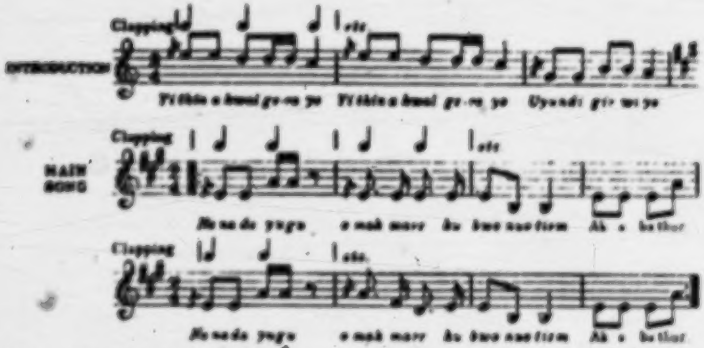
3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the Jur.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bracket. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, clapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk-speaking tribe in the Bahr el Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

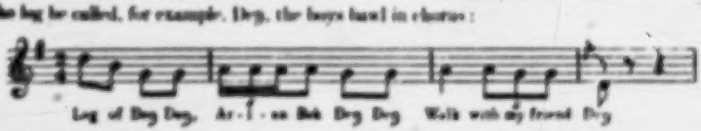
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Jur PJ14
Dinka FJ13



[The main part to be repeated *ad lib.*, with occasional reversions to the introduction.]

On the "Ak" the man in the centre will suddenly slap the knees of one of those sitting round. * This player must at once place his hands on his chest out of reach. If he is not quick enough and his hands are slapped, he is banished from the game. This continues till only one man is left, who is proclaimed the winner. J 524

4. Another game, requiring a man in the centre, is played by the Dinka. The man crouches, while the rest stand closely round and over him, with their arms round each other's necks, so that he is cocked in a cage of bodies. In his crouching position he can see only their legs. He grabs a leg at random, and cries, "Whose leg is this?" Should the owner of the leg be called, for example, Deng, the boys bawl in chorus: D 524 [516]



D [533 539]

[Thus, if the boy's name is Mayan, they shout "Leg of *Mayan*. Arian Bek *Mayan*, walk with my friend *Mu!*"]

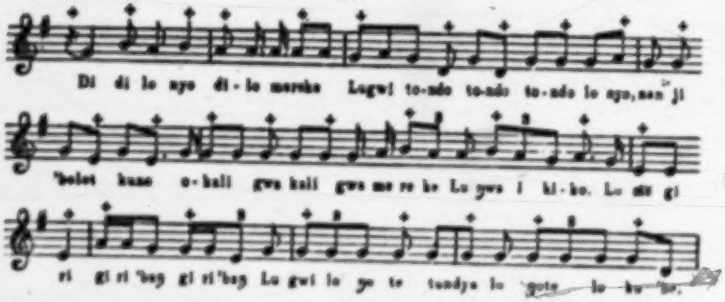
He now grabs the next boy's leg, and so on, till all the boys' legs have been touched. When he has gone the round, he has to try to creep out of the circle, and the game usually ends in a rough and tumble.

5. "*Kenu deyne dime de.*" The *Shilluk* version is the most complicated. The boys sit in a circle, or, it might be, a right-angle, with their feet stuck out straight in front of them. An older boy squats on his haunches before them and chants a queer formula, much longer than any European equivalent, tapping the feet as he chants, till the last word is said. The foot last touched is "out" and the owner must sit on it. He goes on in this way till everybody is sitting on both his feet, *i.e.*, practically kneeling. He then begins with the first boy of the line. There is a formula and response, and then he bows down in front of the boy with his eyes shut and his head almost touching the boy's knees. The boy has to stand up without S 524 [516]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Bari FJ5

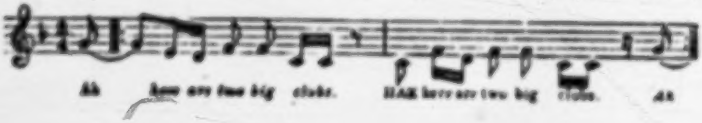
The following counting-out song is most difficult to scan, and was obtained from the Bari-speaking Pojulu. (It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a musical sense; the "bars" here merely indicate phrases):— B 524 533 539



6. "*Simon says 'thumbs up!'.*" A very peculiar Shilluk game which necessitates sitting in a circle with the legs straight in front; may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up!'"; except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round; so, for this game, eight, twelve or sixteen is a good number for the players. Outside the ring, on opposite sides of it, stand two men with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest. S 524 [516]

First movement: Song-leader sings, "Nyikay was about to seize his boat." The boys all lean forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees stiff, while they chant: "Heigh! Heigh! Heigh!" (Fig. 3, Pl. I.) S 524 533 539

Second movement: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs!" The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hak! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hak," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, whack their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, so the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 4, Pl. XV.)



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Acholi FK4
LOTUKO FJ17

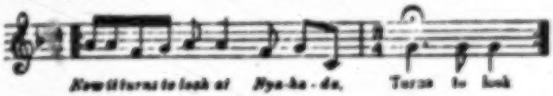
S 524 516

24. *Hoopoe.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (*Fig.* 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing:—

S 524 533 539

Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like:—



At the word "Turn," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird slews its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Luku-luku-luku!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

S 524 [525]

This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a harmless little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

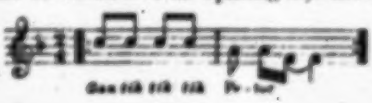
25. *Canoe.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side:—

S [533 539]

Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Heigh!" the whole line heels over on to one side. They recover, and heel over on to the other side. They recover, and heel over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (*Fig.* 5, Pl. XVII.)

S [571] A L 529 A 533 539

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings:—



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Mittu FJ18

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

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FIG. 1.—SHILLUK VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

FIG. 2.—BARI VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

FIG. 3.—"NYIKANG WAS ABOUT TO SEIZE HIS BOAT" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 4.—"HERE ARE TWO CLUBS" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"NDEKE WAI NDEKE" (BARI).

FIG. 6.—"NYAM NYAM NYAM. DE DE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(A)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Dinka FJ12
Lotuko FJ17

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

ADS 524 516 291 797

FIG. 1.—SHILLUK PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

FIG. 2.—DINKA PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

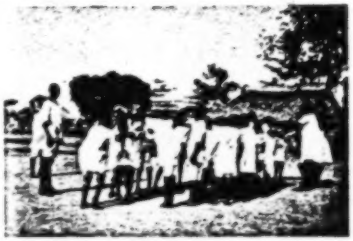

FIG. 3.—"SIX BOGER" AMONG THE LATUKO.

FIG. 4.—"THE FOREIGNER COMES STRIDING" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"GROOM SHAKE YOUR HEAD" (AZANDE).

FIG. 6.—"GROOM CROUCH DOWN" (AZANDE).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 167(B)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Lotuko FJ17
Jua FJ14

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVII.

A
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FIG. 1.—ZANDE "SNAKE."

FIG. 2.—LATUKO "GIRAFFE."

FIG. 3.—JUR "FROG."

FIG. 4.—SHILLUK "BOOBIE."

FIG. 5.—SHILLUK "CANOE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(c)]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.
(*Second day*)

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701

3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late *reth*.

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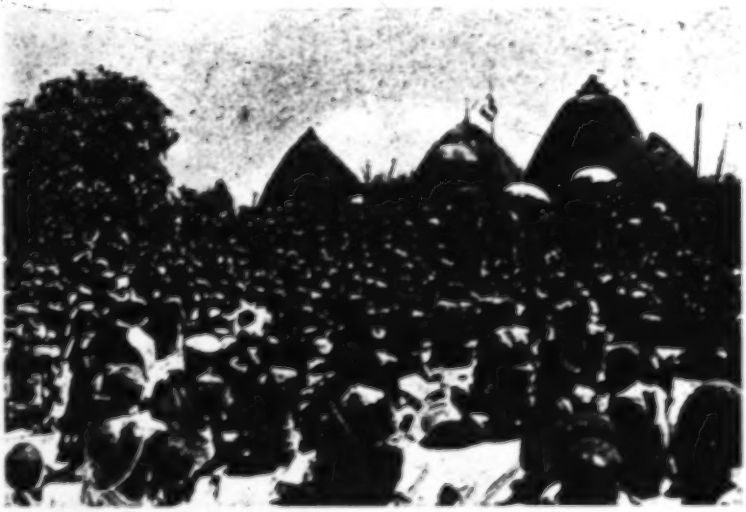

4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late *reth*.

[FACING p. 26]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoin/ were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

533 535 643 [201] [516] [482] 535 643 778

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 *tiny*, the planting of the spear in the ground, when the new *reth* appeared before the chiefs and notables, received their homage and addresses of exhortation, and in reply gave his undertaking to be a good and just ruler and to work for the welfare of the Shilluk people. The ceremony was simple but impressive. First of all the chiefs and leading notables lined up near the base of the hill, squatting on the [516] ground with their legs tucked beneath them in the decorous and respectful manner which is distinctive of the Shilluk. Behind them was a similar group of men of lesser importance. Then Nyikang's shield with bells on it, (which is said to be of silver), his long spear, and his throne (the *kwom*), all wrapped in new white cloth to conceal them from the gaze of ordinary men, and his drum, were brought out and taken to the bottom of the hill in front of the waiting chiefs. Here the throne was set up on a giraffe skin. Shortly afterwards the *reth* appeared, clad in a white *law*, and wearing the royal skin of the female Mrs. Gray antelope, and a new ivory armlet, which had been specially made for the occasion. After stepping over a sheep, he walked down the hill accompanied by Nyikwor and a small party of attendants, and protected by the royal fan made of the wings of the saddle bill stork in the form of a shield. When he reached the throne, he was lifted on to it by two men of the Ororo. The bearer of the fan held it over the *reth's* head to protect him from the sun, while the bearers of the shield, spear and drum stood in front. When all was 537 ready, the shield-bearer advanced towards the rows of chiefs shaking 643 the shield so that the bells jingled, and marked out the first speaker. This was Yor Leiker, the chief of the south, on whom together with Jago Tabo, the chief of the north, who spoke second, had lain the main responsibility for the choice of the new *reth*. These two were followed by some two dozen others, ending up with the chiefs of Tonga and Mwomo (Kaka), the wardens of southern and northern marches. The speeches took the form of exhortations to the new *reth* to deal justly with his people without fear or favour, that the spirit of Nyikang was in him and the people looked to him for good crops and good fortune. And as each speaker finished he stabbed his spear into the ground and left it there. When a speech met with approval, it was acknowledged by the shield bearer and the drummer coming forward and walking round the speaker shaking the bells and beating the drum respectively. When these speeches were over, the *reth* rose up and addressed the company, went over to the bull and stabbed it, and returned once more with his party into Athudowic.

643 The ritual was over. The new *reth* was secure in the occupation

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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

{p.164B}

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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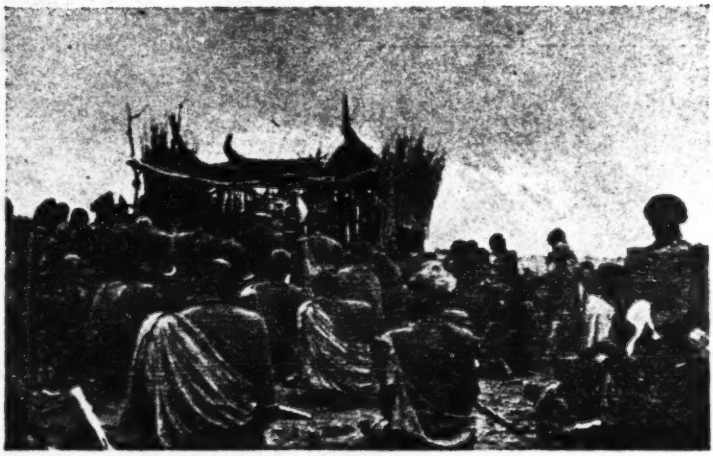

The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennelly

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Dêtwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a complete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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A Shilluk wearing a pair of ivory back-scratchers: a favourite adornment both useful and ornamental

Shilluk warrior in fighting pose

A Shilluk warrior poses against a peaceful background of cattle

Shilluk hair-styles: five 'soup-plates' in different stages of growth

Photos: Fr. F. Spokauskas

Shilluk warriors and Shilluk adornments

[facing p. 52]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[Frame 1.53]

Photo: Fr. F. Spelmacher

A drudge that means a trudge. Shilluk women set off for the Nile to fetch water. From Detwok—a mile each way

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Photo: Dr. F. Spdemann

A Shilluk putting the finishing touches to a spear-shaft

[facing p. 85]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Photo: Fr. F. Spiskowitz

Sisters' Convent, Detwok. Sister gives catechism class

[Facing p. 116]

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased INHERITANCE
587 father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry
763 them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 115.

● 517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a DANCING AND
[361] circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in WAR-PLAYS
the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting
[237] on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread
825 a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings.
75 The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and snuff box put going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given
[202] in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events
635 in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a
[574] drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female leaders [illegible] girls [illegible] each other. First the men form again a

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *bwing* or foreigner with his lated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 181 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gape on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 483

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luals* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 lying right across the entrance. It was poor Rachael who
*797 had been stretched out across the threshold where anyone entering the hut could not fail to step on or fall over her. Sitting against the wall opposite the entrance were four
[521] ancient-looking hags who were simply passing the time away in gossip whilst waiting for the old woman to die. When I made my undignified entrance, one of the unlovely quartette, Rachael's daughter, said, 'Get up, Rachael. Here's the Father and he has brought you a burying cloth.' Said I, 'I haven't brought a burying cloth.' Chorus from the four beauties: 'He hasn't brought a cloth, Rachael; don't get up.' To me, 'What have you brought?' 'I have come to give her a blessing.' 'Oh! He's come to give you a blessing, Rachael; don't get up.' At this point poor Rachael dimly understood that someone had come to give her something, so she asked me to put it in her hand and not let the others get it.

I thought that I had better get on with the good work, and blessing the hut and Rachael with holy water, I began to recite the Litany of the Dying. Half-way through, there was an interruption from the daughter: '*Jal duong*'—a
[514] pause whilst she spits, across Rachael and through the doorway; a good ten feet.

Myself: 'What?'

Daughter: '*Yi bi.*'

[576] This normal Shilluk greeting often comes, not when first meeting a person, but halfway through the conversation or visit. I said something more than my prayers, while the four resumed their gossip and spitting.

Daughter: '*Jal duong, Jal duong.*'

Myself: 'All ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Shut up.'

Daughter: 'O-oh! He says: "Shut up," and I was going to tell him that I went to the Sister to tell her that my mother was dying and to ask for a cloth to bury her in.'

At length, without further interruption I finished the prayers for the Dying, and gave poor Rachael one final blessing and prepared to depart. The four beldams followed me out of the hut, and the following conversation resulted:

*539 *e kŋlo kun de chuŋ, ka ye kŋlo, ka ye kŋlo, ka mâlj wun; a kŋlo, a wiji fiŋe Dimo. Ka ɡlouŋ yuodɡ ɡ wiji fack, ka fɛbj ɡí ryɡk; a fyoclɡ: yi kŋla kun á? Kŋla fiŋe Ñikuŋ bɡ yafe ɡlouŋ. Ka ɡbɡkj mɡl a kɛjj kale ɡɔk, ka ɡe Ñikuŋ, ka yy kŋlo fu. Ka e kŋu, wapɡ fiŋe Chɡl. Ka ɡlouŋ kŋlj kal ɡɔk. Ka fyɡɔk Ñikuŋ kjne: ɡlouŋ a kŋlo yin? Ka e ko: ɡlouŋ á wonj fack. Chwɡl gua Kwajul, kŋne Ñikuŋ.*

539 773 Kwajul herded cattle, the cattle of Nyikang; and one cow disappeared, she went into the cattle-yard of Dimo. When Kwajul came home, Nyikang asked, "Where is the cow?" He replied, "The cow is away." Nyikang became angry, he said, "Search for the cow!" So he went westwards ("to the place of the sun"), he walked and walked, till he had been on his way a year; he arrived in the country of Dimo. There he found the cow, she had gone into the village, and was lying within the yard. They asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I come from the country of Nyikang, to search for a cow." The next morning he went into the cattle yard, and drove the cow of Nyikang away. And he came and approached the Shilluk country. He drove the cow into the cattle pen. Nyikang asked, "Have you brought the cow?" He replied, "The cow is here in the village." Therefore he was called Kwajul, the servant of Nyikang.[1]

56. The Liar.

*539 *Ojulɡ kŋlo ga mɡɡ, ka ɛj wɡlo kɡɛ, ka ɛj kɡwɡ, ka ɛj ɡbɡj; ka ɛj wɡlo fiŋe, ka ɛj kŋu, ka ɛj ɡbɡj. A kŋlj Ñikuŋ, a fyɛchj kjne: Ojulɡ, yi ve châk kjfu ɡbɡj? Ko: á, mɡɡ, tiâi ya! kɡwɡ gin ɛj yiwj yá. Ka Ñikuŋ e ŋɡɡu, e ko: jal, yi y châk, yiwu twat. A chŋɡj anom, a tɛlɛt, a ŋowu tiâj kj jack; a wâlj yy fu.*

539 773 Ojulo was a friend (of Nyikang). When he went somewhere and came back, he used to tell all kinds of stories (lies) to Nyikang. Whenever he came to a country, he brought home a lot of stories. One day Nyikang asked, "Ojulo, why do you always lie so much?" Ojulo replied, "Ah, friend, let me lie! That is what makes me feel well." And Nyikang laughed, he said, "Man, you will always continue in this, you are a liar indeed!" And so he continued, he used to tell stories, he bought the story-telling with the shoulder of game, which he gave to Nyikang.[2]

57. Nyikang's Quarrel with Duwat.

*539 *Nilâk wân Ohwâ, ongɡ Dɡwɡt, fiŋe Shâjlj fâ Ţwrj, ɡɡâo bâch dkɡjl. Kâ Ñiekkâ e wɡrj kj Dɡwɡt, Ñiekuŋ wɡdɡ Dâk, Dɡwɡt wɡdɡ Dimo. Ka Dâk e wâkɡ kj Dimo kj kâk ɛbɡk Ñiekkâ, chamo kɡɡl, kɡɡl Dɡwɡt; Dimo fuât ɛbɡk. Ñiekuŋ wɡrɡ kj Dɡwɡt. — Ñiekkâ e kŋlo, e ko: Dɡwɡt, dɡâ! yâ kjlj! Ka Ñiekkâ e kŋlo,*

[1] Compare with this story No. 51.
[2] By giving the shoulder of the game he had killed, he "bought" from Nyikang the privilege to tell lies. (This is meant as a joke).

[522]

7:Tucker E5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Nilotes FJ2

N 126 524 533

whole body enters into the rhythm. It is this factor which is often overlooked by those who take and analyze gramophone records of native songs. It is difficult for a native to sing in proper tempo and with true gusto when he has to keep his head half buried in a phonograph horn all the time; and phonographs are notoriously bad for chorus work, as is well known. Phonographs have their use, of course, where difficult note intervals are met with, as will be obvious from several of the songs recorded here.

N 533

The words of the songs count for little, often having nothing to do with the action of the games; some are mere eulogies on crops or cattle; sometimes a song is slurred out of recognition, and can only gain intelligibility after thorough dissection on the part of the investigator at a later and calmer period. In this aspect the Shilluks and Nuers are the greatest offenders, some of their songs consisting of mere nonsense syllables, which they themselves do not pretend to understand. (In such cases they usually give out that the words are "Dinka.") This being so, the translation of the vernacular given here, where this has been possible, must be regarded as very "fair," as more attention has been paid to the song rhythm than to the literal meaning of the words.

S [533]

N 171

It is remarkable how much similarity there is between European children's games and the games that these children play, almost as though there were a sympathetic tie between children the world over. But it is worth noticing that we have lost much of our children's music, as witness the number of our games which are played without song. For the sake of simplicity, I shall classify these games roughly under the title of their nearest European equivalent.

N 128

[*Note on the music notation.*[1] Although the following tunes have been transcribed in staff notation, it must be noted that the scale intervals in the native singing voice are different from, and probably finer than, those on the piano (which have been compromised to enable one to play in different keys). Hence this rendering must be regarded as only *approximate*; where there is any appreciable difference between the sung and the written note, I have indicated this in the text, the "uncertain note" being marked with an asterisk.

I have also taken liberties with the shape of the notes in these songs where *strophic* and *antistrophic* are important. Thus: *Strophic*: words in italics and notes with tails up; *Antistrophic*: words in normal script and notes with tails down. Where there is no part singing, I have transcribed the words in normal script.]

Ring-Games.

The great majority of singing games necessitate the players' squatting or standing in a ring, therefore I shall begin with a description of the principal squatting games.

S 524 [516]

1. *Hand the slipper.*—The "slipper" in this case is a ring or bangle, which is passed from hand to hand. Fig. 1, Pl. XV, shows the game as played among the Shilluk. The children sit round

[1] I am very much indebted here to Miss Ursula Nettlership, who kindly read over this article in manuscript and offered considerable criticism with reference to the notation.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Acholi FK4
BARI FJ5
Latuko FJ17

S
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in a ring, their feet under them. One of them has the missing bracelet, which he passes round surreptitiously. The leader sits in the middle and sings: "Bracelet of my son's wife," and the rest join in: "I want, I want now. Bracelet of poor Bana. It is lost." They slap their knees on the first beat of each bar.

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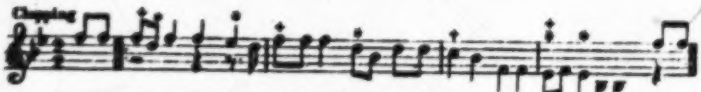

The leader may turn to any member of the circle, and, instead of slapping with his hands, lays them palm upwards on his knees; the boy now challenged has to lay his hands down palm upwards during the chorus. If he has the bracelet, he has to sit in the circle.

[*Note.* In the foregoing song there is a note which I have written sometimes as D and sometimes as E♭. In reality the note lies halfway between the two notes recorded. This, of course, does not refer to all Shilluk songs.]

The Acholi version shows a simpler scale:

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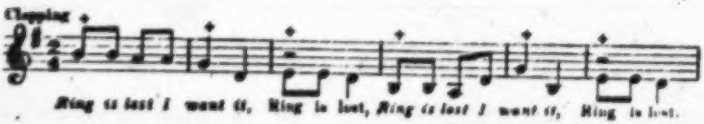

The following song, taken from the Latuko, illustrates how the clapping rhythm can differ from (to our ears) the natural song rhythm:

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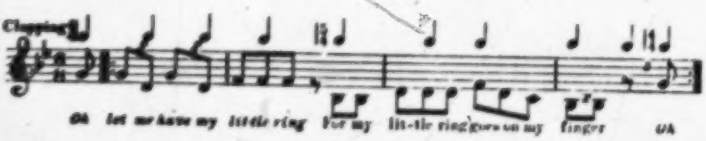

Among the Bari, the game is played with the legs stretched out in front, while the players sit in a line. One boy hides the ring, and the seeker is confused by the rhythmic jigging of the players' knees. (*See Fig.* 2, Pl. XV.)

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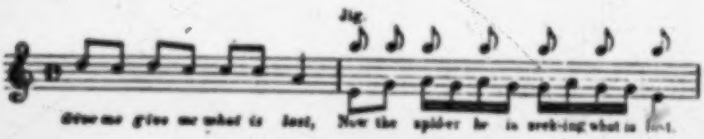


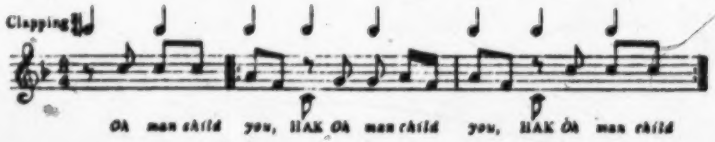
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12
Jur FJ14

D 524 [516]

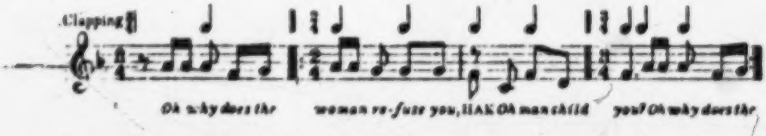
The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing inwards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is called the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S 524 533 539 [516]

2. "*There stands a lady on the mountain.*" -There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (in 3/4 time): "Oh man chikl you," and the chorus shout "Hak" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to: -



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. Soon the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has milady's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

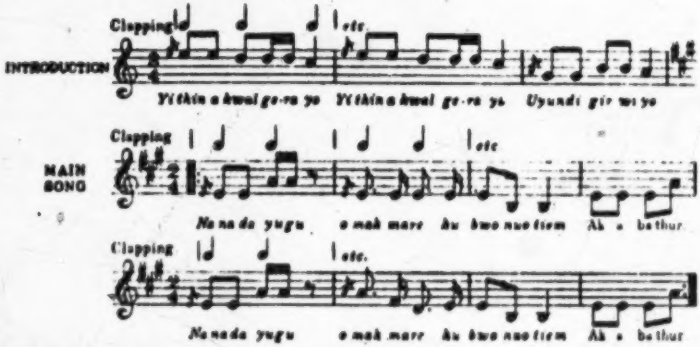
S 524 832

J 524 171

3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the Jur.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bracelet. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, slapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk-speaking tribe in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Jur PJ14
Dinka FJ12

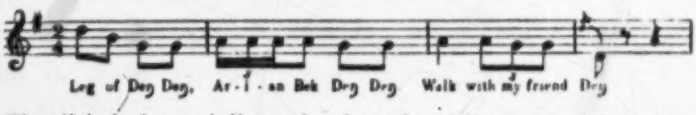


J 524 533 539

[The main part to be repeated *ad lib.*, with occasional reversions to the introduction.]

On the "Ak" the man in the centre will suddenly slap the knees of one of those sitting round. This player must at once place his hands on his chest out of reach. If he is not quick enough and his hands are slapped, he is banished from the game. This continues till only one man is left, who is proclaimed the winner. J 524

4. Another game, requiring a man in the centre, is played by the Dinka. The man crouches, while the rest stand closely round and over him, with their arms round each other's necks, so that he is enclosed in a cage of bodies. In his crouching position he can see only their legs. He grabs a leg at random, and cries, "Whose leg is this?" Should the owner of the leg be called, for example, Deng, the boys bawl in chorus: D 524 [516]



D [533 539]

[Thus, if the boy's name is Mayan, they shout "Leg of *Mayan*, Arian Bek *Mayan*, walk with my friend *Ma!*"]

He now grabs the next boy's leg, and so on, till all the boys' legs have been touched. When he has gone the round, he has to try to creep out of the circle, and the game usually ends in a rough and tumble.

5. "*Kwa dwma dim do.*" The Shilluk version is the most complicated. The boys sit in a circle, or, it might be, a right-angle, with their feet stuck out straight in front of them. An elder boy squats on his haunches before them and chants a queer formula, much longer than any European equivalent, tapping the feet as he chants, till the last word is said. The foot last touched is "out" and the owner must sit on it. He goes on in this way till everybody is sitting on both his feet, *i.e.* practically kneeling. He then begins with the first boy of the line. There is a formula and response, and then he bows down in front of the boy with his eyes shut and his head almost touching the boy's knees. The boy has to stand up without S 524 [516]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12
Jur FJ14

S 524

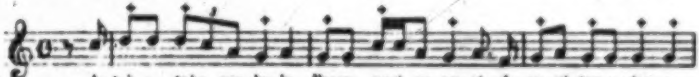
touching the man's head with his knees. (He may use his hands to help himself, if he wishes.) If the man hears the boy's knees creak as he rises, the boy is made to stand on one side. If his knees do not creak, he stands somewhere else. Soon we have two groups—creaky and non-creaky knees. (Of course, the longer one is forced to sit on one's feet, the greater the likelihood of creaky knees!) The last part of the game is vague, because it was difficult to get the words. The two groups throw challenges at each other, and the game ends with the non-creaky knees pursuing the creaky knees and punishing them.

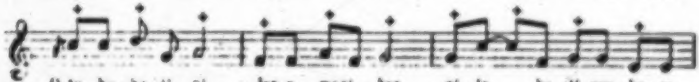
D J 524

In the Dinka and Jur versions, a player is out of the game as soon as both legs are "out," and the game proceeds till only two boys are left. These are allowed to stand, but are well hemmed in by their neighbours, because the last man will have to make a dive for safety or be well pinched by his comrades.

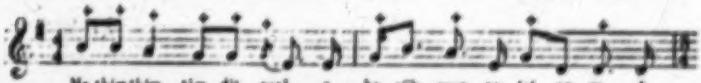
J 533 539 524

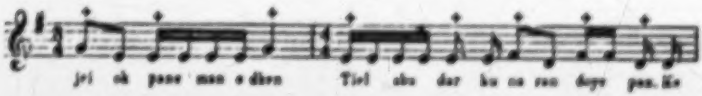
The Jur song is given here (| indicates the notes on which the feet are tapped) : —

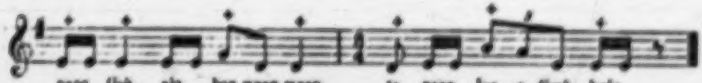




Dinka version. (Here the tapping is not in strict time, as with other songs.)

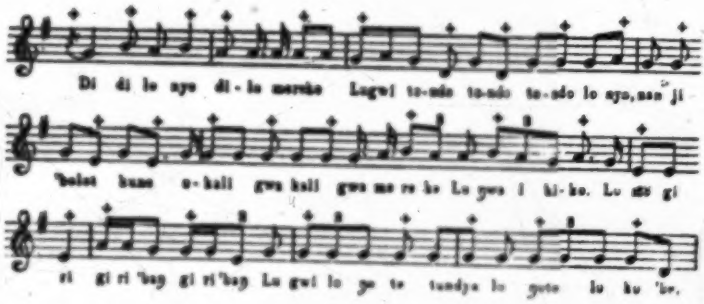






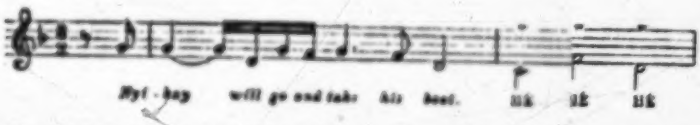
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5

The following counting-out song is most difficult to scan, and was obtained from the Bari-speaking Pöjulu. (It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a musical sense; the "bars" here merely indicate phrases):— B 524 533 539

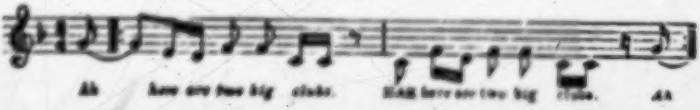


6. "*Simon says 'thumbs up!'*." A very peculiar Shilluk game which necessitates sitting in a circle with the legs straight in front; may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up!'"; except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round; so, for this game, eight, twelve or sixteen is a good number for the players. Outside the ring, on opposite sides of it, stand two men with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest. S 524 [516]

First movement: Song-leader sings, "Nyikop was about to swim his boat." The boys all lean forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees stiff, while they chant: "Heigh! Heigh! Heigh!" (Fig. 3, Pl. I.) S 524 533 539



Second movement: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs!" The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hak! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hak," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, whack their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, so the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 4, Pl. XV.)



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Nuer FJ22

S
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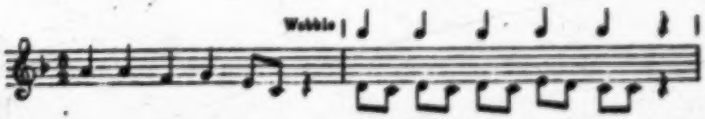
539

Third movement: The boys all chant together "Open and shut, Open and shut!" At the word "Open," all the toes are bent backwards, at the word "Shut" they are all bent forwards, so that the centre square of toes looks like some great black sea-anemone opening and shutting itself.

Fourth movement: Keeping their feet and toes still, the boys wobble their knees rapidly up and down. I was unable to get the words of this song, but the tune is as follows:—



These movements can come in any order, according to the will of the song-leader.

N
524
[516]

7. Nuer girls are fond of ring games, but there is little action in those that I have seen. The girls kneel in a ring; one girl sings a song of about three lines, and the rest repeat it, clapping their knees. Then the girl next to her takes up the song, extemporizing upon the same theme with a view to scoring a "hit" off one of those present. If she succeeds, she is greeted with yells of approval, and all join lustily in the chorus, while the third girl cudgels her brains for the inspiration necessary to cap this verse if possible. These witticisms usually lie around the names of friends or bear some obscure reference to well-known incidents, with the result that an investigator without intimate knowledge of the children's daily affairs finds the songs unintelligible. This is one of the verses:

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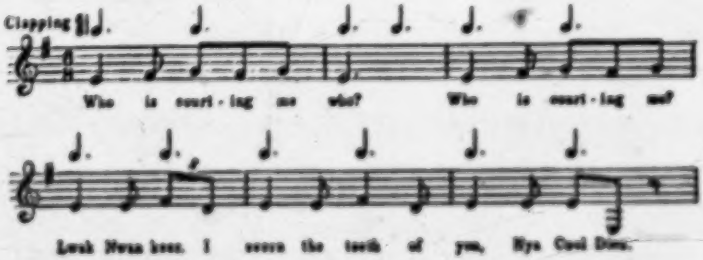
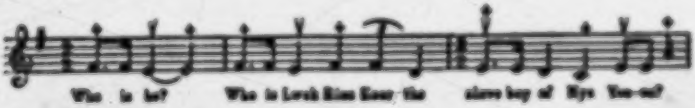


In the following song the voice rhythm (indicated V) differs markedly from the clapping rhythm (indicated ♩):



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
FJ22 Nuer
FJ18 Mitha

N
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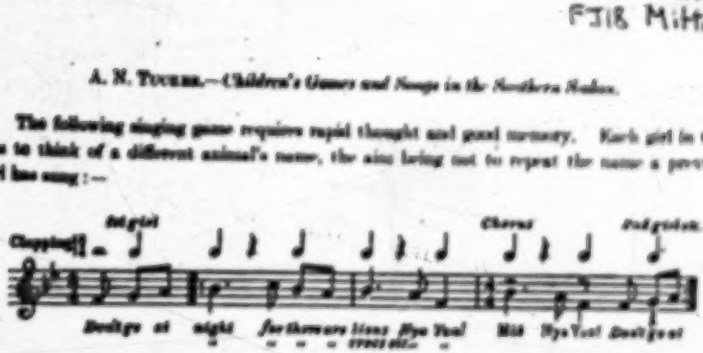
The following singing game requires rapid thought and good memory. Each girl in turn has to think of a different animal's name, the aim being not to repeat the name a previous girl has sung:—



M
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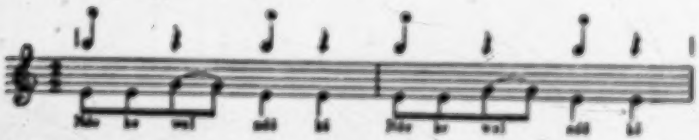
8. *Ring o' Roses.* There are many games which comprise mere dancing or capering in a ring. In the following Baka game the players first dance round in a ring, holding hands, singing:—

Then, with a change of the music, they swing their right legs over their arms, and hop round until they fall down. (See Fig. 5, Pl. XV.)



[*Note.* The note transcribed E sounds somewhere between E and F.]

S
524
533
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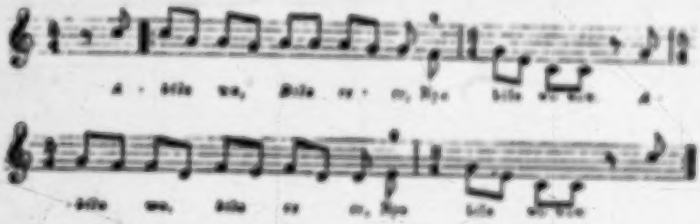
9. A popular form of "Ring o' Roses" is played as follows. The Shilluk version has two parts, but the words of the song have no decipherable meaning. (Here again I heard a note which was difficult to place. I have transcribed it sometimes E and sometimes F.)

First movement: The players stand in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders, and sway as they sing:—



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Achol. FK4
Bari FJ5
Latuko FJ17

S
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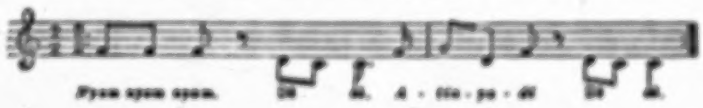
Second movement: The leader will drop his hankie and run round the boy to his right and back to his place. (See Fig. 6, Pl. XV.) This boy will now run round the boy to his right, and so on, until everybody has run round his right-hand neighbour, and no one is left with his hands on his neighbour's shoulders. After which the children revert to the first movement. The song for the second movement is sung at almost twice the speed of that for the first movement.



A
L
B
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Among other tribes, only the second movement is gone through. In the Latuko song I have transcribed the "uncertain note" sometimes as A and sometimes as Bb.

Latuko:

L
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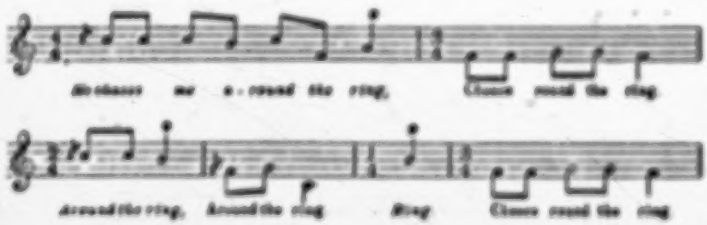
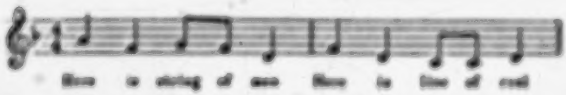


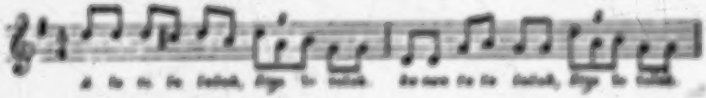
Achol:

A
533
539



Bari:

B
533
539



S
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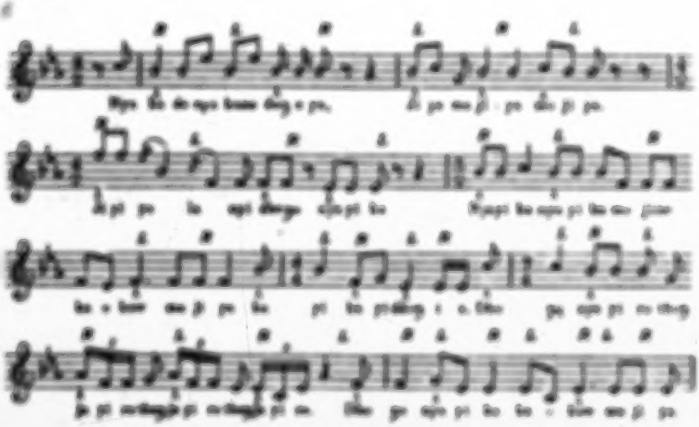
10. The following Shilluk ring-game is a difficult test for the players' rhythmic sense, and many Shilluks fail, much to the derision of their comrades. The players stand in a ring, holding each others' shoulders, and a stick, about three feet long, is laid on the right-hand side of one of the boys, pointing towards the centre of the circle. The players now sing a supposedly "Dinka" song, and the boy marks the rhythm by springing, with both feet together, to and fro across the stick. At a certain point in the song, to be determined by himself, he must

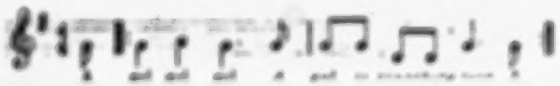
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F321 Skillah F321
Latuko F317

double his time, *i.e.* spring from side to side twice as fast, and on the last note he must end up on the right-hand side of the stick, *i.e.* opposite the side from which he began, so that the circle may move round one pace, while his left-hand neighbour has an attempt. Should the unfortunate dancer finish up on the left-hand side of the stick, he is hooted out of the game. S 524

In the following song I have indicated by the letters R and L the jumpings, right and left, of one of the successful players. This is, of course, not the only way in which the rhythm is distributed:— S 524 533 537



11. Another Skillah jumping game consists merely of springing from the ground to a taped rhythm, the legs going apart and together. An important point is that the left foot should hit the right ankle when the feet come together in mid-air.

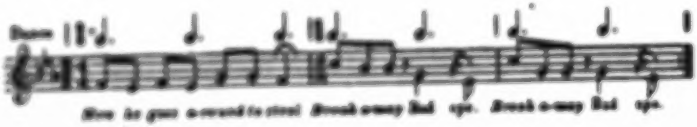


12. I have seen among the Latuko a form of ring game in which, at the word "come!" the song-leader will swing his section of the line into the middle of the circle. When this is done very vigorously, it is hard for those on his immediate left and right to keep their feet. L S 524 533 537

7:Tucker E-6 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Lohuko FJ17

L 524 533 534

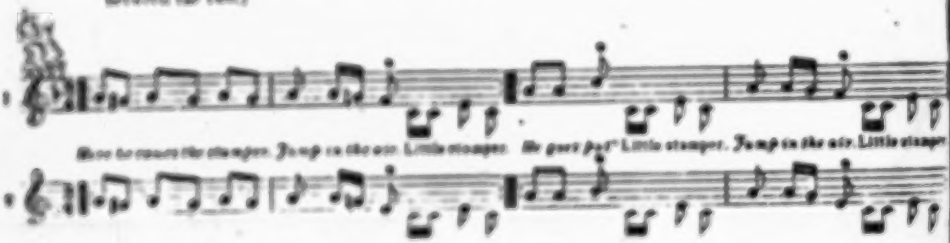
13. The Latuko have two ring-games, in which a boy in the centre is "an." In the first he is called "the ape," and the other players are supposed to dance from one foot to the other as they sing:—



L 524

The "ape's" ambition is to grab the leg of one of the players and to upset him backwards. The player's neighbours try to prevent this by supporting him. If the "ape" succeeds, the upset player takes his place.

In the second game, the boy in the middle tries to jump on the toes of those who are not quick enough in jumping out of the way. (This song was difficult to transcribe, owing to the main notes being between E and F. Consequently I had the impression sometimes that the song was sung in the key of F major (No. 1), and sometimes that it was sung in the key of A minor (No. 2). I opened both apparent versions. The true version was probably somewhere between the two.)



CHASES AND FOLLOWING GAMES.

S 524

14. *Fur and Horn.* This version of an old favourite is appropriately named "Lion and Goat," "Leopard and Sheep," "Leopard and Dog," according to the locality of the tribe concerned.

The childish game is nearest our conception. The "Sheep" crouch in single file behind their leader, who faces the "Lion" all players crouching on hands and knees. (See Fig. 1, Pl. XVI.) The spectators supply the song and clap their hands in time. At every beat the Lion advances a pace, pounding alternately from right to left and grunting "Ho!" and "Ha!" at each pounce. The line of Sheep crouch in time with him, bleating "Ba!" to his grunts, and the leader has to prevent the Lion from catching one of the Sheep by blocking his path. Both sides move to start time with the music, and no irregular gestures are allowed.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Nilotic F32
Dinka F312

Of the two songs recorded here, only one of them has any reference to the game in the text.

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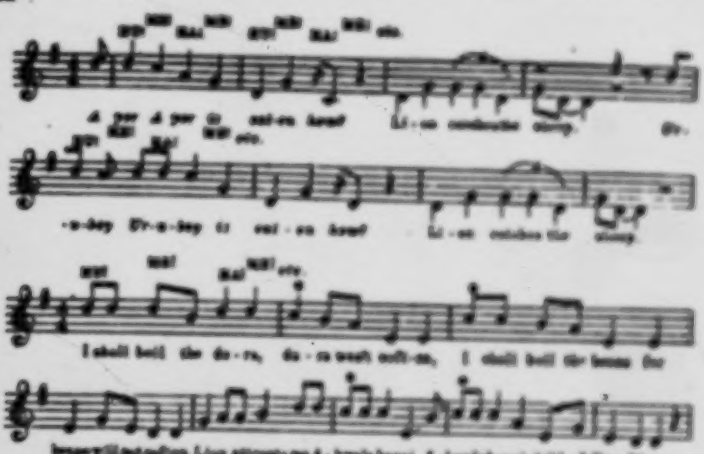
533
539

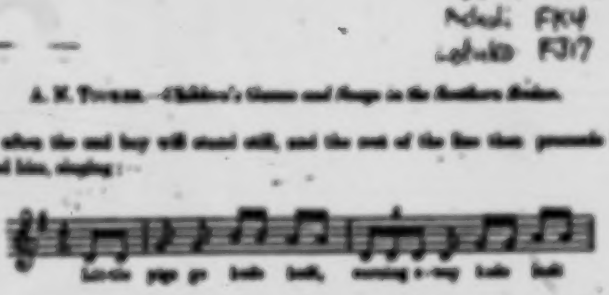

A ye-a ye-a ye-a ee-ee-a ee-ee
Li-ee ee-ee-ee-

Dinka F32
Nduk F84
Lotuko F37

190 A. N. Tucker.—Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan.

D 524 533 531

Very often the end boy will stand still, and the rest of the line then proceeds to wrap itself round him, singing:—



The whole game is done at the double, and is played much faster than among the Acholi. The words have nothing to do with the game, being, as often as not, reduplicate on favourite balls.

Acholi Games.

A L S 524

14. *Gangro and Arumo.* The versions of this popular game differ from tribe to tribe, but all have this feature in common, viz., the two principals stand facing each other with their arms making an arch; they do not clasp each other's hands, but clap their palms against each other to a rapid rhythm, while the other members of the game dash through the arch. The game is considerably more vigorous than among European children, and the "last man" is seldom captured without a scuffle.

Shilluk:

S 533 531

L 533 531

Lotuko:

Acholi:

A 533 531

S 524 A L 524

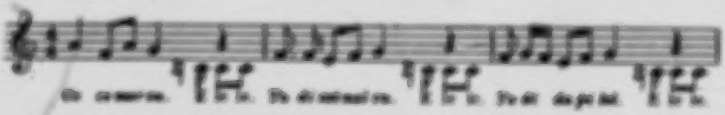
The "last man" is treated variously. Among the Shilluk he is banished from the game, and this continues until only two players are left, and these have to share each other. Among the Lotuko and Acholi the game proceeds again more European form. The captured player is

?/Tucker K-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk F223
Nuer F222

LINE GAMES.

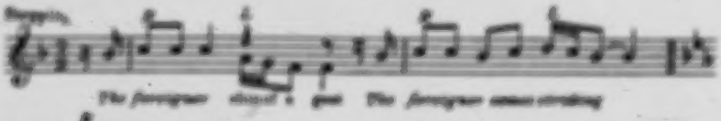
N 524 18. *Nuts and May.*—The Nuers have a form of this game of which the details are rather vague. The children stand in two lines, facing each other, some dozen yards apart. A member of one line advances towards the other line with a peculiar prancing step, waving his hands above his head, singing :—

N 533 539

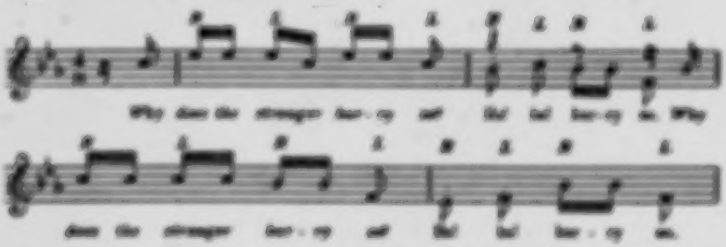


(The words, so far as I could make out, are nonsenseglum.) He singles out a member of the other side and chases him round both lines and back to his place. What happens if he catches him I could not find out.

S 524 533 539 The following Shilluk version is evidently a recent invention, and probably confined to the particular group of Shilluks I was studying. The boys line up in two ranks, as if for "Nuts and May." One line advances towards the other, marching slowly in "goose step" (see Fig. 4, Pl. XVI), while the other line retreats, both sides singing :—



Then the song is repeated, while the other line advances, and so on, to and fro, several times. Suddenly the pace is doubled; the boys running still faster, those advancing trying to kick the shins of those who are retreating. The song now is :—

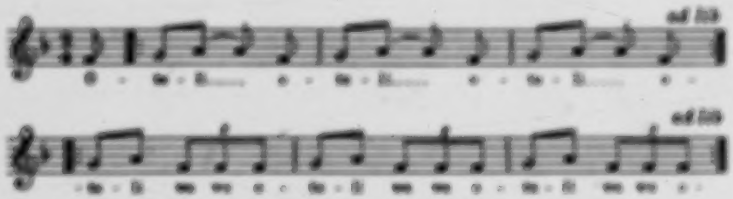


As before, on every repetition the direction is changed.

7/Tucker K-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323

This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "skin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unmanly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a slit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular boy game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Hide and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step:—



without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes in his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their arms at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song:—

the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

INSTANCES OF ANIMALS, ETC.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs:—

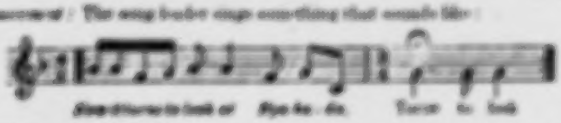
20. *Bush-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Ghoul,"

T.Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk F223
Achol, Fin
Latuko Perr

16. Hoopoe. — The most clever animal imitation I have seen was among the Shilluk. The boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird adroitly nods its head, while all sing: —

Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like:

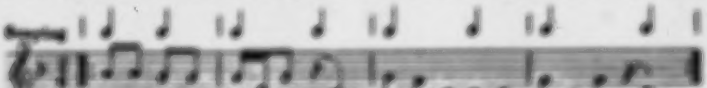


At the word "Turn," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird drops its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Lubo-lubo-lubo!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

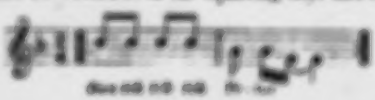
This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe," a hare-like little bird, with an air of stupid adroitness, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

17. Crane. — The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as through tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side: —



Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Bright!" the whole line leaps over on to one side. They recover, and lean over on to the other side. They recover, and lean over backwards, after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: —



-4-

T.Tucker K-6 (1929-1933) 1933

F323 Shelfish F323
Bag. F35
M.Ha F318

BSM
S24
S16
291
197

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

FIG. 1.—[illegible] VERSION OF "GIVE THE [illegible]."

FIG. 2.—[illegible] VERSION OF "GIVE THE [illegible]."

FIG. 3.—"[illegible] THE [illegible] TO [illegible] ON [illegible]" (DRAWN).

FIG. 4.—"[illegible] AND THE [illegible]" (DRAWN).

FIG. 5.—"[illegible] THE [illegible]" ([illegible]).

FIG. 6.—"[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS OF THE NORTHERN STATES.

[p. 187 (A)]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

AD
5
524
56
291
747

FIG. 1.—MIDDLE PLATEAU "LION AND MAN."

FIG. 2.—NILOTIC PLATEAU "LION AND MAN."

FIG. 3.—"ON BOARD" (BOTH THE LATTER).

FIG. 4.—"THE [illegible]" (BOTH).

FIG. 5.—"[illegible]" (BOTH).

FIG. 6.—"[illegible]" (BOTH).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 167(a)]

7/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

F223 Shellab F223
Arnade F97
Lehuko F317
Ina. F314

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVII.

A
F
J
S
281
524
797
516

FIG. 1.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 2.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 3.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 4.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FIG. 5.—[illegible] "[illegible]."

FRAGMENTS CARVED AND MADE IN THE [illegible] [illegible].

[p. 157(d)]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with [765] the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [201]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the [765] deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. [535] This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a [527] dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [528] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [526] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tedious work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the aulbach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[482]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called pen and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The pen is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wetting these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

POTTERY 323 Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, bowls for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-bowls are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

[482]
[483]
[276
53]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[498] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ŋaŋ*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
M the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

194 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the 351
side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement.

A chief or a nyireth may have three or four huts in his 342
enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled [565]
cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, [531]
or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other [343]
for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and 351
is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an [565]
ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight.

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle 343
byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much [233]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several 352
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon cross-legged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *Awwel* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *Awwel* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *ainde*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
• [532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
232] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*ainde*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1911 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1911) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[569] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
643] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

346
778

Plate VIII

Fashoda, shrine of Nyakang in open, Kwayo (Dewal)

[532]

Fashoda, shrine of Nyakang, wall-painting

(See p. 6)

3:Westermann E-5 (0910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the bowl is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed bowl is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting wounds is the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working cock supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making earthen beats and other common work is undertaken by every Shilluk. The cock supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, dog, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of earthen wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

COCK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are concerned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating corn, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[442] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ngang*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
439 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;
177

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

others one against the one and his one; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dak*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kpo rig* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurewar, Wau,[2] Fanyikang, Ryiberb (*Nyibek*), *Ongiq*, Ryidwal, *Ceibirj*, *Okyq*, *Dhdjqy*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of relicques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjugation of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.
[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonkiin and Kodok.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [565] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

A ŋkiy tuŋ lin, lun a ŋkiy ŋkin Ajiŋiŋ; Bul ŋiŋiŋ! Yuwa bin Nikuŋ; ŋiŋ yu ŋiŋ ŋ lip; bijil yin ŋ ŋuŋ juŋ; ŋ a ŋil juŋ. Wuwa ŋiŋiŋ lwom lin! Yuwa bin Nikuŋ! Lun a ŋkiy ŋkin bulŋ, ŋ Ojiŋ tuŋ lun Nuŋiŋ. Nikuŋ a ŋiŋ, luwa ŋiŋ Jun.

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Ajiŋiŋ*. Bul is strong. I am a servant of *Nikuŋ*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the village of God; the king comes with God. The kings arose against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Nikuŋ*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Ojiŋ*, as far as *Nuŋiŋ* war is raging.

Ŋiwi ŋ ŋuŋ ŋwa, ŋa Nikuŋ? ŋiwi ŋ ŋir ŋ ŋiŋ!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Nikuŋ*? Your village will be built by spears!

Wu ŋiŋi ŋiŋi! Ŋa Nikuŋ ŋa ŋ ŋiwi, ŋuŋi ŋ ŋiŋ, ŋ Wŋwuwur ŋ ŋiŋ; ŋuŋi ŋa ŋiŋ! ŋiŋi a ŋiŋ, ŋa ŋiŋ bin ŋin, Awuŋiŋ, ŋa wŋin Gŋiŋuŋ, ŋa wŋin Ajiŋ! wu ŋiŋ ŋiŋ, ŋa Nikuŋ ŋa ŋ ŋiwi.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Nikuŋ* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wŋwuwur* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Awuŋiŋ*, from the village of the children of *Gŋiŋuŋ*, the village of the children of *Ajiŋ*. Let them carry away, the house of *Nikuŋ* will never be finished.

Aŋŋgiŋ Aŋŋ-win, wŋ tuwa ŋiŋrib. A wŋŋ, a wŋŋ ŋŋ, ŋŋ bijil Fŋŋ. Mŋbi ŋ ŋa ŋŋŋ ŋ, mŋbe ŋ ŋa ŋŋŋ ŋ. Aŋŋ-Nikuŋ, a ŋil juŋ. Mŋbe ŋŋ ŋa ŋŋŋ ŋ.

Aŋŋgjang Aŋŋgwan is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the Sobat. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Akolo Nyakwa he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Yŋ ŋŋ bŋŋ ŋŋ, yu ŋŋ bŋu ŋŋ, Nikuŋ, yu ŋŋ bŋu ŋŋ, yu ŋŋ bŋu ŋŋ, jal duŋŋ, yu ŋŋ bŋu ŋŋ.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Nikuŋ*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

3:Westermann E-5 (1916) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

●531
●533
721

Kè di kpè Ayadi, ení Jòk, ya ro (de) Dìè yìnè, yè yìdè Kìòè Alèè, yè yìdè yè kwìyè, kpè Alèè, wòrè Wìè.

But for *Ayadi*, the son of *Jòk*, I should have left my country, and gone far away; I have been saved by the strength of *Alèè*, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful *Alèè*, the son of *Wìè*.

Ká Dìè, yè kwòrò ùè? Ya kwòrò ùè!? Chè ya kpè kòn, fòrò yòn. Ya yìdè yè kwè Ayàdè. Wòrè Ká Dìè gìnè yòrè kè ùè, ròrò fè lòn ùè.

You son of *Dìè*, what do you ask for? I ask for a lion, for whenever I go I love the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather *Ayàdè*. The mother of the son of *Dìè* has built us a house under the *dòòrò* palms; the branches of the *dòòrò* are like an army.[1]

Mìòè kpè Nòòkìnè, yè ùèè, yè yòòè, mòòrò kpè Alòò, mòrò Dìè, yè ùèè yè yòòè.

By the dare-bear of *Nòòkìnè* I walk, I am filled with it, by the bear of *Alòò*, the mother of *Dìè*, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Alèè à dòòè mòè; yè ùèè ùè. Kè ùèè yòrò, ùèè yìyè ùèè. Dìè à ùèè, ùèè ùèè Dìè.

Alèè has returned. I live through him free from oppressors. The anxieties of my heart were away. But *Dìè* returned, he repaired the white people away to *Dìè*.

Mòè kè yòòè, mòè kè yòòè, yòòè Dìè yè, mòè kè yòòè . . . .

Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to *Dìè*.

Ya ròòè ròè! ròè yòn ùèè? Ròòè! Tìè ròòè mòè. Kpè à kè yè ùèè. Kòòè fè ùè, ùè Dìè à kè jòòè. Kè yè kòòè kè ùè, ùè kè ùè ùè? Ùèè ùèè yòòè yòn. Tìè kè ùèè yè kè. Kòn à ùè yòè? Ya à ròè ùèè. Ùèè, ùè kòòè, yè à ùèè kè ùèè ùèè.

I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dare is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of *Dìè* is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your boats, fight another tribe!

[1] The rustling of the leaves of the *dòòrò* palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

2:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shelfmk F223

103. Mourning songs, and others.

587*
535

Ahé na Nikoi, Anyaja wé-ejé. Fé ejéwé yo djéj mmlij. Lanya fam ejé, fé yam wejo. Anyaja lanya, wejé Kwéjiwu, dj bélé, djé é mmlij, fay djé é mmlij, fay djé é gbéj. Ayéwuélé fanu fiya.

Aha, the son of *Nikoi*, my father *Anyaja*, is no more. Look at me, I am left poor. *Lanyi* is away, he, our chief, *Anyaja Lanyi*, the son of *Kwajiwu*. Our family is left desolate, our village is left desolate, our house is left unprovided. *Ayewélé*, he was a great chief.

Afjyé wwé Déli, lanuj éjo. Anyeli-bjé gyé ghwé, a lanuyo Ajanyi-mjanji.

Afjyé, the son of *Déli*, is weeping in the grassy place. *Anyélibé* lassoes a cow and gives it to *Ajanyi-mjanji*, to herd (= to possess) it.[1]

Ayélijiu, wejé Ryaé-éadjé Wuo-éélwé, Ayélij, Wéné-gélé-bjé, ye wuo bj yé hwo a bjé ju.

Ryaéwué Wuoéélwé, Ayélin, Wuoagaéélwé Ayélinéu, I lost the way in which he went.

Ahwéjéjéjé, yéma mém jéo, de ye éjéi bjo! Jéélijé, Ahwayayyo, hwéng fo ywo pajé. Gy bj ewéle wuyo éjéi é bjo. Ahwajé o éjéij fjé; ye yajé jéjéj Dwéélijé, ye yajé Ohwoni, Ajéé-mahwé yawé, Nwéélijé.

Akwaaayoo, you captured people, but I was left poor! *Jingéléé*, Akwaaayoo, their grandchildren are dying in the wilderness. They live in misery, are left destitute. *Ahwajé* threw me out into the bush. I am searching for chief Dwéélé, I am searching for *Ohwoni*, *Ajéhyéhwo-yawé*, *Nyamwéléé*.

Ahwayayyo, yé bjjo bjo bj bwéjé? Ahwéjéj wejé Jéj. Ohwo-bjé o yjé éléo. Ohwo na Nikoi, Dwéjé wejé Kéo, Kwéléjé o yjé éléo. Na Nikoi bj wwejé Jéj.

Akwaaayoo, whom have you brought people? *Ahwéjéj* has never been cursed by his subjects.[2] *Ohwo-bjé* is a preserver of men in the famine. Ohwo, son of Nyikang, Dwéléé, son of Kéo is a preserver of people in hunger, a son of *Nikoi* and of his mother *Jéj*.

Ayéjé-éwwéjéé, fwo a jéj éhjé, lwéé a ejé, Ayéjé na Nikoi! Dy ywayy wwé bjéj ééwj éhjéj.

Agwéwyawéélong, the country is starved, the people are dying. Agwei, son of Nyikang, they are mourning, stretching up their hands.

[1] A song of cattle stealing.

[2] Has always been loved.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

4539 *Adjí-nní, yí kjjo kpé? Nwyr o wwjí, yo kjjo fhní lóóó jwjh, Awm, ne Ýjr.*
"Adolbung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going
●533 *to the town of God, oh Awm, son of Yar."*

Akol Dúú na Ñíkwó, Kayo-Dwry, Akolókw, Akol-Kwólwí, na Ogúú Fúlu, kwwí ffúu, yo yúlli yóo, a yúulu yóo ddjo ki djdwí, yo yúlli. Yáldj, mwyo Dúú, Awjí na Ogúú (na Shal), kwwyí ní fjjo ní fjjwó: Shal kjjo? Kyo wo wúyy; ówo ní ghwí kjjí? nwóo ddjwy ywúdd ki Dúú, wwjí ówwí yuudu, kwúk Awjí, na Ñíkwó.

Akol, Duk, son of Nyikang, Kayo Duro, Akoloko, Akol Kwolwi, son of Ogak Fulu, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakol, you father of Dúú, Awol, your people are continually asking me, "has Shal gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at Duro, eating of corn found I, you people of Awjí, the son of Ñíkwó.

Ajúú-kkó-wúú-jjjh, kwwóo kwóry, kwwóo tyyó fo jwjh, ríj e dwjh mwl. Kwwóo kwwyy yoo. Ýóo i ggjjí: yoo ó: Ñíkwó, ríj e dwjh mwl; ffúú fo yyóo ddjwó? Yoo da Ñíkwó; fwo a yúll, a yúll i rjó; yo fwro hyjl, yo fúúj, yo yóóo ddjwo, Wwro-kwó, kyo bbdú!

Ajuk-kwowljuk, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with Ñíkwó, the king[2] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with Ñíkwó, The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Wuro-Kwo, strengthen my arms!

[196] [1] "licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] Ñíkwó.

7 Tucker K-6 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk F32.3
Nilotic F32.

N 126 524 553 whole body enters into the rhythm. It is this factor which is often overlooked by those who take and analyze phonograph records of native songs. It is difficult for a native to sing in proper tempo and with true pitch when he has to keep his head half buried in a phonograph horn all the time; and phonographs are notoriously bad for chorus work, as is well known. Phonographs have their use, of course, where difficult note intervals are met with, as will be obvious from several of the songs recorded here.

N 553 The words of these songs count for little, often having nothing to do with the action of the games; some are mere refrains or cheps or rattle; sometimes a song is shorn out of recognition, and can only regain intelligibility after thorough dissection on the part of the investigator at a later and calmer period. In this aspect the Shilluks and Nuers are the greatest offenders, none of their songs consisting of more recognizable syllables, which they themselves do not pretend to understand. (In such cases they usually give out that the words are "Dinka.") This being so, the translation of the remarks given here, where this has been possible, must be regarded as very "free," as more attention has been paid to the song rhythm than to the literal meaning of the words.

S [533]

N 171 It is remarkable how much similarity there is between European children's games and the games that these children play, almost as though there were a sympathetic tie between children the world over. But it is worth noting that we have lost much of our children's music, as witness the number of our games which are played without song. For the sake of simplicity, I shall classify these games roughly under the title of their nearest European equivalent.

N 128 [Note on the music notation.[1] Although the following tunes have been transcribed in staff notation, it must be noted that the scale intervals in the native singing voice are different from, and probably truer than, those on the piano (which have been compromised to enable one to play in different keys). Hence this transcription must be regarded as only approximate; where there is any appreciable difference between the song and the written note, I have indicated this in the text, the "uncertain note" being marked with an asterisk.

I have also taken liberties with the shape of the notes in those songs where simple and anti-simple are important. Thus: *Simple*: words in italics and notes with tails up; *Anti-simple*: words in normal script and notes with tails down. Where there is no part singing, I have transcribed the words in normal script.]

Ring-Games.

S 524 [516] The great majority of singing games necessitate the players' squatting or standing in a ring, therefore I shall begin with a description of the principal squatting games.

1. *Hunt the slipper.*—The "slipper" in this case is a ring or bangle, which is passed from hand to hand. *Fig.* 1, *Pl.* XV, shows the game as played among the Shilluk. The children sit round

[1] I am very much indebted here to Miss Ursula Strickland, who kindly read over this article in manuscript and offered constructive criticism with reference to the notation.

A.H. 1934
BAG: P35
Lulu P317

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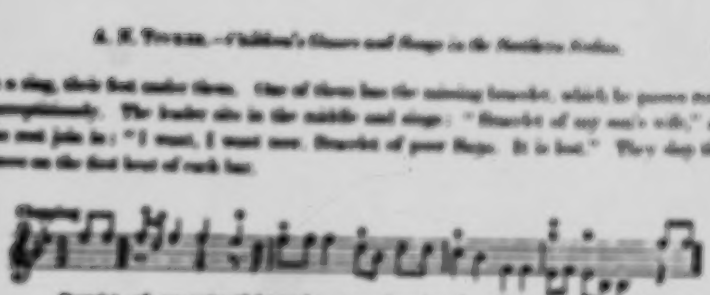
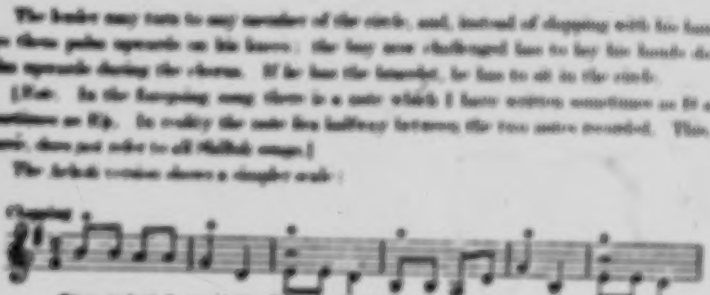
In a ring, their feet under them. One of them has the missing bracelet, which he passes round surreptitiously. The leader sits in the middle and sings: "Bracelet of my man's wife," and the next joins in: "I want, I want now. Bracelet of poor Hugo. It is lost." They clap their knees on the first beat of each bar. S [533 537]



The leader may turn to any member of the circle, and, instead of clapping with his hands, he can clap upwards on his knees; the boy now challenged has to lay his hands down palm upwards during the chorus. If he has the bracelet, he has to sit in the circle.

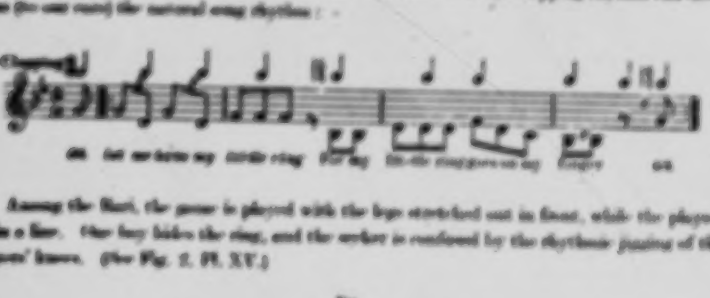
[Note. In the foregoing song there is a note which I have written sometimes as D and sometimes as E♭. In reality the note lies halfway between the two notes recorded. This, of course, does not refer to all Shillah songs.]

The Arkansas version shows a simpler scale:

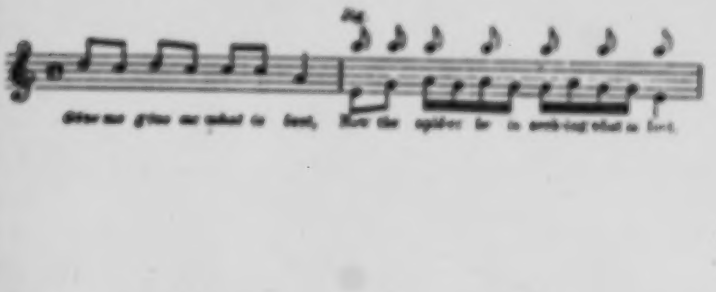


A 524 533 537

The following song, taken from the Latvian, illustrates how the clapping rhythm can differ from (or use more) the natural song rhythm: L 524 533 531



Among the Bari, the game is played with the legs stretched out in front, while the players sit in a line. One boy hides the ring, and the order is confused by the rhythmic passing of the players' knees. (See Fig. 2, Pl. XV.) B 524 533 531 516



T.Tucker K-5 (1909-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Dinka F374
Zan F314

D
324
314

The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing towards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a similar enclosure, which is called the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S
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338
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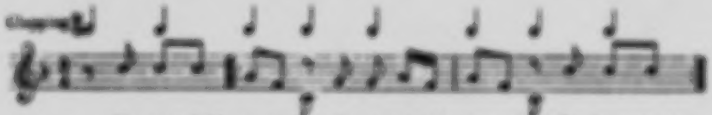
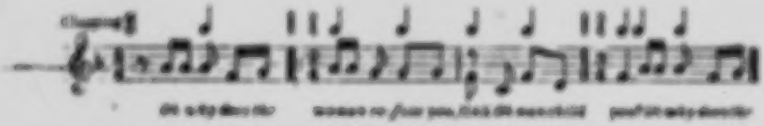
2. "There stands a lady on the mountain." There is a traveling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (to 3/4 time): "Oh nana child you," and the chorus shout "Hah," on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to:—



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. Then the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be shown. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has nobody's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

S
324
332

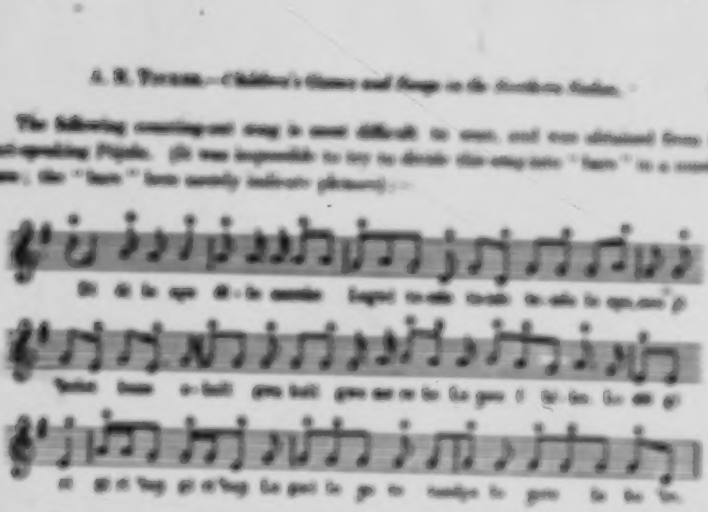
J
324
171

3. The following kowling game was obtained from the Jur.* The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bowler. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, slapping their hands on their knees.

* A Shilluk speaking tribe in the Bahr el Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

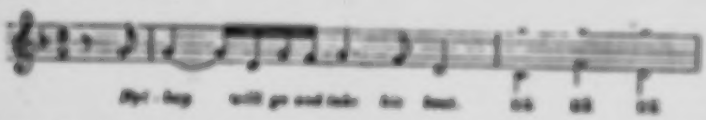
T.Tucker E-6 (1929-1933) 1933 F221 Skillin F221
Box: F25

The following counting-out song is most difficult to write, and was obtained from the Best-speaking Pipkin. It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a manner all aware; the "bars" here merely indicate phrasing:—

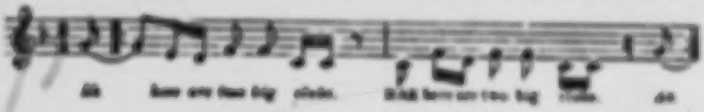


6. "Simon says 'thumbs up!'." A very popular Shaker game which necessitates sitting in a circle with the legs straight in front; may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up!'" except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round; so for this game' right, twelve or sixteen is a good number for the players. Outside the ring, on opposite sides of it, stand two men with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest.

First counting-out: Song-leader sings, "Sylvey two about to wear his boot." The boys all bend forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees still, while they chant: "Bright! Bright! Bright!" (Fig. 5, Pl. 1.)



Second counting-out: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs!" The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hub! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hub," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, which their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, as the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 1, Pl. XV.)



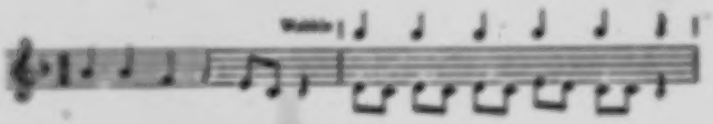
Mary F223

(9) A. B. Tucker. (Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan.

S 521 523 524

Third movement: The boys all shout together "Open and shut, Open and shut!" At the word "Open," all the toes are bent backwards, at the word "Shut" they are all bent forwards, so that the cross-square of toes looks like some great black mouth opening and shutting itself.

Fourth movement: Keeping their feet and toes still, the boys wobble their knees rapidly up and down. I was unable to get the words of this song, but the tune is as follows:—

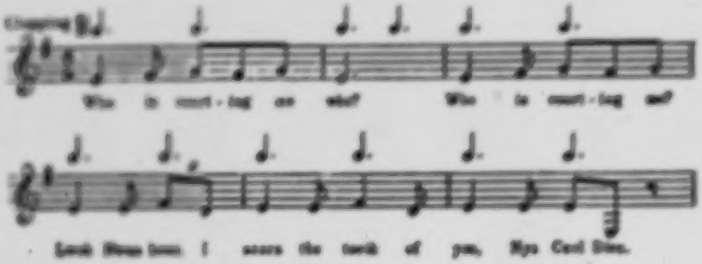


These movements can come in any order, according to the will of the song-leader.

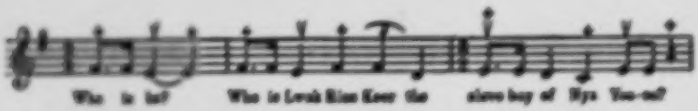
N 521 523

7. Your girls are fond of ring games, but there is little action in those that I have seen. The girls travel in a ring; one girl sings a song of about three lines, and the rest repeat it, clapping their knees. Then the girl next to her takes up the song, extemporizing upon the same theme with a view to naming a "hit" all one of those present. If she succeeds, she is greeted with yells of approval, and all join lustily in the chorus, while the third girl cudgels her brains for the inspiration necessary to cap this verse if possible. These witticisms usually lie around the names of friends or local some obscure reference to well-known incidents, with the result that an investigator without intimate knowledge of the children's daily affairs finds the songs unintelligible. This is one of the verses:

N 521 523 524



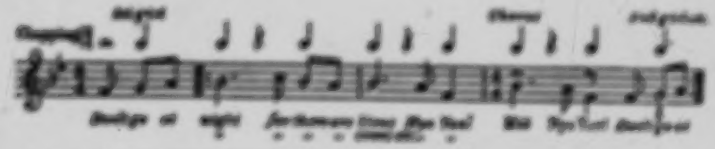
In the following song the voice rhythm (indicated V) differs markedly from the clapping rhythm (indicated ↓):



7/Tucker K-S (1929-1933) 1933 F221 Shillah F221
F322 Alger
F318 Mitta

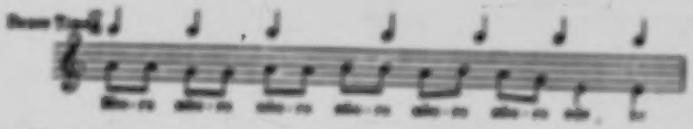
The following singing game requires rapid thought and good memory. Each girl in turn has to think of a different animal's name, the aim being not to repeat the name a previous girl has sung:—

N
S24
S33
S31

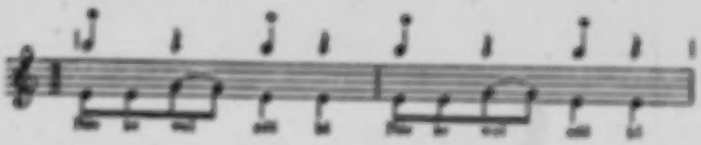


6. *Ring o' Roses.* There are many games which comprise some dancing or capering in a ring. In the following Bako game the players first dance round in a ring, holding hands, singing:—

M
S24
S33
S31



Then, with a change of the music, they swing their right legs over their arms, and leap round until they fall down. (See Fig. 5, Pl. XV.)

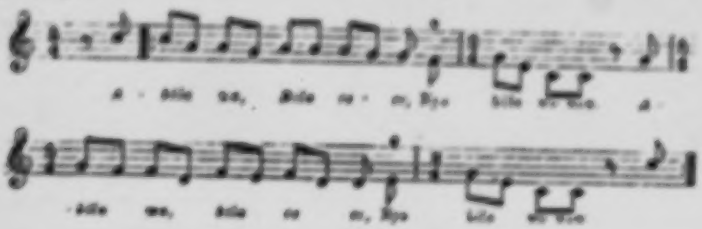


(Note. The note transcribed E sounds somewhere between E and F.)

9. A popular form of "Ring o' Roses" is played as follows. The Shillah version has two parts, but the words of the song have no decipherable meaning. (Here again I heard a game which was difficult to place. I have transcribed it sometimes E and sometimes F.)

S
S24
S33
S31

First movement: The players stand in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders, and sway as they sing:—

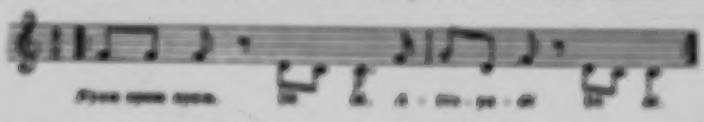


Ashuk F214
Bari F215
Latuka F217

(3) A. N. Tucker. (Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan.)

S 524 533 534

Second movement: The leader will drop his hands and run round the boy to his right and back to his place. (See Fig. 4, Pl. XV.) This boy will now run round the boy to his right, and so on, until everybody has run round his right-hand neighbour, and so way is left with his hands on his neighbour's shoulders. After which the children revert to the first movement. The song for the second movement is sung at almost twice the speed of that for the first movement.

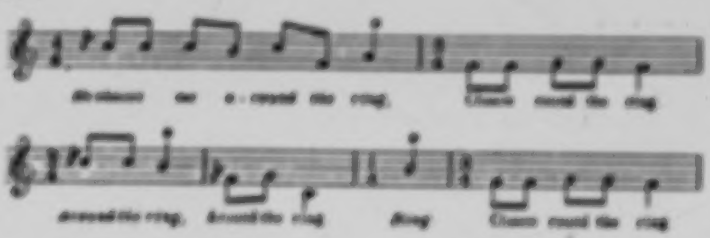


A B 524

Among other tribes, only the second movement is gone through. In the Latuka song I have transcribed the "mountain note" sometimes as 3 and sometimes as 2½.

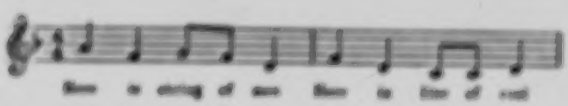
Latuka:

L 524 533 534



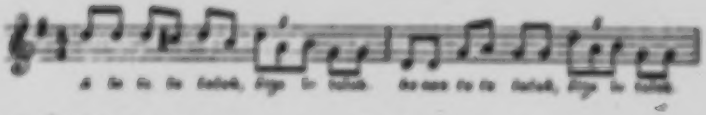
Ashuk:

A 533 534



Bari:

B 533 534



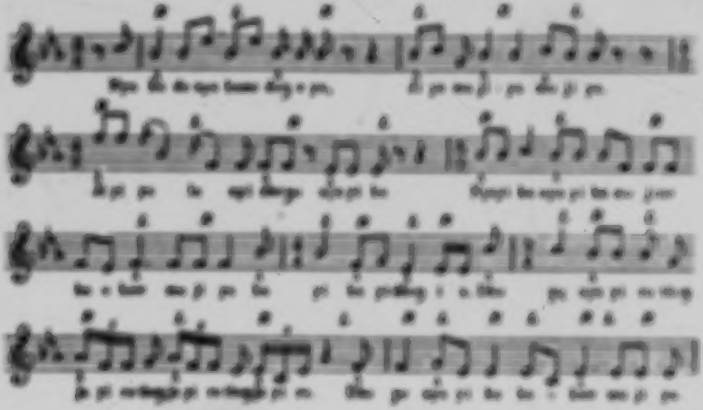
S 524

(4). The following Shilluk ring-game is a difficult test for the players' rhythmic sense, and many Shilluks fail, much to the derision of their comrades. The players stand in a ring, holding each others' shoulders, and a stick, about three feet long, is laid on the right-hand side of one of the boys, pointing towards the centre of the circle. The players now sing a supposedly "Lotuka" song, and the boy marks the rhythm by springing, with both feet together, to and fro across the stick. At a certain point in the song, to be determined by himself, he must

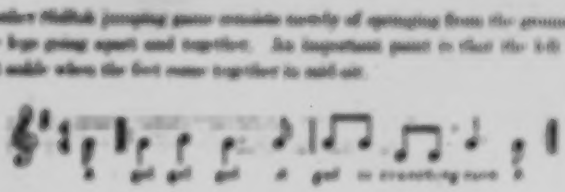
7/Tucker E-S (1915-1919) 1915 F313 Section F321
Lots, F317

double his time, i.e. spring from side to side twice as fast, and on the last note he must end up on the right-hand side of the stick, i.e. opposite the side from which he began, so that the circle may move round one place, while his left-hand neighbour has an attempt. Should the unfortunate dancer finish up on the left-hand side of the stick, he is handed out of the game. 5 524

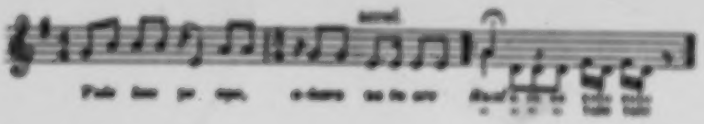
In the following song I have indicated by the letters R and L the jumpings, right and left, of one of the successful players. This is, of course, not the only way in which the rhythm is distributed:— 3 524 533 531



11. Another Hallah jumping game consists merely of springing from the ground to a regular rhythm, the legs going apart and together. An important point is that the left hand should hit the right ankle when the feet come together to mid air.



12. I have seen among the Lambo a form of ring game in which, at the word "run!" the song leader will swing his section of the line into the middle of the circle. When this is done very vigorously, it is hard for those on his immediate left and right to keep their feet. 6 524 533 531



Milton F312
Burke F312

Of the two songs mentioned here, only one of them has any reference to the game in the text.

S
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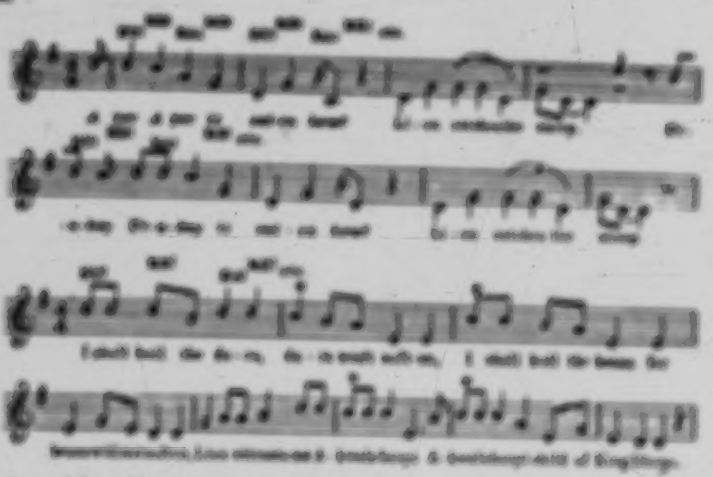


Among other games resembling more our game of "Cat and Mice," the singers stand in a large circle, holding hands. The Leopard has to chase the Sheep in and out of the circle, the two calling to each other with grunts and bleats. The Sheep is allowed to rush in or out under the singers' arms, but the Leopard's progress is barred as far as possible, and he has to try to break through. When caught, the Sheep becomes Leopard, and a new victim is sought.

The singers incessantly jog from one foot to the other during the game, as we bite-as-you-stand still while singing. Here again the words of the song need have no reference to the game. Under:

J
524

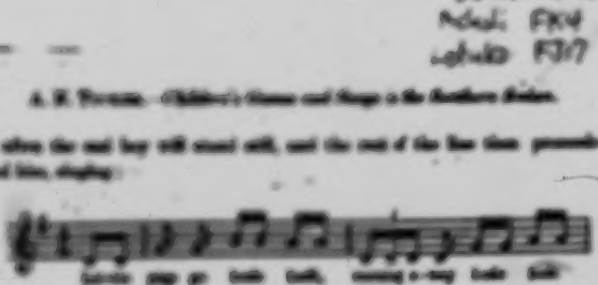
The singers jump from one foot to the other during the game, as we bite-as-you-stand still while singing. Here again the words of the song need have no reference to the game. Under:

D
533
537

Vol. LXIII.

[illegible] A. H. Tweney. "Children's Games and Songs in the Southern States."

[illegible] Very often the end boy will stand still, and the rest of the line then proceeds to sway itself round him, singing:



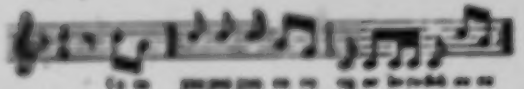
The whole game is done at the double, and is played much faster than among the Ashuli. The words have nothing to do with the game, being an other as not, relegate on favourite India.

[illegible]

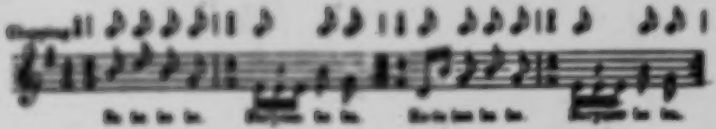
[illegible] Ghungri and Gomes. The versions of this popular game differ from tribe to tribe, but all have this feature in common, viz. the two principals stand facing each other with their arms making an arch; they do not clasp each other's hands, but slap their palms against each other to a rapid rhythm, while the other members of the game dash through the arch. The game is considerably more vigorous than among European children, and the "last man" is seldom captured without a scuffle.

Mulhali:

Lurdes:



Ashuli:



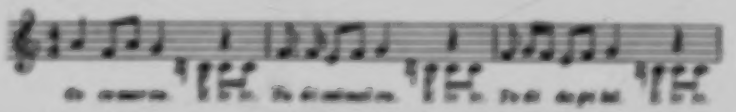
The "last man" is treated variously. Among the Mulhali he is banished from the game, and this continues until only two players are left, and these have to chase each other. Among the Lurdes and Ashuli the game proceeds upon more European lines. The captured player is

7/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk F223
Nuer F223

—Love Games.

N 524 10. *Nate and Hay.*—The Nuer have a form of this game of which the details are rather vague. The children stand in two lines, facing each other, some dozen yards apart. A member of one line advances towards the other line with a peculiar prancing step, waving his hands above his head, singing :—

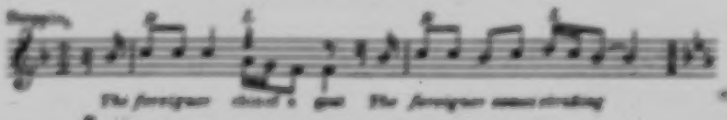
N 533 539

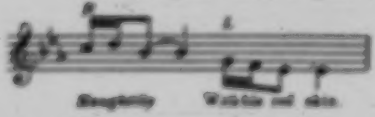


(The words, so far as I could make out, are nonsensicalem.) He singles out a member of the other side and chases him round both lines and back to his place. What happens if he catches him I could not find out.

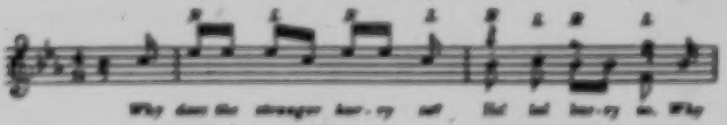
S 524 533 539

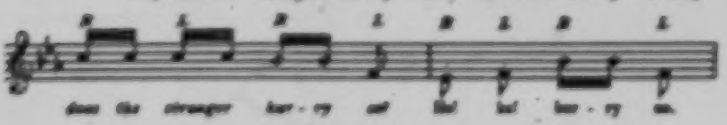
The following Shilluk version is evidently a recent invention, and probably confined to the particular group of Shilluks I was studying. The boys line up in two ranks, as if for "Nate and Hay." One line advances towards the other, marching slowly to "goose step" (see Fig. 4, Pl. XVI), while the other line retreats, both sides singing :—





Then the song is repeated, while the other line advances, and so on, to and fro, several times. Suddenly the pace is doubled; the boys running still bagged, those advancing trying to kick the shins of those who are retreating. The song now is :—



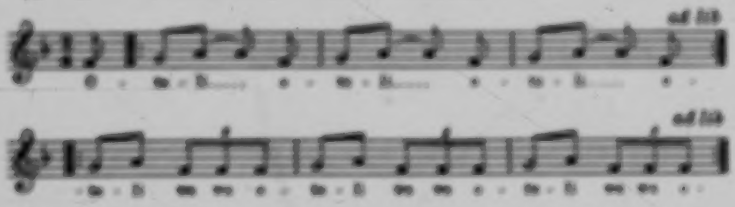


As before, on every repetition the direction is changed.

7/Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Chilisb F223
Ewe: F25
Chisb: F24
Lotuko: F27
Ba Ami: F07

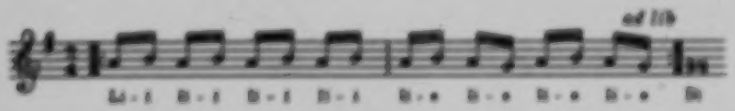
This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "chin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. administration (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Hide and Hay." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step :—



without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy could not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song :—



the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

Imitations of Animals, etc.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs :—

20. *Buck-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbodi,"

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Acholi FK4
LOTUKO FJ17

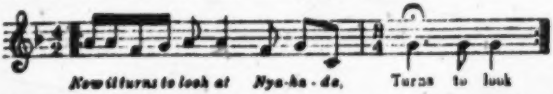
S 524 516

24. *Hoopoe.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing: –

S 524 533 539

Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like: –



At the word "Turns," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird slews its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

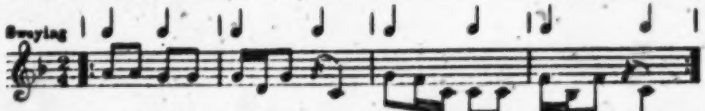
Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Luku-luku-luku!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

S 524 [835]

This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a harmless little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

25. *Canoe.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side:—

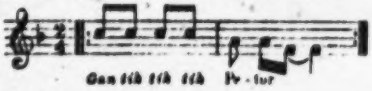
S [533 539]



Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Heigh!" the whole line heels over on to one side. They recover, and heel over on to the other side. They recover, and heel over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

S [17] A L 529 A 533 539

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: –



In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [525]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancesters to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung demain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [535 513] oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 755] will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush [533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

425 431 After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) [264] sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled. 766 [535]

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes. [533]

The Public Dance

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride – one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands. 766 535

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior 766 [643]

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sou beside him, the escort chants
643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *baugreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

533 535 643 [201] [516] [482] 535 643 778

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535 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
778 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
778 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[533] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing
[535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[415 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still
[755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced 643
an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed."

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew 643
up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep 778
was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang [533
and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house pre- 535]
pared for him and went in Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house.

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He 643
and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days.

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the [644]
morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied

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643 for the really significant rites would thus be lost. More detailed descriptions and explanations are recorded in the Notes with numbered references in the text.

The Reth's March From Debalo to Arepejur.

On the morning of March 11th, the *reth* was still at Debalo, and his warriors, together with some of the chiefs of the south who had come in to pay homage to him the day before, began to assemble in the village. By 8 a.m. there were large clusters of them seated in the shade around the houses ready to move off when the *reth* was ready. At this point of the proceedings we were told that the Kwa Okelo, who should have been at Debalo by then, were not ready, and that they were known to be mustering at their village which is only a mile from Debalo. There were obvious signs of preparation within the *reth's* hut, but we saw nothing of significance except the sheep and goats which had been taken that morning from the self-confessed adulterers and seducers of girls. The sheep and goats were brought to the *reth's* house in charge of four men but they were driven back to the cattle byre from which they had been brought after a few minutes. Meanwhile a message had been sent out to the Kwa Okelo to tell them to hurry and to bring with them the small girl (*nya kwer*), (Note 7) who plays so important a part in the ceremonies.

About an hour and half later the Kwa Okelo could be seen in the distance to the south of Debalo. Behind them and mustering in another village were the Kwa Ojul. Both parties began to move off in the direction of Debalo. On their arrival they drew up in close formation outside the village and near to the *reth's* hut. They were [533] carrying spears but no shields and were singing songs. The gist of these songs was that Nyikang had returned with the wind. In the midst of the Kwa Okelo a small cluster of women could be seen and among them *nya kwer*, and in front of them was a single man who, carried aloft a small basket covered with a grass mat, doubtless *nya kwer's* "luggage." The Kwa Okelo marched into Debalo, but the Kwa Ojul remained outside and did not join the procession until the

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643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty' [273] and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no [778] one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying 643 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle [534 of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was 778] not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
" *Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong:.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together " *Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong* ", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say " *Kwaa dibong* ", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the " things of Nyikang " such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and [793]
she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows :—" Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [782] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal wi jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our beggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [481] [533 539] [778]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

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643 with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this
644 time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth's* demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

643 This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning
541 Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon.
[533 Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song
535] indicating that Nyikang was angered and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at
[TTB] their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the [782] occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[782] On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *hengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was [783] taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared [787] to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party [782] travelled with the *reth*'s remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *hadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special [177] significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu [173] ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766 [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny,* "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *akadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] 783

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth,*
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*keny*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *rèth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Luak had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijuk*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Biu, Thwolong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadheiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fafiti and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Luak at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *ororo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *ororo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangreth* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance. 512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised. 766 [178]

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies. [535] [782] [264]

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but 535 766 [533] [533]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 796 and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a [778] basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty [614] it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of [533] songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacu- [574] ated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in [533] his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they [574] rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary [131] fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once 766
except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in [764]
state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried
under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat
of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut [767]
into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden,
four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is
washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are
adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round
the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth
and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed
on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work [231]
of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very
difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground
is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since
it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down
to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut
in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body rest-
ing on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into
the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women
fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief,
clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in [533]
his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings
from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave,
throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she
casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back
to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she
throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all
the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes
round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads
and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period
of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after
the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of
the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured
on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud
and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance [535]
follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder
of the beer.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS

501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[462]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called *tom* and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The *tom* is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wettening these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

POTTERY

323 [462] [415] [276 531] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when 535 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished 881 work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul* [534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants [554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal [291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting [411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small [714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round [301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.

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766

1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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2.—The drums of Fafiti.

There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 54]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty [273] and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no [778] one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying 643 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle [534 of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was 778] not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

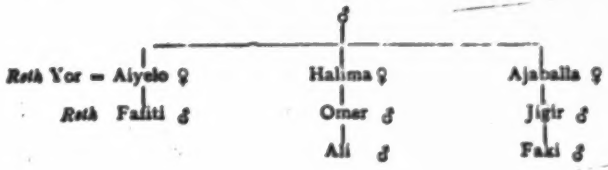
19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

NOTES TO PART I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no fuueral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizoutally upon forked sticks.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Personal Equipment.

643 778 The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[534] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[415] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwic wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes 766
specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*.
They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of [533]
mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks
(*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was [372]
sacrificed.

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter
the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang [778]
wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain
sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party
stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up
their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk
warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into [782]
the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with
the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village.
No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have [787]
been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the
kwa Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and
over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting
of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages
then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, [535]
but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing
the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a
new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of
dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine 533
clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect 539
the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath* 766
cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put [534]
beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally
or lean against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done;
it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that [643
the act, *akadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*.
The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is 783]
concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he
leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first
day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days,
prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the
bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process,
he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and
Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

301 young men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

[461]

[The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.

Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.

The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the elder women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.

[301]

292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
● 535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach; about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs, one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells. A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle. Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them; sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries, of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. These

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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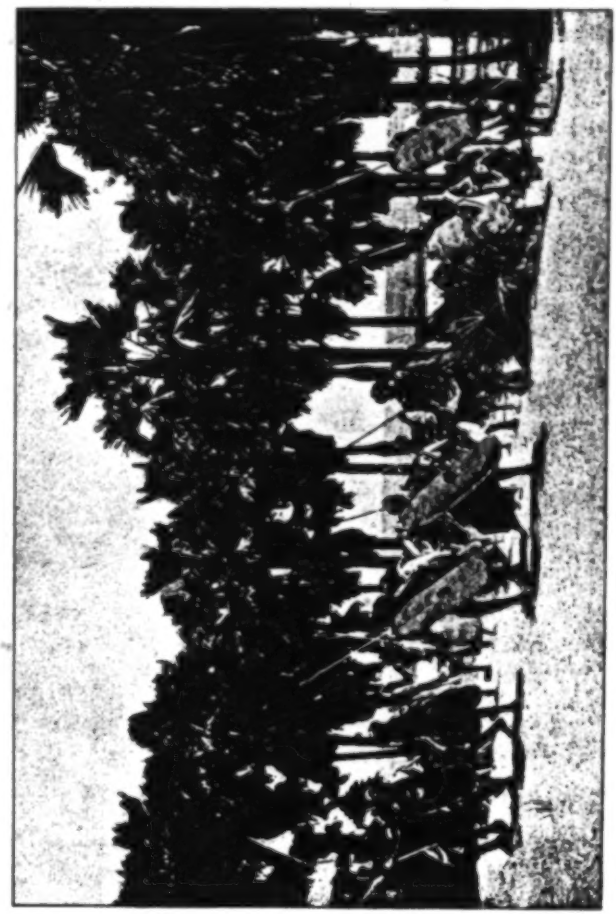

Shilluk war dance at Doleib Hill

[Facing p. xxxvi (B)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 587 763 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 [361] 237 825 75 [20] 535 [574] Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merissa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

[578]

535 541

[Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the class had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that soul-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manoeuvers were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and then the horn sounded the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves.

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok *(juòk)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ñíkkóó)*, the progeniter and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(àjwòògó)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"Jwok *(juòk)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lìmg* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwockg* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726] into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kōk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 624 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
513] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
426 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881 535 881 [622] 858 [626] 881

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished
[534] work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and
[411] sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

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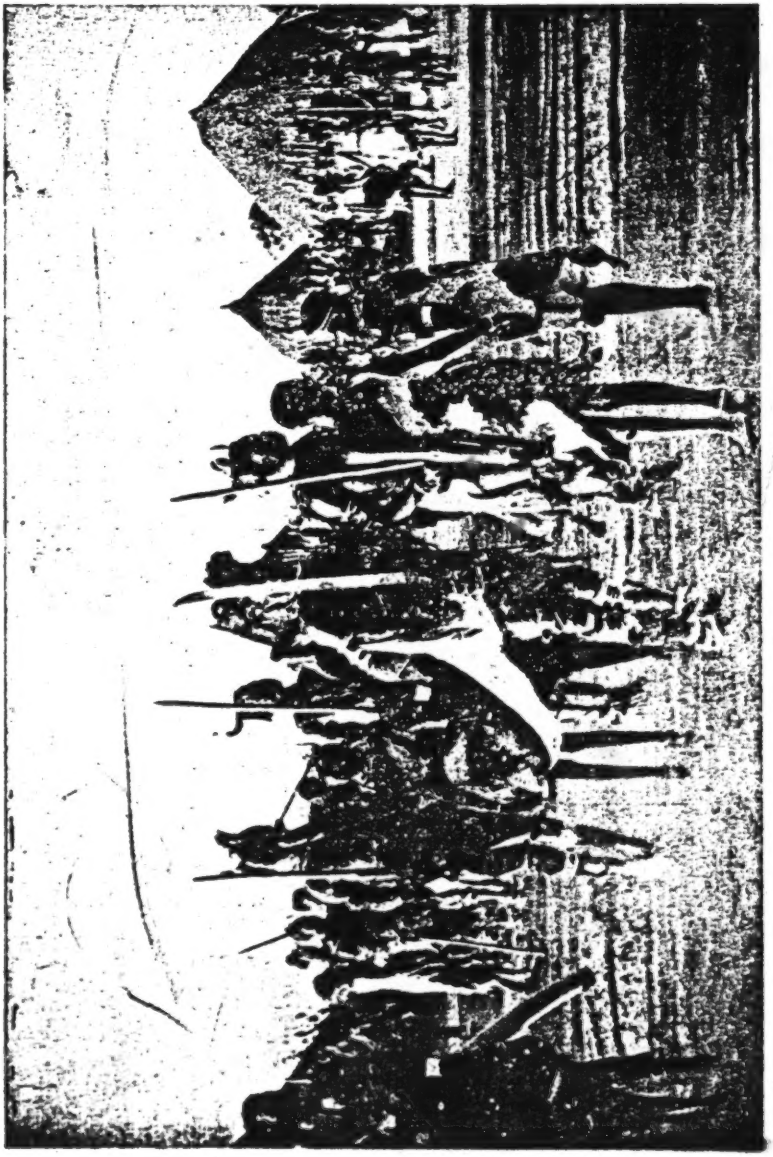

THE DANCE IN PROGRESS.

[p. 62 A]

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WARRIORS SALUTE THE DRUM.

[p.62 B]

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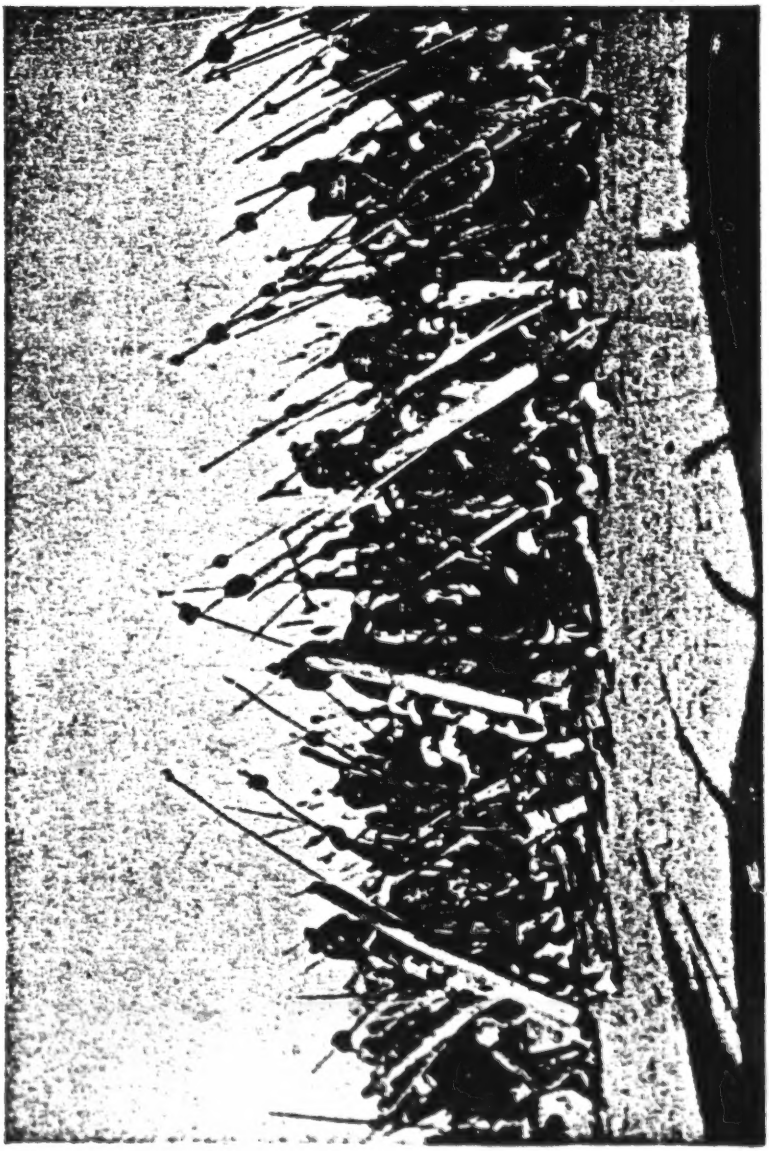

WARRIORS SALUTE THE CHIEF.

[p. 62 c]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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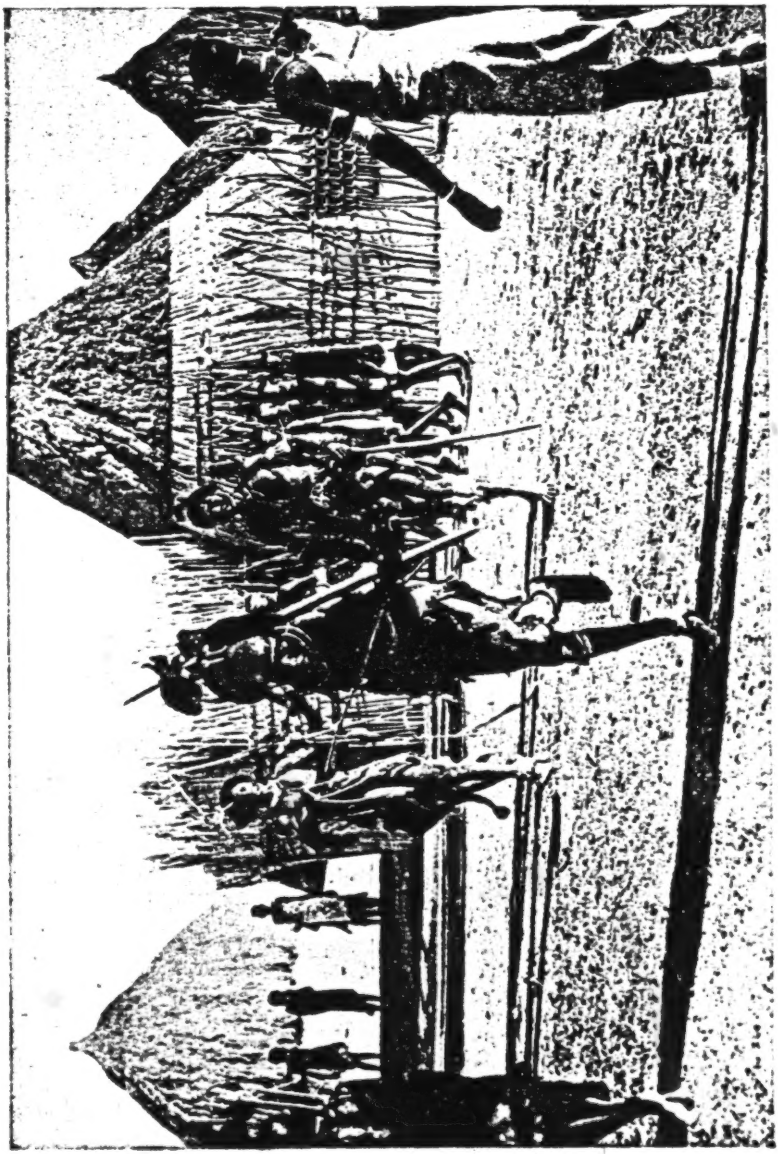

[p. 62 D]

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they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walh Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 171] to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walh Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull—that lives in
> My fathers byre."

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drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, 766
moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on [535]
subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled.

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also [533]
sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes.

The Public Dance

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, 766
and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and 535
moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride – one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands.

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house 766
without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior [643]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[411 703] The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and [535] danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *wuo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 781 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Dak, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sou beside him, the escort chants

643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[535] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *baugreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, 553
while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual 535
songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed 643
the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a [207] byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. [516] Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying [492] baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The 535
two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced 643
before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they 778
proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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535 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
778 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
643 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol
778 Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped,
[533] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[535] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straightwin, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[415 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his
[755 forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed." 643

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house prepared for him and went in. Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house. 643 778 [533 535]

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days. 643

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied [644]

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643 with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this
644 time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth's* demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

643 This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second
541 battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon.
[533 Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song
535] indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at
[778] their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

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643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

778 643 535 Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed.

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21.

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*keny*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Luak had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijuk*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Biu, Thwolong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadheiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fafiti and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Luak at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *ororo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *ororo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangreth* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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766
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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

[P. 164 (A)]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and also the official residence of the Ret [1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang : his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance. 512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

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the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

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down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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ment so much as endurance that is called for at a Shilluk dance. 535 881

The festivities are opened by a salute of the warriors to the assembled chiefs. The leader of the band approaches carrying a bowl of dust and asks the senior chief present or the leading guest to bless the dance; he takes a little dust [788] from the bowl and sprinkles it on the ground while calling down a blessing on the gathering. Then the warriors who are congregated at the opposite end of the field thunder forward with whoops and cries, their spears uplifted to strike, the lust of killing in their eyes; they stop dead in their tracks when the spears of the front rank are but a foot away from the row of chiefs and guests, and a roar of laughter goes up if they succeed in making anyone flinch. A second wave follows the first and so on, until with the onslaught of the last group this phase of the dance ends. The beat of the drums now quickens its tempo, spears are discarded in favour of dancing sticks and ambach shields, and the girls come forward to claim partners. A girl may take part in the [562] dance almost at any age, so that little girls of not more than twelve years of age are found taking their places in the long lines being formed. The dancers arrange themselves two abreast, the boys facing the girls; the boys stand with arms bent and sticks held upright, the girls hold themselves rigid with their arms pressed close to their sides. As three hundred pairs of feet thud down in unison, the ground seems to shake and dust rises in clouds; the drums throb, feet thump, the metal shells clash and bells clang, male voices yell hoarsely and female trill—the din is indescribable. The long lines circle slowly round the dancing floor, the boys jumping forward and the girls backward; in a concerted movement the girls raise their arms as if to ward off a blow and make a turn, first to the left, then to the right, while their male partners make the same half turns, bringing their sticks and shields over the girls' heads to protect them, as it were, from the threatened attack. This movement which is done at every dozen or so steps is the only variation in the monotonous jumping of the dance. A rest is called when the drummers

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535 are exhausted, but it is not long before the drumming is
881 renewed with fresh vigour, for there is no lack of volunteers for the privilege of supplying the rhythm required, with a rapid slap of palm or thump of stick.

If our European traveller has halted to watch the dance and stayed as long as this, he will by now be deafened by the noise, choked by the dust and made dizzy by the monotonous movements of the dancers. He will be relieved when at last he is able to make his apologies to his host, ease up his cramped legs from the cowskin on which he has been sitting and make his escape. The din will follow him along the road, until in the distance it becomes a subdued murmur and finally dies away altogether. Behind him the dance continues with unabated enthusiasm, but when the sun begins to go down behind the trees, the party breaks up, and those who took part in it, still filled with the excitement which has possessed them all the afternoon, leap and shout and sing their way homeward. For them life is good. This is only the first day of the dance; there will be another tomorrow, and the day after that. Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow—we dance!

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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised. 766 [178]

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies. [535] [782] [264]

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but 535 766 [533] [533]

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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected. 643 666 [787]

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself. 643 [669] 643 669 [178]

The period between the election and the solemn installation of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late 643 642 [775] [535]

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643 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of
642 the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

During this time also active preparations are on foot for the
643 ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and
796 special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver,
326 ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of
301 bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the conni-
237 vance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation
326 ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

There is great activity during this period of preparation
643 in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own
796 sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king dis-
778 appeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and
775 it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of
237 ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers
643 are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march
796 to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by
778 members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and
614 start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all.

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out.

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once 766
except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in [764]
state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried
under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat
of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut [767]
into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden,
four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is
washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are
adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round
the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth
and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed
on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work [231]
of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very
difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground
is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since
it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down
to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut
in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body rest-
ing on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into
the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women
fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief,
clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in [533]
his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings
from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave,
throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she
casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back
to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she
throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all
the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes
round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads
and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period
of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after
the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of
the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured
on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud
and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance
follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder [535]
of the beer.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a [527] dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in the principal villages. [628] The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

[533] There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. [585] Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble. 628 634

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again." [643]

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony. [789]

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and 537 628 643 776 [648]

537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 648 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo, faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame [787] if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [293]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyiliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognize you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 631 643 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reth* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reth* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reth*. Then the *reth* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reth*. "I have become your *reth*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 782 The assembly then arose, and the *reth* moved over to where the white bull was tied He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this cane the final ceremony. The *reth*, accompanied by a few chosen folowers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reth* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reth* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourie house of his father *reth* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reth* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 *piny*, the planting of the spear in the ground, when the new *reth* appeared before the chiefs and notables, received their homage and addresses of exhortation, and in reply gave his undertaking to be a good and just ruler and to work for the welfare of the Shilluk people. The ceremony was simple but impressive. First of all the chiefs and leading notables lined up near the base of the hill, squatting on the [516] ground with their legs tucked beneath them in the decorous and respectful manner which is distinctive of the Shilluk. Behind them was a similar group of men of lesser importance. Then Nyikang's shield with bells on it, (which is said to be of silver), his long spear, and his throne (the *kwom*), all wrapped in new white cloth to conceal them from the gaze of ordinary men, and his drum, were brought out and taken to the bottom of the hill in front of the waiting chiefs. Here the throne was set up on a giraffe skin. Shortly afterwards the *reth* appeared, clad in a white *lau*, and wearing the royal skin of the female Mrs. Gray antelope, and a new ivory armlet, which had been specially made for the occasion. After stepping over a sheep, he walked down the hill accompanied by Nyikwer and a small party of attendants, and protected by the royal fan made of the wings of the saddle bill stork in the form of a shield. When he reached the throne, he was lifted on to it by two men of the Ororo. The bearer of the fan held it over the *reth's* head to protect him from the sun, while the bearers of the shield, spear and drum stood in front. When all was 537 ready, the shield-bearer advanced towards the rows of chiefs shaking 643 the shield so that the bells jingled, and marked out the first speaker. This was Yor Leiker, the chief of the south, on whom together with Jago Tabo, the chief of the north, who spoke second, had lain the main responsibility for the choice of the new *reth*. These two were followed by some two dozen others, ending up with the chiefs of Tonga and Mwomo (Kaka), the wardens of southern and northern marches. The speeches took the form of exhortations to the new *reth* to deal justly with his people without fear or favour, that the spirit of Nyikang was in him and the people looked to him for good crops and good fortune. And as each speaker finished he stabbed his spear into the ground and left it there. When a speech met with approval, it was acknowledged by the shield bearer and the drummer coming forward and walking round the speaker shaking the bells and beating the drum respectively. When these speeches were over, the *reth* rose up and addressed the company, went over to the bull and stabbed it, and returned once more with his party into Athudowic.

643 The ritual was over. The new *reth* was secure in the occupation

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[n]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

[n] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
544 there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks [1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

778 « Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
537 out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
422 the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
582 up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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114 [1] Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang
796 reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward
[537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly.
[782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the posi-
797 tion, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or
[798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 771 196 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 [538] [173] Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

121 THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain unusually full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other 171 Nilotic studies. The concepts of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

[771] Lack of definition and dogma in their religion and cosmology makes it 177 possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Fung, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian in- [114] fluence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places farther removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of 772 formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the 124 study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from [127] myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, [538] abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

[1] References throughout are to the Shilluk bibliography appended, the dates being the dates of the publications cited. Some of the sources contain many texts in the Shilluk language, and where these are translated into a language other than English, I have given an English version after examining the Shilluk text. I should like to thank all writers on the Shilluk, upon whose observations this summary and representation entirely depend. Their publications, however, are not all easily accessible, nor are they specifically concerned with the analysis of the Shilluk ideas here studied. This must be my excuse for writing about a people of great ethnological interest and importance, who have already been described in detail by writers who have known them well.

[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesized in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juogo tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reil* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 193.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

EXAMPLES OF SHILLUK FOLK-LORE

BY Mrs. D. S. OYLER.

The natives call stories of this description «Lion Heads». Formerly they thought that if a person told them in day light he would be taken by a lion, hence they are nearly always told after the sun goes down. It is impossible to translate them word for word, as much is told in the gestures, and in the face of the narrator. With the above exceptions the following examples are literal translations.

1. The cormorant was looking about in the river, while the crocodile was swimming with his hunger. The cormorant was looked upon as a possible source of food, but then the crocodile noticed his pointed bill, and long neck. It looked too much like a spear and its handle to please the wily crocodile, and so he said, «Friend, why is your beak so sharp? Will it hurt people like a spear?» The cormorant replied, «You have said it». Then he offered to let the crocodile feel his sharp beak, which he did, and went away scared. As a result, the cormorants have always been able to swim peacefully on the river.

The crocodile then went to the Nile perch. He was afraid of the large mouth, and he said, «Friend, why are you so strong? Why is your mouth so large? Why are your shoulders so great?» It replied, «My mouth has no teeth. Put in your hand and see.» The crocodile did so, and said, «I was afraid of food». He ate that perch, and since then the crocodiles have eaten the Nile perch.

2. A lion was under a tree eating his kill, and he was discovered by the hyena, and the hyena ran in after the food and he snatched the food, and the male lion ran after it, and the hyena was tired from running, and he covered himself with mud, and he gave battle to the lion. The hyena would bite, and his teeth would sink into the lion, but when the lion bit the hyena his teeth slipped from the mud. And the lion died, and his mate came to

[p. 216]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us
142 to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the
144 riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in
[556] cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's notes (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 189) and some mysterious river people (pp. 181, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obang or Obangi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the course taken by Nyakang:—

173 539 114

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Anilli, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the mold, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked them, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the mold will break away.' And Nyikang spared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the mold broke away. Then Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocolo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, [539]
> people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773]
as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector [539]
> (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pun Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely [775]
associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pun Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 71), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [119] [539 782]

ure kwajo mayagen
"The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
ure kwajo ciengen
"The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A haemorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *ceng ciang pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 150. [2] Op. cit., 109. [3] Op. cit., 150. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of porridge and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawing's place in the Shilluk Religion"; *S.N. de R.*, i, 1918, 186). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirits with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any manner.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
793 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[781] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the sun offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you alone my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 284-5.)

3: Westermann FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

539

[For texts and their interpretations, see category 116, pp. 96, 109-120, 122-127, and 135-242. --Analyst]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a third, a spiritual or ideal, dimension. To put this in another way, the Shilluk quotation suggests that what is material has another, non-material, dimension, and we are told that *juok* is 'present to a greater or lesser degree in all things'.[1] Although *juok*, as the first principle, is the ultimate explanation for everything, the notion of *juok* seems to be particularly used to account for such phenomena as elude explanation in less abstract terms. It is a necessary logical concept for the Shilluk. Seligman quotes Dr. Heasty as saying of *juok* that 'he appears to be one, and yet seems to be a plurality as well . . . anything the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*'.[2] That is, what the Shilluk cannot otherwise account for, they account for by this concept. So, for example, the creation of the world and of life is the work of *juok*, and he may also be an explanation for sickness and death. The presence and powers of the foreigners are explained with reference to *juok*, for those who are specially gifted are supposed to be so by virtue of the stronger flow, in them, of the being which created and animates the universe. *Juok*, therefore, is the support of Nyikang and the Shilluk kings. Since they represent, for the Shilluk, the order of the society and the world in which they live, and since *juok* has his place in that order, it is to be expected that for them Nyikang should also be an indication of the nature of God. So, in what Hofmayr says is the oldest Shilluk song, Nyikang is represented as speaking for God 'thus God says'.[3] This association between God and Nyikang is, of course, what has led to the anthropological study of Nyikang and his successors as 'divine kings'. God and Nyikang are two terms of Shilluk thought which cannot be reduced to any third term, but co-exist and participate in each other.

Relation of Nyikang to God

Examples of this are numerous. It is said that there are few direct appeals to God, and that Nyikang is usually invoked as an intermediary. Westermann quotes a prayer which 'is said to be the only prayer to *juok*', and says that the Shilluk were taught it by Nyikang. This explanation was, presumably, given him by a Shilluk, and is an example of their interpretation of God by Nyikang already mentioned. Part of the prayer runs:

[539] There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick).[4]

The association between Nyikang and God in this prayer is so close that it is sometimes difficult to know which is addressed. Since the Shilluk myth and tradition tell them much more about the nature of Nyikang, who is a man, than about the nature of God, who is not, it is to be expected that they

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.
[2] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[3] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 7.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 171.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

> We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyler, 1928, (ii) p. 283.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Ashl. FK4
BAG: F35
Latuko F317

S
524

in a ring, their feet under them. One of them has the missing bracelet, which he passes round surreptitiously. The leader sits in the middle and sings: "Bracelet of my man's wife," and the rest join in: "I want, I want now. Bracelet of poor Bapa. It is lost." They clap their knees on the first beat of each bar.

S
[533
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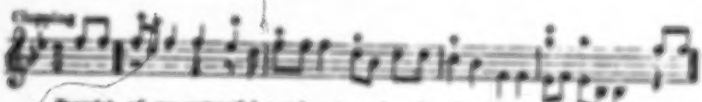
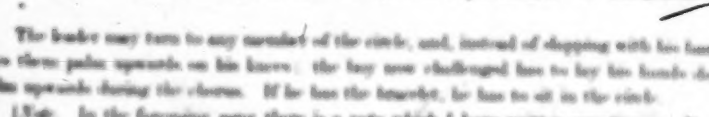


The leader may turn to any member of the circle, and, instead of clapping with his hands, lays three palm upwards on his knees; the boy now challenged has to lay his hands down palm upwards during the chorus. If he has the bracelet, he has to sit in the circle.

[Note. In the foregoing song there is a note which I have written sometimes as B and sometimes as B♭. In reality the note lies halfway between the two notes mentioned. This, of course, does not refer to all Shilluk songs.]

The Infuli version shows a simple scale:

A
524
533
539



The following song, taken from the Latuko, illustrates how the clapping rhythm can differ from (or not vary) the natural song rhythm:

L
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Among the Bari, the game is played with the legs stretched out in front, while the players sit in a line. One boy hides the ring, and the seeker is confused by the rhythmic passing of the players' knees. (See Fig. 2, Pl. XV.)

B
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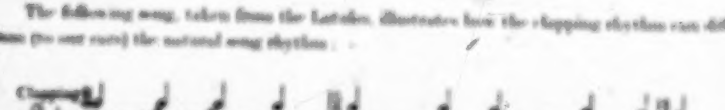
533
539
516



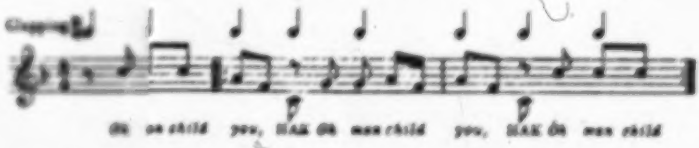
7/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12
Jur FJ14

D 524 516

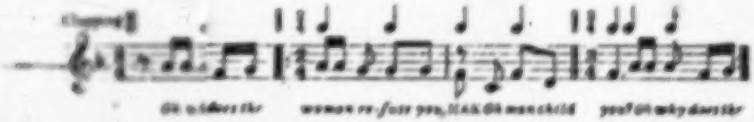
The Dinka have version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing inwards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is cled the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, whilom walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and lie it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S 524 533 537 514

2. "*There stands lady on the mountain.*" -There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, sh two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (in 3/4 time): "Oh manchild you," and the chorus shout "Hak" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the to outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to:-



and one of the boys also into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she ll turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she ll always turn away. -then the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will go outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, some boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has nobody's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

S 524 532

J 524 171

3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the Jur.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bowler. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, clapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk speaking tribe in the Bahr el Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5

B
524
533
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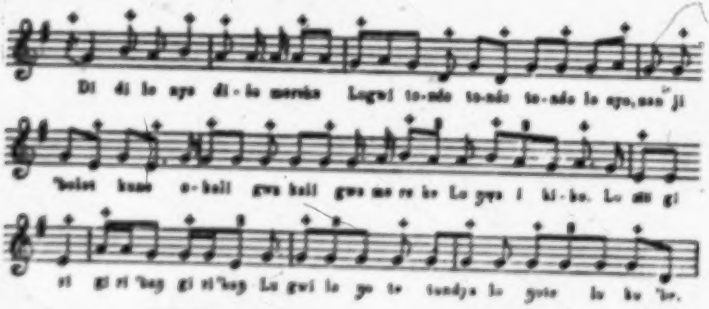
The following counting-out song is most difficult to scan, and was obtained from the Bari-speaking Pójulu. (It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a musical sense; the "bars" here merely indicate phrases):—



S
524
516

6. "*Simon says 'thumbs up!'.*" A very peculiar Shilluk game which necessitates sitting in a circle with the legs straight in front; may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up!'"; except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round; so, for this game, eight, twelve or sixteen is a good number for the players. Outside the ring, on opposite sides of it, stand two men with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest.

S
524
533
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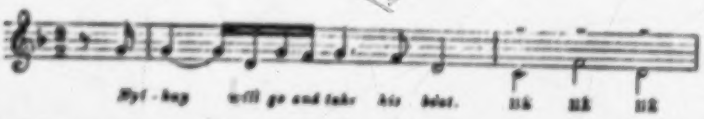
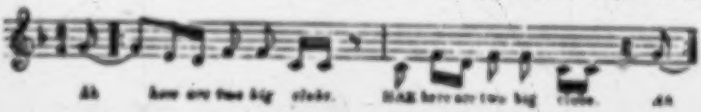
First movement: Song-leader sings, "Nyikay was about to seize his boat." The boys all lean forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees stiff, while they chant: "Heigh! Heigh! Heigh!" (Fig. 3, Pl. I.)



Second movement: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs!" The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hah! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hah," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, whack their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, so the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 4, Pl. XV.)



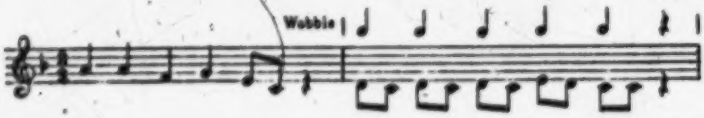
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Nuer FJ22

S
524
533
539

Third movement: The boys all chant together "Open and shut, Open and shut!" At the word "Open," all the toes are bent backwards, at the word "Shut" they are all bent forwards, so that the centre square of toes looks like some great black sea-anemone opening and shutting itself.

Fourth movement: Keeping their feet and toes still, the boys wobble their knees rapidly up and down. I was unable to get the words of this song, but the tune is as follows:—



These movements can come in any order, according to the will of the song-leader.

N
524
[516]

7. Nuer girls are fond of ring games, but there is little action in those that I have seen. The girls kneel in a ring; one girl sings a song of about three lines, and the rest repeat it, clapping their knees. Then the girl next to her takes up the song, extemporizing upon the same theme with a view to scoring a "hit" off one of those present. If she succeeds, she is greeted with yells of approval, and all join lustily in the chorus, while the third girl cudgels her brains for the inspiration necessary to cap this verse if possible. These witticisms usually lie around the names of friends or bear some obscure reference to well-known incidents, with the result that an investigator without intimate knowledge of the children's daily affairs finds the songs unintelligible. This is one of the verses:

N
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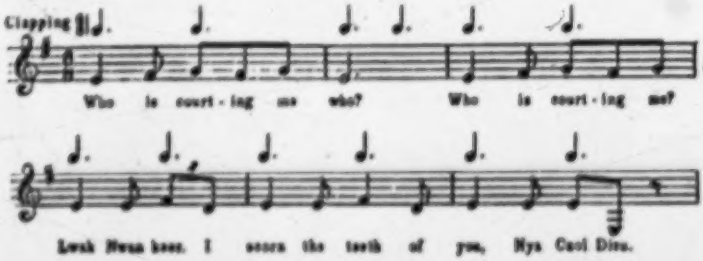
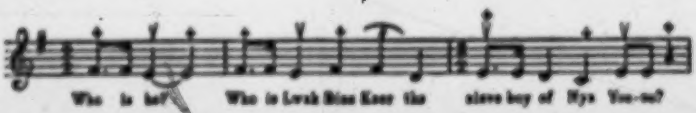
533
539



In the following song the voice rhythm (indicated V) differs markedly from the clapping rhythm (indicated ( ):



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
FJ22 Nuer
FJ18 Mitta

The following singing game requires rapid thought and good memory. Each girl in turn has to think of a different animal's name, the aim being not to repeat the name a previous girl has sung :—

N
524
533
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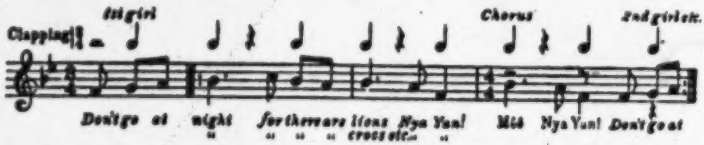
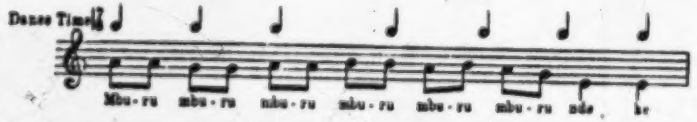


8. *Ring o' Roses.* There are many games which comprise more dancing or capering in a ring. In the following Baka game the players first dance round in a ring, holding hands, singing :—

M
524
533
539



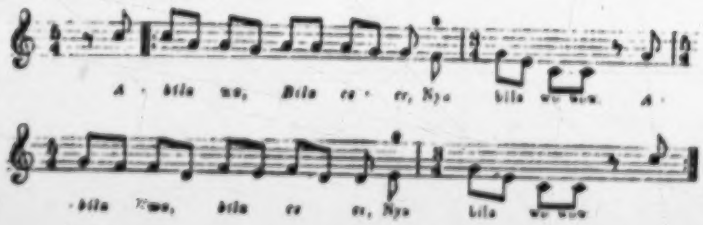
Then, with a change of the music, they swing their right legs over their arms, and hop round until they fall down. (See Fig. 5, Pl. XV.)

[*Note.* The note transcribed E sounds somewhere between E and F.]

9. A popular form of "Ring o' Roses" is played as follows. The Shilluk version has two parts, but the words of the song have no decipherable meaning. (Here again I heard a note which was difficult to place. I have transcribed it sometimes E and sometimes F.)

S
524
533
539

First movement : The players stand in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders, and sway as they sing :—



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Achol. FK4
Bari FJ5
Latuko FJ17

S
524
533
539

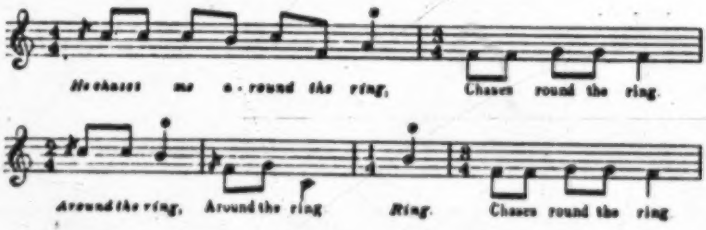
Second movement: The leader will drop his hands and run round the boy to his right and back to his place. (See Fig. 6, Pl. XV.) This boy will now run round the boy to his right, and so on, until everybody has run round his right-hand neighbour, and no one is left with his hands on his neighbour's shoulders. After which the children revert to the first movement. The song for the second movement is sung at almost twice the speed of that for the first movement.

A
L
B
524

Among other tribes, only the second movement is gone through. In the Latuko song I have transcribed the "uncertain note" sometimes as A and sometimes as B♭.

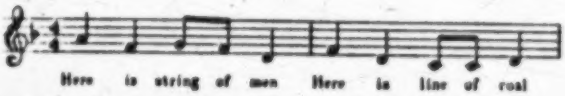
Latuko:

L
524
533
539



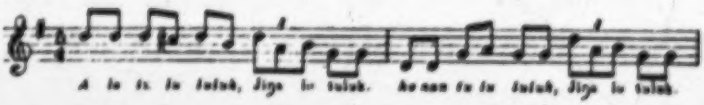
A
533
539

Acholi:



Bari:

B
533
539



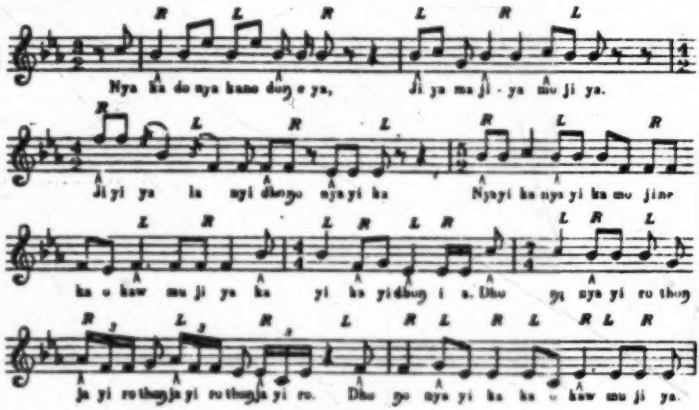
S
524

10. The following Shilluk ring-game is a difficult feat for the players' rhythmic sense, and many Shilluks fail, much to the derision of their comrades. The players stand in a ring, holding each others' shoulders, and a stick, about three feet long, is laid on the right-hand side of one of the boys, pointing towards the centre of the circle. The players now sing a supposedly "Dinka" song, and the boy marks the rhythm by springing, with both feet together, to and fro across the stick. At a certain point in the song, to be determined by himself, he must

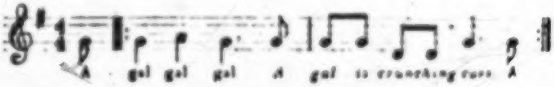
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Lotuko FJ17

double his time, *i.e.* spring from side to side twice as fast, and on the last note he must end up on the right-hand side of the stick, *i.e.* opposite the side from which he began, so that the circle may move round one pace, while his left-hand neighbour has an attempt. Should the unfortunate dancer finish up on the left-hand side of the stick, he is howled out of the game. S 524

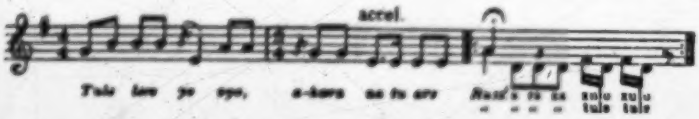
In the following song I have indicated by the letters R and L the jumpings, right and left, of one of the successful players. This is, of course, not the only way in which the rhythm is distributed :— S 524 533 539



11. Another Shilluk jumping game consists merely of springing from the ground to a rapid rhythm, the legs going apart and together. An important point is that the left heel should hit the right ankle when the feet come together in mid-air.



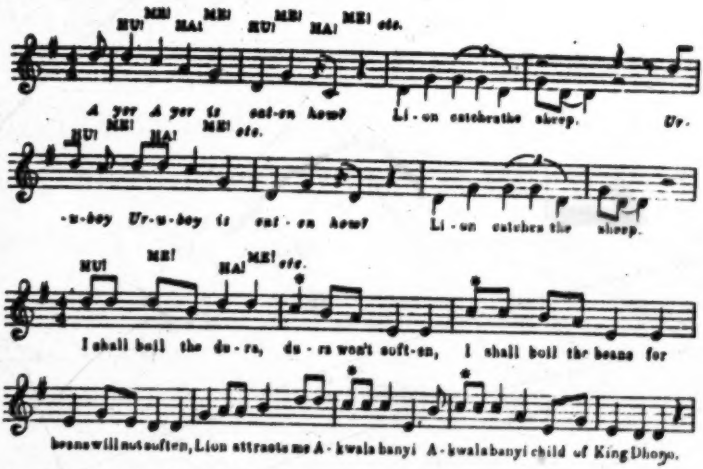
12. *I have seen among the Latuko a form of ring game in which, at the word "russ!"* the song-leader will swing his section of the line into the middle of the circle. When this is done very vigorously, it is hard for those on his immediate left and right to keep their feet. L 524 533 539



7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Nilotes FJ2
DINKA FJ12

Of the two songs recorded here, only one of them has any reference to the game in its text.

S
524
533
539



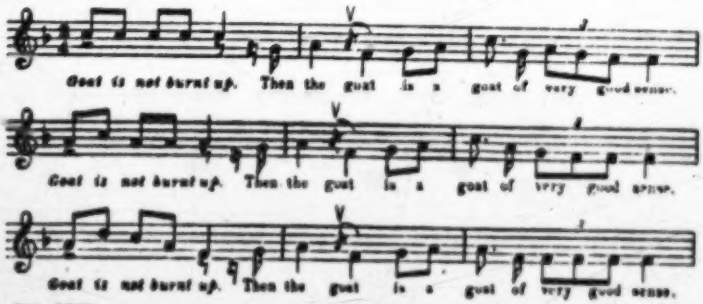
N
524

Among other tribes the game resembles more our game of "*Cat and Mouse*." The singers stand in a large circle, holding hands. The Leopard has to chase the Sheep in and out of the circle, the two calling to each other with grunts and bleats. The Sheep is allowed to rush in or out under the singers' arms, but the Leopard's progress is barred as far as possible, and he has to try to break through. When caught, the Sheep becomes Leopard, and a new victim is sought.

The singers incessantly jog from one foot to the other during the game, as no African can stand still while singing. Here again the words of the song need have no reference to the game.

Dinka:

D
533
539



?:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12
Acholi FK4
Lotuko FJ17

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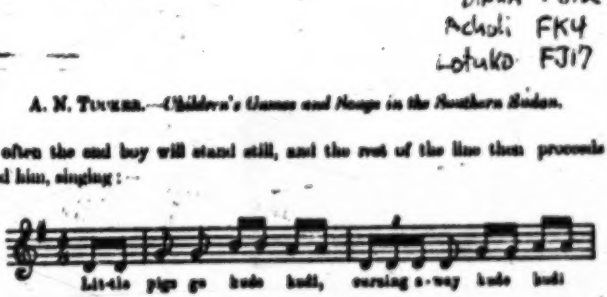
Very often the end boy will stand still, and the rest of the line then proceeds to wrap itself round him, singing:—



The whole game is done at the double, and is played much faster than among the Acholi. The words have nothing to do with the game, being, as often as not, eulogies on favourite bulls.

ARCH GAMES.

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16. *Oranges and Lemons.* The versions of this popular game differ from tribe to tribe, but all have this feature in common, viz., the two principals stand facing each other with their arms making an arch; they do not clasp each other's hands, but slap their palms against each other to a rapid rhythm, while the other members of the game dash through the arch. The game is considerably more vigorous than among European children, and the "last man" is seldom captured without a scuffle.

Shilluk:

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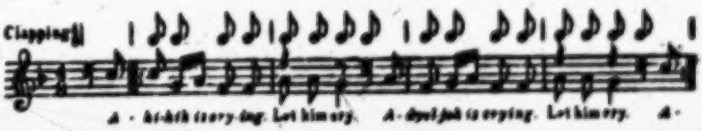

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Latuko:

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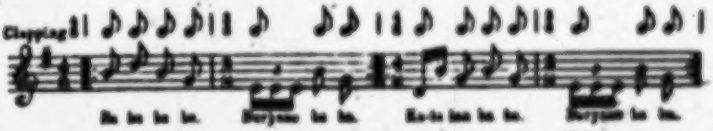
Acholi:



S 524

The "last man" is treated variously. Among the Shilluk he is banished from the game, and this continues until only two players are left, and these have to chase each other. Among the Latuko and Acholi the game proceeds upon more European lines. The captured player is

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7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Nuer FJ22

LOVE GAMES.

N 524 18. *Nuts and May.*—The Nuers have a form of this game of which the details are rather vague. The children stand in two lines, facing each other, some dozen yards apart. A member of one line advances towards the other line with a peculiar prancing step, waving his hands above his head, singing :—

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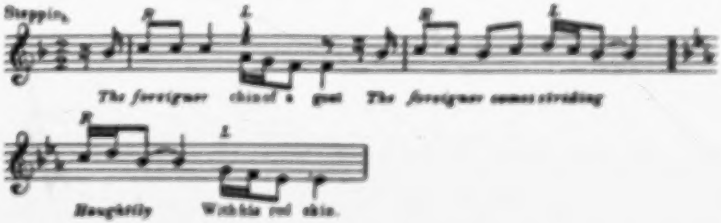
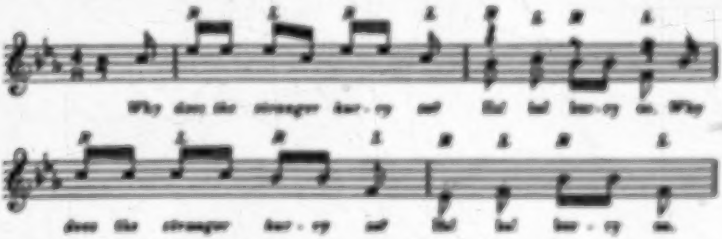
(The words, so far as I could make out, are meaningless.) He singles out a member of the other side and chases him round both lines and back to his place. What happens if he catches him I could not find out.

S 524 533 539 The following Shilluk version is evidently a recent invention, and probably confined to the particular group of Shilluks I was studying. The boys line up in two ranks, as if for "Nuts and May." One line advances towards the other, marching slowly in "game step" (see Fig. 4, Pl. XVI), while the other line retreats, both sides singing :—



Then the song is repeated, while the other line advances, and so on, to and fro, several times. Suddenly the pace is doubled : the boys running stiff-legged, those advancing trying to kick the shins of those who are retreating. The song now is :—



As before, on every repetition the direction is changed

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Bari: F35
Acholi F34
Latuko F37
Azande F07

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This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "chin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Nuts and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step:—

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without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song:—

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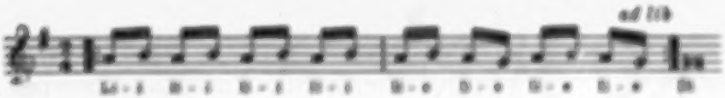

the "li . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

Imitations of Animals, etc.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs:—

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20. *Buck-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbudi,"

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Latuko F517
Acholi FK4

S 524 516

24. Hoopoe.—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

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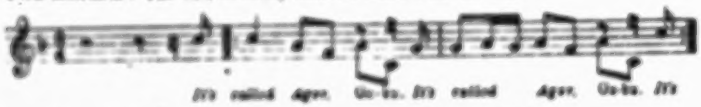
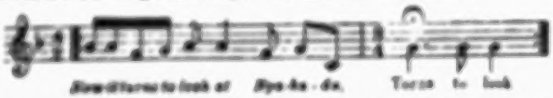
First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing:—



Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like:



At the word "Turns," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird slows its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Loko-loko-loko!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

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This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a hard-to-see little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

25. Canoe. The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side:—

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Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Hi-igh!" the whole line leels over on to one side. They recover, and lurch over on to the other side. They recover, and lurch over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

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Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings:—

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

EXAMPLES OF SHILLUK FOLK-LORE

BY Mrs. D. S. OYLER.

538 The natives call stories of this description «Lion Heads». Formerly they
539 thought that if a person told them in day light he would be taken by a lion, hence they are nearly always told after the sun goes down. It is impossible to translate them word for word, as much is told in the gestures, and in the face of the narrator. With the above exceptions the following examples are literal translations.

539 1. The cormorant was looking about in the river, while the crocodile was swimming with his hunger. The cormorant was looked upon as a possible source of food, but then the crocodile noticed his pointed bill, and long neck. It looked too much like a spear and its handle to please the wily crocodile, and so he said, «Friend, why is your beak so sharp? Will it hurt people like a spear?» The cormorant replied, «You have said it». Then he offered to let the crocodile feel his sharp beak, which he did, and went away scared. As a result, the cormorants have always been able to swim peacefully on the river.

The crocodile then went to the Nile perch. He was afraid of the large mouth, and he said, «Friend, why are you so strong? Why is your mouth so large? Why are your shoulders so great?» It replied, «My mouth has no teeth. Put in your hand and see.» The crocodile did so, and said, «I was afraid of food». He ate that perch, and since then the crocodiles have eaten the Nile perch.

2. A lion was under a tree eating his kill, and he was discovered by the hyena, and the hyena ran in after the food and he snatched the food, and the male lion ran after it, and the hyena was tired from running, and he covered himself with mud, and he gave battle to the lion. The hyena would bite, and his teeth would sink into the lion, but when the lion bit the hyena his teeth slipped from the mud. And the lion died, and his mate came to

[p. 216]

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

give battle, and she suffered a like fate, and all the lions feared. But the rabbit came and said, "Let us take your case to the judge". "And who will judge?" "The king". But the lion said, "My case is not ready". And they did not finish the case so the rabbit returned to his country. 53

3. The oriel, one of the animals, was fishing for snails, and he was seen by the hyena. The hyena gave chase, and the oriel ran away. The hyena returned to find the snails, but they gave him trouble by hiding from him. On the morrow the same thing occurred, and the rabbit saw the hyena, and he said, "What do you seek?". "I seek the oriel". "How does he trouble you?". "He is hunting snails". "I will help you". And on the morrow they laid in wait for the oriel, and when he had the snails the hyena gave chase. The rabbit hid in the edge of the grass, and got the snails. The hyena returned from chasing the oriel, and he said, "Rabbit, give me my snails". "Why should I give them to you? Were they taken by you formerly?" The rabbit replied, "Each one takes his own".

4. The rabbit was feeding a Nile perch. Six times it had fed the fish (hoping to eat it when fat). The lion chanced by that way one day, and saw the fish that it was there, and he pierced it with a fish spear, and he took it, and he cooked it, and he ate it. And he was satisfied with it, and he lay down. The rabbit came, and he found the fish that it was absent. And he said to the heron, "Inform me, who took the fish?". The heron laughed, and the rabbit promised to give him something for the information. And he promised that if the heron recovered a portion of the fish a share of it would go to him. And the heron said, "The lion took your fish". The rabbit went, and he found the lion lying down on the ground, and he feigned to be ill. And the rabbit said, "What do you have?" (Or, you were taken by what?) "I have a cold". "No witch-doctor has been near you?". "None". The rabbit told the women of the house to prepare a great jar of very hot soup-like gruel. The food was finished and brought by the women, and it was set down in the room, and the rabbit ordered the women to leave. He said, "Lion, open your throat". And the lion opened his throat and the rabbit poured down all the hot soup, and the lion turned on his back, and he beat the air convulsively with his feet, and he died. And

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the rabbit went out, and he closed the entrance to the enclosure (or zariba) with dura stalks, and he said, «Women, let no one enter the enclosure». And he took the fish spear of the lion, the one with which he had speared the fish, and he went away saying, «I am going to dig medicine. Let no one enter.»

The evening advanced, and the wife of the lion said to her child, «Should you not go in to see your father?». And the child found her father that he was dead, and the women wept, and the men. The sons of the lion came running saying, «Why?». And they said, «Our father has been killed by the rabbit». And they said, «Remain silent. We will kill some one in our father's place. We will kill the rabbit.» And they went to seek the rabbit, and they found the rabbit eating honey, and he said, «What do you seek?». «We seek you, rabbit». And the rabbit kept one ear fastened down to his head, and one eye closed, as though he only had one eye. And the rabbit said, «Beware, do not kill of another house. Now sit down in the shade of the tree. And see I have only one eye, and my ear is misplaced. Eat of my honey and return.» And he said, «The rabbits are of three different lines (of ancestors), *Kew Ibk*, *Kew Dang*, and *Kew Wa Ni Kwac*. Was the one who killed your father one eyed?» «No». «Beware. Return not again.» And they went, and their father's place was lost. No one died for him.

2. The hyena found the land lizard, and the hyena asked the land lizard saying, «Are you fat?». And he replied, «I am all oil». «Where do you sleep?», said the hyena. «I sleep here on the earth». «Do you know the jagged lightening?», asked the hyena. «I do not know it». The hyena said, «I am going». After he left the rabbit came and said, «Land lizard, you were talking about what to the hyena?». «The hyena asked me if I was fat». «Were you not asked by the hyena because he wants to eat you?» Now at night you climb up in the tree, but leave your clothes on the ground. The hyena came back at night in the rain, hurrying, yet moving cautiously so as not to disturb the lizard. The hyena leaped upon the clothes of the lizard, and devoured them. The hyena cursed the lizard and said, «What ruined it?» (He could not understand why the lizard was not fat). The lizard said, «I am up here in the tree». «Who put you up there?» «Was it not the rabbit who told me to get up here?» The hyena began to curse the

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

rabbit, and said, «Where is he that I may kill him?». The rabbit who had been hiding, in the grass, and listening said, «Here I am». The hyena gave chase, and the rabbit ran away. They had a very exciting chase until they came to the house of the porcupine, and the rabbit ran into it. The hyena called to the blue heron, «Go get the chum». (The chum is an iron bar used for digging. The name for it is the same as the verb for eating.) The heron flew away to the house of the hyena, and said to the women folk, «The hyena sent me to eat». They cooked food and set it before the heron, and after it had eaten it returned to the hyena saying, «I have eaten». Impatiently the hyena said, «It was not the food I meant a little while ago. It was the chum. Go get the chum.» The heron returned to the house of the hyena, and said, «I have returned. Bring food». He ate and returned to the hyena, saying, «I have eaten». The hyena in wrath said, «Sit down here. Remain here at the door lest the rabbit come out. I am going, but remain at the door itself.»

The hyena left, and the rabbit eyed the door (put his head out), and he said, «The hyena will dig». And the heron cursed the rabbit, and said, «Your ears have been drawn out long by the sun». And the rabbit laughed heartily, and said, «You cursed me, and cursed the hyena with a very bad curse». In turn the rabbit cursed the heron and said, «Your neck is so long it shakes like grass in the current». And the heron laughed, and the rabbit ran out. The hyena came and said, «This is what I meant, this is the chum, the thing to dig in the earth. Is the rabbit here?» «He is here». «He came to the door just now, and I talked to him». The hyena said, «Sit down over there». And the hyena dug to the end of the hole, and the rabbit was not there. He said, «The rabbit is absent. Shall I not eat you?». He said, «Do not eat me there, but toss me up in the air, and I will turn into fat, and fall into your mouth». The hyena tossed it up, and held it upward with his eyes closed. The heron spit into the mouth of the hyena, and then flew away.

6. A boy named Ajok was not able to speak, although he could hear. A lion came to the village, and said, «I am looking for Ajok». He was told that Ajok could not speak, but he insisted, and said he would make Ajok speak. Ajok was brought, but he answered nothing to the greeting of the

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

53 lion. The lion went and killed the ox of Ajok. The people said, "Why did you kill the ox of Ajok?" "I said that I would open the mouth of Ajok". And the lion left. It was told Ajok that his ox was killed, and the people said they would go to kill the lion, but Ajok refused. He said, "No, I will go alone". And he said to his mouth, "My two dogs, and my cow three I will take". He went, and he arrived at the house of the lion, and the king of the lions said, "The cow in the rear give to me". And the messengers came saying, "We were sent by the king to bring the ox". And he said, "Let the king come himself". And the king came saying, "Give me the ox". He refused, but finally he said, "Take it". And the king took the ox, and he spared the king of the lions so that he died. The people, the followers of the lion king ran, such as were lions ran away, but the servants who were people remained, and served Ajok. The cattle of the lions which were lions in disguise, ran away, but the cattle that were cows remained, and were taken by Ajok. And the gourds with milk in them that were lions ran away, but the gourds of the people remained, and were taken by Ajok (*i. e.* Part of the servants, cattle and gourds belonging to the king of the lions, were actually what they seemed to be, but part of them were lions in disguise).

Ajok went to the domain of another lion king, and the king said, "Bring me an ox". But Ajok said, "Bring it yourself". And the lion took an ox, and Ajok spared him as he had the other lion king, and took over his subjects in the same way. He took also all the property that was of men, and he had many slaves. He took all his property, and went, and built a village near his old home. And a time of hunger came, and his sisters came to his place to gather plants to eat. He recognized them, but he seemed strange to them. He gave them milk, and told them to throw away the grass which they had gathered, and he gave them kaffir corn to fill their gourds. They went home and said to their mother, "Mother, we found a man who looks like Ajok". But the mother said, "Ajok was eaten by the lions". And she was in mourning. She would not anoint herself with oil, and she would not wear clothes, and her hair was permitted to grow. They said, "You go on the morrow". And he gave them milk, and he gave them kaffir corn. She said, "You are my son". And in grief she said, "I will certainly kill myself". And she ran toward the river, and he ran after her, saying, "I am Ajok". And she returned, and he had her head shaved, and

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

had her anointed with oil, and gave her fine clothes, and gave her a house, and gave her four servants to prepare her food. 539

7. A great grass fire was raging, and a snake was caught in such a way it could not escape. A man passed by, and he said, «Snake, come to me, and I will save you». The snake coiled about his neck, and he carried it to a safe place, and he said, «Sit upon the earth. We have arrived.» (We have arrived at our destination.) And the snake said, «I refuse. I will not sit upon the ground. Why do you throw me off?» The man attempted to unroll the snake, and put it on the ground, but it opened its mouth, and it threatened to bite him, and the man feared. And they went, and they met the rabbit, and the rabbit said to the man, «Wherefore?». And the man said, «I am walking with the snake». And he said to the snake, «Wherefore?». And the snake said, «The man saved me from the fire. I was about to be burned. What do you say?» And the rabbit refused, saying, «This judgment is too difficult for me». And he went, saying, «Take the case to another». And they found the king frog, and the frog said to the man, «Wherefore?». And he replied, «I am walking with the snake». And he said, «Snake, wherefore?». And the snake replied, «I was saved by him». «Eh, you were saved by him, but what do you say now?» And the snake said, «Why am I forced to walk my own walk?». And he called upon the frog to hear the case, and the frog said, «In a case the participants are separate. Come off, snake. Move over farther.» And the snake moved off by himself. The king frog said to the chief after him, «Son of the chief, hear the case». (He commissioned his head chief to try the case.) And the chief said, «Man, state your case». And the man said, «Master, I found the snake. He was about to be burned by the fire, and I told him to run to me, and he coiled himself about my neck. I ran with him to a safe place, and I told him to go to the ground, and he refused to leave my neck. And when I laid hold on him he opened his mouth, and wanted to bite me, and his mouth is large, and his teeth are great.» And the frog said, «Man, is that your case? Snake, what do you have to say?» And the snake said, «Why was I taken? Why was I not left to die?» The frog said, «Snake, I condemn you. Has not man saved people from long ago? If there was no man, and you walked on your feet, you would have been

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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burned». The snake said, «Is that your talk? We will not see each other again. When I meet you, I will eat you, because you spoke against me. When I see you in the grass I will leap on you.» And the frog said, «Very well. When you take me in the grass I will cry, '*Aw, aw*', and the man will come, and spear you». And the frog cleared the man.

8. The rabbit moulded a person of mud, and put it on a calf skin, and put it in their house, and he went to his mother and said, «Give the traveller food». And his mother cooked the food, and put it in the house. And the rabbit drove every one out, saying, «Do not look at the traveller eating». And when the people were out, the food was eaten by the rabbit. And this took place daily, but one day meat was cooked with the food, and the rabbit was absent, and his mother put the food before the person and his mother said, «Why does the person remain in one place?». And she touched the figure, and it broke, and she was surprised, and said, «The rabbit deceives people». And she threw out the figure. The rabbit came and said, «Where is the traveller?». She said, «There was no traveller, but mud. You deceive people. You will be taken by hunger, and eat nothing.» The rabbit said, «A stranger will be killed by you». (Because she accused her son of wrong doing, he accused her of her lack of hospitality in refusing to feed a stranger.)

9. Formerly the wind-fish was a land animal, and it was going to the pool for water, for all the animals drank from a great lake. And all the animals that were in the wilderness were racing to the water, and all the animals passed the wind-fish. As they passed they laughed at him because he was so slow. And the ostrich came last, and he said, «Wind-fish, why are you left behind by the people?». And the wind-fish said, «The people are too much for me». The ostrich put the wind-fish under its arm, and ran swiftly, and it passed all the people (the animals), and it came to the lake first, and the ostrich said, «Wind-fish, drink». And the wind-fish said, «You drink first». And the ostrich drank, and after it had finished the wind-fish began to drink, and it drank, and it continued to drink, and it took up all the water in the great pool, so that it was badly swollen, and all the people came, and they lacked water. And the rabbit said

12: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to the elephant, «Let us crown the wind-fish that he may become king». And when he was crowned he said to the elephant, «Elephant, who told you to crown me?» «The rabbit». The wind-fish then said, «You, elephant, come here. You are king. Why do you not give the people water?» The elephant said, «You are great». Then the wind-fish went to the bank of the pool, and it vomited upon the earth, and the pool was filled, and all the people drank. And the wind-fish said, «Ostrich, I am going into the water, for I am accustomed to be passed by the people». And it became a river animal.

L. Oyler.

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13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

756 The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient, who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to typify the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine man.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from [774] God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or youngest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

756 When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony 762 consists of a dedication prayer something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. [528] The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

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13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F323 Shilluk F323

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but usually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee then to the source of his power. 752 753

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby. [539]

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice. 755 756

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he usually only has a few children. 754 [755] [554 555]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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536 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
776 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
776 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[533] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing
[535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[645 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
289] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still
[755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 673
"*Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongwo*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together "*Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong*", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say "*Kwaa dibong*", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the "things of Nyikang" such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, [793]
and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows:—"Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[19] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [782] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal ui jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our boggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [781] [533 537] [778]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

19. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[1] and in the centre of the village opposite the *hengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed.

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwo* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*ewak Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwo* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupiers of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wed Nyidhongo piny ayark cie Yor ewad Nyidhongo labo ariowy,* "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[1] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done, it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahoth*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debaio and over a black bull at Aweyiar on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 78, Note 21.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
76 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kwoikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikon) *cie kowy abui tho nyinang kedi tho wadi mini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then mustered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakai attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yof*) took place. The *bungreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[717 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak mow*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fadni, was present on the first day of the *ororo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kojo where the actual bodily

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*kwy*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwer there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by five sticks as at Kojo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*pieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Lusk had done outside the burial hut at Kojo and an ox (*nyijak*) was sacrificed as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably means that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikang6," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Bio, Thwolang, Yoey, Lol, Fadodo, Nyigic, Golbany, Fadhelang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fadiet and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Lusk at Kojo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *orwo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kojo, but this was not so, and the *orwo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangwok* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

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26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *milk yi Juok*). They do
643 not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from
648 or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly
the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction
produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is
678 that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation
to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far
as you are concerned.

195 The *Reth*'s head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is
643 his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When
he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*).
When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms
used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of
things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes.
An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the
objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be
643 used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is any-
648 thing comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the
539 purpose of this note (which is serious).

SCENE—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry outside the royal homestead pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second. 195

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Rath.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog. 643 648 539

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief.

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence.

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given.

«We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the sun, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dak, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die.»

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship.

[p. 283]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infrequently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and sisters may also be invoked.

When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased. The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no men of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of acting on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 787
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 769
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself
in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, 782
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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

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[Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the clans had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that cord-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manœuvres were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and thus the horn sounded the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of fire, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old lady with great heavery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long wand as her weapon of offence and defence".]

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The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stalls, and dura, which they exchange for cheap and calves.

IV. RELIGION.

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In the religion of the Shilluks three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. *Jwok (Juòk)* or God; 2. *Nyikang (Nyikaŋ)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. *ajwogo (ajwòɣo)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

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"*Jwok (Juòk)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to *Jwok*, though this is done more frequently to *Nyikang*; prayers are also offered to *Jwok*, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to *Jwok* (for which vide page 171), while to *Nyikang* there are many. "Praying" to *Jwok* is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to *Nyikang*; the first is *lieny* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to *Nyikang* *kwedg* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to *Nyikang* are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to *Jwok* is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. *Jwok* has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the *chief* or village-elder.

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In the heart and mind of the Shilluk *Jwok* does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions now becomes apparent. The forces of the northern province flock to support the *reth*-elect and wait at Dakula settlement while Nyikang and his supporters assemble at Akula. The two armies then march to Kwar Arwejur and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organization of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *epireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable information, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organization are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set organization. A Shilluk age set is known as *rio* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organization. A reorganization of the groups of subdivisions

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shillok FJ23

THE FIRST DAY OF THE INVASION.

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5.—The battle between the two armies outside Fadinda.

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6.—After the battle the rest is seized by Nyikang and led off to Fadinda. The rest is executed by Nyikang.

[FACING P 60]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 Just as the king's party was sighted, four men came out of Fashoda
[778] carrying the sacred shield and spear of Nyikang. As Nyikang and Dak approached this group there was something of a scuffle, as if the shield and spear were loath to join the procession. But after a short sham battle and much waving of spear and shield, they were persuaded to march with Nyikang, and the procession again moved on to meet the king and his followers at Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda. This
643 is the traditional battle ground, on which the forces of the king and
941 those of Nyikang join in a great sham battle, both sides using corn stalks instead of spears, and fighting until the followers of Nyikang overcome the guardians of the king and capture the king to carry him away into Fashoda.

The two armies were now drawn up facing one another, the host of Nyikang awaiting to join battle with the *reik* and holding the high ground to the west of the capital.

The Battle

(P.P.H.)

As soon as the *reik* had crossed the watercourse, he and his army advanced at a fast pace in the direction of the host of Nyikang, who had remained on the high ground opposite Fashoda. When the distance between the two parties was no more than two hundred yards the shield-bearer of the king moved forward, and began to dance in a threatening manner, dodging and retreating and advancing in the direction of Nyikang. Small parties of warriors broke away brandishing their millet stalks in the air. The warlike attitude of the opposing armies became apparent. The Kwa Nyikwom who were leading the army of Nyikang began to move, and a few of them broke away in front, brandishing their whips and ropes. Women in the background cried out in exultation and encouragement, and with wild shouts and holloas the armies fell upon each other. The air was filled with flying millet stalks, and such was the confusion that it is difficult to record accurately what happened, but the *reik's* army was considered to be repelled,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and the *reth* himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwom, cut off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black ostrich feathers screening his face. 643 541

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief "*rony arum*," "the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

The Reth carried off to the Shrine by Nyikang.

The party with Nyikang and the *reth* in their midst then turned towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared space which marks the pool of Cerfuc (Note 15). The drums of Nyikang, of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared space called Cerfuc and halted. In the middle were a group of people clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while Nyikang, with the *reth* immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hang down from the head of the effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa Okelo speared the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred relics. 643 [614] [778]

The Enthronement and Substitution.

After the spearing of the heifer, the *reth*, still closely led by Nyikang, advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from 643 778

19-Howell & Thomson E.G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shillick FJ23

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The Fourth Day of the Initiation.

The army of Nyikang led by the Kwo Nyikwom and brandishing whips and ropes charges through Fashoda towards the reik.

[Pacing p. 67]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1946) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

GB 444 with news of Nyikang's refusal; but is again sent to fetch her, this time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth*'s demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

GB 541 This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Atarwic and was seen later searching for *eyalwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Atarwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon. [533 Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song 535] indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol ouger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at [78] their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Meanwhile the army of the *reth* was gathering below Aturwic, and the *reth*, dressed in white with a Mrs. Gray skin draped round him and five ivory bracelets on each arm, descended among them. Armed with millet stalks, they began to move slowly forwards in a threatening manner towards the army of Nyikang. When only a hundred yards separated them, a violent argument broke out about the bull, which should have been provided for the occasion to be tied down and walked over by the combatants (Note 21). Both parties retired and the *reth* went up on to the mound again, where he could be seen standing at the central entrance, a long millet stalk in his hand. Nyikang, Dak, and Cal retreated to a point just outside the shrine. After a long delay the bull was brought and placed between the two armies, who advanced, and the *reth* in front of his army walked forward to throw the first spear (millet stalk), which fell at the feet of Dak. Millet stalks began to fly, and in the general *mêlée*, the *reth* rushed forward with a small escort and wrested *nyakwer* from Nyikang, and hustled her away through the ranks of his warriors up to the mound behind them. Three furious counter-attacks followed by the Kwa Nyikwom, who dashed forward waving and whirling their ropes and whips. Finally, with Nyikang and Dak and Cal, at their head, they reached the bottom of the mound and went up to the huts on top. Shortly afterwards Nyikang and Dak descended from the mound. It was said that all hostility between Nyikang and the *reth* was now at an end, and that Nyikang had accepted him as his successor. Then they started on a tour of all the huts in Fashoda. This was considered an inspection of the houses, and those sections of Shilluk who are traditionally called upon to repair them were fined by Nyikang if they had not done so. The fines were one head of cattle each, and one chief was fined for initiating a song, the privilege of the Kwa Nyikwom. This part of the ceremonies was taken lightheartedly, and the victims subjected to much witticism.

Nyikang, Dak and Cal then retired to the shrine. They took no further part in the ceremonies and did not appear in public until

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorieiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gel Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debaio. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth Faliti*, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golhainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

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643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak, while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

[775] [783]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwow*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.**

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

* From the *kwa* Nyikwor of Lima.

** In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Ahec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwolo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 by the *ovore* and *kwarek* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully avoided, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debaio and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafini, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Atkurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debaio had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Atkurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Atkurwic*: *jago* Yorbiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwum began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Duk soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ovore*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shillak FJ23

Then Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *pal Ongor* where the whips of the *bwa* Nyikwam are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Col,[a] was with them. Col was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *lues* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of rallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[b] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to seize *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Ashowric*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Ashowric*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Ashowric* surrounded by the *ocoro* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[a] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yusbashi Hussein Farag, Hamur Kodak, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me by him: «Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the «temporary hut» during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies met, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Ohil on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the «battle» was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

«Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

«The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases.»

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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[1] Seligman (p. 106) states the mock battle occurs at the kher before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1946) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rate of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 649 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [591] and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [838] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [682] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1951) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitoes to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house.
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden.

[177 648 681]

S.Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1951 F323 Shilluk F323

Ship

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *ship*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or nursing. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two.

Sexual Offences Concerning Female epiweik

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *epiweik*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied.

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyiwo* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been strictly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *epiweik* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *epiweik* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country.

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *epiweik*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *epiweik* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds.

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *epiweik* who connect with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *epiweik* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*dwe*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *epiweik* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *epiweik*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*.

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the

[1] *Nyiweik*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, *e.g.* 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kuor yar ric dhaw	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kuor yar wian a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kuor bachu ric dhaw	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kuor bachu wian a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kuor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
627 truthfully ; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kuor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many para-
[548] mours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a
[547] son.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

195 565 64 644 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Jwok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi ki* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

195 643 When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Rath* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Rath* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Rath* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 844 576 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 [836] These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yuci nien*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 682 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 [837 548] Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 REARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

854

Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

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The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ateu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñaseil₂* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

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When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

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— The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
558 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
848 child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nien ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

yɛ̱r skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyɔ́mɔ̀ ear-rings of tin.
gwɛ̄lɛ̀ metal ring worn on arm, wrist, feet.
gwɛ̱lɛ yiɛ̱ ear-ring.
yiɛ̱l bracelet for the wrist.
gɛ̱k knee-ring of skin.
ógɛ̱ńò brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
gyɛ̱lɛ̀ ivory ring
achɔ́ɛ̱ ivory ring.
wɛ̱ɛ̱ ivory ring carved in conical form.
owɛ̱ɛ̱lɛ̀ ivory ring, a small strip.
órɛ̱mɛ̀ ivory ring, big.
orɛ̱k knee-bells, used in dancing.
ótyań a small bell.
átútúm bell, similar to *orɛ̱k*.
òlɔ̀èlɔ́é dancing-bell
òkɛ̱t cow-bell, used in dancing.
agyɛ̱r small cow-bell.
ɛ̄gɔ, tɛ̱gɛ̱ a common name for beads.
amanjúr blue beads, worn by women.
rɛ̄k ostrich shell beads.
gɔ́r big beads, worn on the neck by men.
bɛ̱l ɛ̄ɛ̱ɛ̱ a kind of beads.
tɛ̱dɛ̀ a kind of small beads.
yɛ̀lɛ̀ green beads, round, small.
àbàɛ̱ɛ̱rɛ̀ a kind of beads.
ɔ́niyɛ̱ń a kind of beads.
dɛ̀ń a kind of beads.
bàkɛ́ a kind of beads.
ádémɛ̱t a kind of beads.
aɛ̱ɛ́k a kind of beads.
ápíù a kind of beads.
óbɔ́ù white beads.
tɛ̱tɛ̱ń black beads.
kɛ̄n ówɛ̱ɛ̱lɛ̀ blue beads.
ɛ̱ɛ̱rɛ̀ red beads.
ádwɛ̀gɛ̀ yellow beads.
wɛ́ń ágàk "crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
gāgɛ̱ cowry shell.
tɛ̀mɛ̱ɛ̱gɛ̀ a string for tying together clothes.
gań a kind of button worn in [the hair.
wɛ̀nɛ̀ brown giraffe-tail hairs.
ócɛ̱ɛ̱rɛ̀ white giraffe-tail hairs.
achɛ̱ɛ̱t tooth-brush.
dwɛ̱ɛ̱p a head-dress.
óchóch a head-dress.
dɛ̱m a head-dress.
mɛ̀t a head-dress, "like a shield".
agérɛ̀ a head-dress, "like a shield".
nɛ̱ɛ̱r bleached hair, long.
áshíshwɛ̀l a chain, worn as ornament.
gáníkú rattle, made of leaves of the deleib, tied on leg or loin.
ógɛ̱ńò } arm-ring of ambach.
adɛ́rɛ̀ }
wɛ̱ɛ̱l loin-ring.
shɛ̱l gwɛ̱ɛ̱k "penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
ńwɛ̱ń iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

ɛ̱ɛ̱ń cow; common name. Plural: *ɛ̱ɛ̱k* cattle.
wɛ̱ɛ̱t bull.
rɛ̄jɛ̱ heifer.

[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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ńarōjǫ calf.
ólɛ̨k grey-white spotted.
ńɛ̀yǫ̀m head white, body black or yellowish.
ógâk belly and neck white, back and head black.
ńàbɛ̨̀k one leg white, the rest of the body yellowish.
tàkyɛ̀ch flanks white, the rest of the body black.
ńàjàk head yellowish, brown spots on the back, the rest white.
ńàjók head black, black spots on the back, the rest white.
ńàkɛ̨̀r flanks black, belly and back white.
ńàdìń brown-black, small spots.
ólât brown-white, small spots.
ólɛ̨́ń brown-white, large spots, females only.
teduk grey.
ńàkwách black-white.
àjàlóń
ńdígò red-brown.
tàbùr ash-coloured.
tɛ̨tɛ̨ń black.
ńàbǫ̀ń white.
ńɛ̀ńáń striped white and red.

wâ (waɛ̨) / *tyɛ̨́l rɛ̨̀k* } (ox) with white feet.
àyòkàk black with white tail.
óchôdǫ̀ hornless cow.
wárɛ̀gǫ̀t an ox with one horn directed forward, the second backward.
óbyêch a cow with ordinary, non-dressed horns.
ǫ́dɛ̨̂lǫ̀ a cow with horns turned down.
ógwɛ̨̂l an ox with horns turned towards the eyes.
ódúlǫ̀ a cow with horns pointing forward.
ńát a cow with horns cut off.
àgwòǫ̀gnǫ̀m a cow with horns directed straight upwards, like a goat's.
bàń a cow with one horn directed upward, the second downward.
àbàch a cow with horns directed straight sideways.
wárnàmtài an ox with horns directed straight backward.
ónɛ̨̂gò a cow with horns directed straight backward.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth [1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

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Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Ñabol.

593 605

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

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There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

[428] [431]

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [583]

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
795 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
825 fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular develop-
825 ment, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the [753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into [787] the river.

[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
794 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, [778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron [782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ban)* is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser [683] may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in [847] any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-
846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to
842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nuole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his 513 initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 428 say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya piñ). Later when the boy ~~882~~ has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tiiṅ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tiṅē atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walh Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[563] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
476 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives
561 to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walh Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> " I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [754] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are [787] all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

756 The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 787 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
825 sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
787 following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
643 where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
825 this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
553 If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. 582

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrasing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the [679] cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

34 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [862] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

[613] *The Settlement (pouh)*

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [36] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

● 554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang,
621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin-
[173] ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[629] The chief of the settlement, the *rago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to
[792 serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *ororo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary
[161 campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of
233] 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·5 and 110·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 112·5 and the lowest 111·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [63] [36]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
361 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
613 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong*
621 (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
613 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
621 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
622 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

THE HAMLET AND THE HOMESTEAD.

[613] Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.
Its plural is *myer*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Ororo*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Ororo*, are usually treated with a certain outward defence by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[12]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Ororo*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

565 The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
614 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristoc-
644 racy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes
[625] providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

554 Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are
565 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*),
614 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyāreth*
644 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

12. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

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The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

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The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

565 591 621 644 [361]

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 644 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang. Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently [614] beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" [554] *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, [622] are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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173 26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Buoc and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abduhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbaft, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*. They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Reth*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

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chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group. 182 613 621 622 554

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members 613 621 [571] 614

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder. 613 621 361 621 166 361 621 [591] 361 621

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul*
[534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting
[411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

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to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613
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26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [576, 554]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [576] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwas*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 648

[p. 319]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

174 the Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river
171 he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of
142 which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best
174 explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented
142 a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have
144 no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the
● [556] same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old
[462] men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

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"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Anilli, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

181
123

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361 HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

CATTLE-BREEDING

233
[556]

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12 173 head of cattle and 63 473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall,

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ben)* is elected. The *ben* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwor*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very 7 51
fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil 7 54
eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it [556] be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it 6 72
for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry 7 51
when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the 7 54
child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones 7 54
that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do 8 26
not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, 6 26
they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the 7 54
man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear 4 31
someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going 7 35
to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has 7 51
the evil eye. 7 54
6 26

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 756
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, [539] who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their child- 756
ren are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [732]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [556
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 595]
usually only has a few children.

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 624 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
593] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too 425
much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the 431
old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his [622]
master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, 425
nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When 484
a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not 593
allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not [843]
permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked 425
upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a 556
financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for 535
the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. 476
When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it 462
out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often 241
the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. 735
They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general 241
statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

788 735 241 If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

425 556 It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
512 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *luahs*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle,
[556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
512 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
883 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain
[226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
512 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
512 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are
[361] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[312 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
[415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
482] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tish mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work
[684] eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
[182 The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
583] system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

428 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which [361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom 614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *orero*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, [558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but [567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to [792] serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who [735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564] There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orero*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, [582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang [554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though 171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial 643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary [161] campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 233 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·5 and 110·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:2·5 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōṅo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [292]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his [558] initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his 593 initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 428 say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya piñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tiṇ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tiṇē atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tieh mi Reth*.

interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Ororo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls." 565 614 644 558

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[20] *Reth* Fadict tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Ororo*. 614 643 644 558

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[21] which is often used to describe the *Ororo*.

The *Ororo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of 565 614 644

20. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Ororo* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Ororo* will ever say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry. [124]

21. *bung kodh yi gen.*

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to 584 the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

583 72
604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither
304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be
[881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal
[565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here
[683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young
881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man
[305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term,
881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go
883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man.
[561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex. 304

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act. 262 833

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose. [853] [888] [857] [231]

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking. 593 264 [415]

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabele settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
711 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

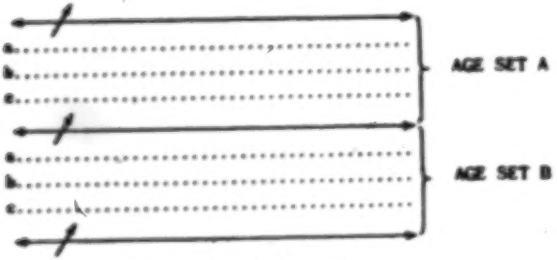
AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

541 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
[881] organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *rie* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 'head', 'neck' and 'middle'. 561

Elders in Retirement



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the ngol or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each sits in a special place and sings its own song. 764 504

Age sets emphasize the solidarity of the settlement by organising the generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear 182 561 621

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ban)* is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalised monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *pedh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwereth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *kwog reth* living in close association with *kwereth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. Monographs on Social Anthropology. London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pedh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *pedh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *pedh ocho*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fusion and fission characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clearcut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pedh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngok Dinka).

[6] Lineages of the *kwereth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *ngwereth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyingwereth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwereth* Fadiet, *kwingwereth* Adong, &c. Similarly, *kwog reth* are distinguished as *kwog reth* Fadiet, *kwog ngwereth* Adong, &c.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says:

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *bang*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947:

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 57.
[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.
[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

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Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōṅo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [292]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear [701] that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might [704] cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually 881 goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (win). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. 593 The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too 881 small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

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but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726] into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kōk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

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882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 513 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

428 If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (jumḕ ya piṅ). Later when the boy 862 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukḕ).

● 561 People who are of the same age are called (tiṅ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

291 The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tiṅḕ atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed [613] for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as [561] a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong [648] chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 693 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [171] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1925) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

> "Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jago*[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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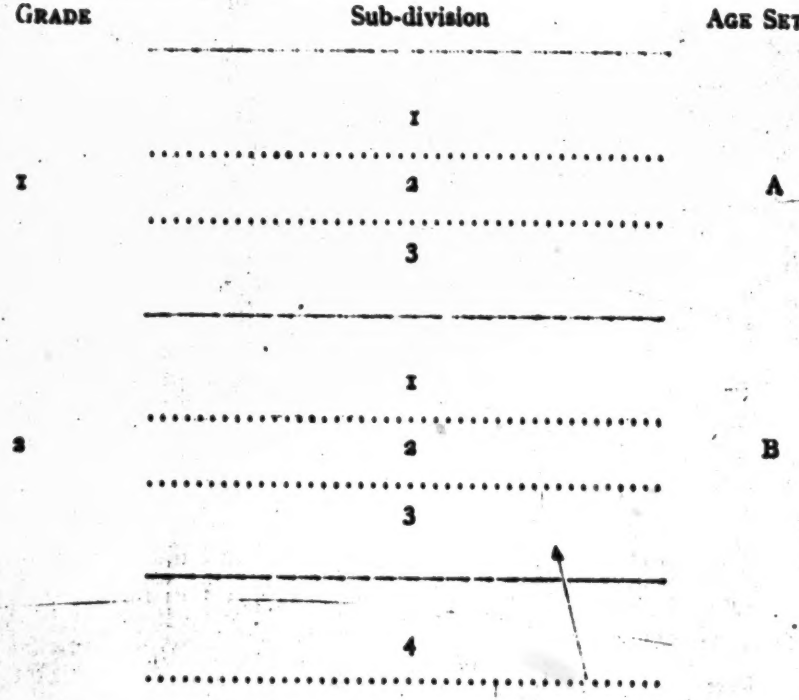
7. Chief.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 The figure below shows the two age-sets occupying the two active military grades through which each must pass in turn.



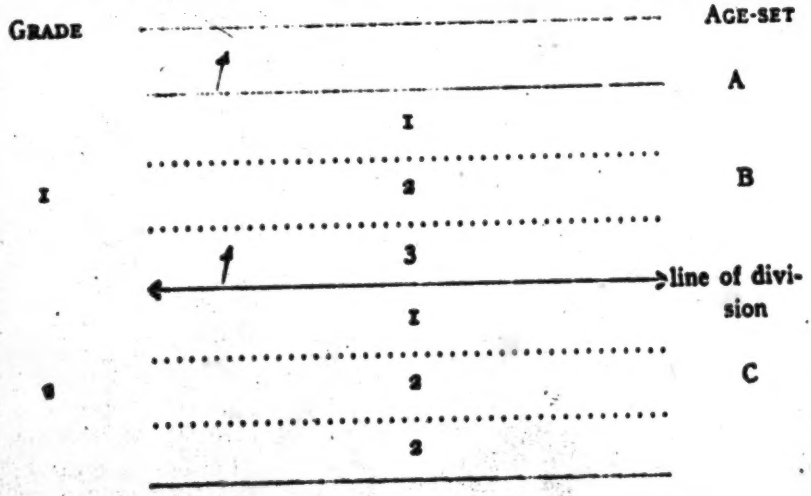
Each age-set has three or more subdivisions — 1, 2, 3 etc., which are made up of those who are approximately of the same age and who have herded cattle together as boys. The members of age-set A are married men and probably the fathers of families. The age-set is static and new sub-divisions do not reach that grade until a new and formal division between the two age-sets is made. Age-set B, however, is continually increasing in number as new sub-divisions are formed. The number of individuals in each sub-division will vary and the rapidity with which new sub-divisions are formed is not constant. After an indefinite period age-set B will be too large for practical purposes and very much larger than A. Moreover, the older sub-divisions of A will

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be getting too old for active military service. Many may already be dead. The organisation has thus reached an unbalanced and unwieldy stage and a new division must be made.

It is not clear on whom the decision rests but it is usually the warriors of the younger age-set who initiate the suggestion that a reshuffling takes place. They are anxious to take over the duties and prerogatives of their elders. Some informants state that any man of outstanding personality of the lower age-set could suggest himself as a new war-leader or '*Bañ*' and on his initiative, as representative of the younger age-set which is anxious for promotion, a division would be made.

The *Ngol* or "Cutting" ceremony then takes place and the sub-divisions are reorganized into two age-sets, while the members of age-set A pass out into retirement. Age-set B is in fact divided into two, so that they are approximately equal in numbers.



In this figure the division has been made between sub-divisions 3 and 4 of age-set B. Sub-divisions remain undivided internally and the individual Shilluk remains a member of the sub-division he originally

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Doh Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881 535 881 [622] 858 [626] 881

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

881 Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Wath Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 171] to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

535 At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

[561] Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote
182 of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former
701 purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the
726 threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch
621 of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against
[613] attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest
561 lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is
701 chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set
182 system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9]
561 Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original
721 purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and
621 economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

[174 9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Lwak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants
726 of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-
124] day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593] woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
[82] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel *with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish*
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836] Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

The children of the king are called *nyiwek*; his grandchildren are *nyinyiwek*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyiwek*; their children again may be called *kwanyiwek*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyiwek* follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyiwek* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwarek*. The title *kwanyiwek dwong* (great *kwanyiwek*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyiwek* or to a *kwanyiwek* who has become a chief.

Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Moore as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Nor of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by *ororo*. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260-1). Mr. Hussey confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowal, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Dowal succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowal to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowal became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigid instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; MARRIAGE 584
if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which 583
consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at 585
the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach 581
a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without 554
cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the 606
full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few 595
exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 582
127 f.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

The position of the women is no doubt a higher one than with most Moham- POSITION OF WOMEN 562
medan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page [593]
XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

right to the throne. If all the sons of a King die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bauholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on those occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 691 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyni orpt* ("men of crime") or *adjrp*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjrp*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjrp* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjrp* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjrp*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to 682
marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is [608]
in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The [173]
indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the
Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 588
'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group 613
must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this 682
object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wir dhom*, 'the girl in place
of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead [171]
man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same.
The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry
a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in
marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since
bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle,
it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation [171]
for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the
Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, 682
though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a 565
serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the 614
reth. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a 644
royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally,
demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a nam*). In 1912 a boy
accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh
wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother
of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the 682
death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation
if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her [562]
father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible [672]
for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to [171]
cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial pro- 171
cedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the 628
Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are
seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve
the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homi-
cide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with
every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and
Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109-11. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ukir ut ukir* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwar* takes the *yang kwiai* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *reath rem* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern Shilluk these might

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a bǫña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 624 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[536 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
513] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[533 up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

476 to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561 At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476 to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561 enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574 to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [565] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organised age-sets limited 561 by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571 and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578 mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 559 but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.] 114

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pan duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth. 643

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhok who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship. [644] [562]

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango and Both in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving ivories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abomi Nyikango). [765]

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathaw which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyuth and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again. [233]

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Duk his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Duk the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

[726] They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person,
776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the
756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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ment so much as endurance that is called for at a Shilluk dance. 535 881

The festivities are opened by a salute of the warriors to the assembled chiefs. The leader of the band approaches carrying a bowl of dust and asks the senior chief present or the leading guest to bless the dance; he takes a little dust [788] from the bowl and sprinkles it on the ground while calling down a blessing on the gathering. Then the warriors who are congregated at the opposite end of the field thunder forward with whoops and cries, their spears uplifted to strike, the lust of killing in their eyes; they stop dead in their tracks when the spears of the front rank are but a foot away from the row of chiefs and guests, and a roar of laughter goes up if they succeed in making anyone flinch. A second wave follows the first and so on, until with the onslaught of the last group this phase of the dance ends. The beat of the drums now quickens its tempo, spears are discarded in favour of dancing sticks and ambach shields, and the girls come forward to claim partners. A girl may take part in the dance almost at any age, so that little girls of not more than [562] twelve years of age are found taking their places in the long lines being formed. The dancers arrange themselves two abreast, the boys facing the girls; the boys stand with arms bent and sticks held upright, the girls hold themselves rigid with their arms pressed close to their sides. As three hundred pairs of feet thud down in unison, the ground seems to shake and dust rises in clouds; the drums throb, feet thump, the metal shells clash and bells clang, male voices yell hoarsely and female trill—the din is indescribable. The long lines circle slowly round the dancing floor, the boys jumping forward and the girls backward; in a concerted movement the girls raise their arms as if to ward off a blow and make a turn, first to the left, then to the right, while their male partners make the same half turns, bringing their sticks and shields over the girls' heads to protect them, as it were, from the threatened attack. This movement which is done at every dozen or so steps is the only variation in the monotonous jumping of the dance. A rest is called when the drummers

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time. [181]

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will [462]
assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the school, knowing that re-entrance was barred to them 797 *
if they ran away, and sensing what the coldness of their 872
reception at the family dinner table would be if they returned at such a time, elected to stay, and found that actually gozintas and all that could be fun. They remained for that year and came back for more the following year. Numbers grew year by year until the happy day in mid-January 1946 when I had to turn applicants away through lack of room.

At the time of writing the Shilluk have become far more [185]
education-conscious, and all our schools can now be filled without any difficulty. Indeed the problem has now become that of finding sufficient room and teachers for all who apply. Even girls are coming forward in increasing numbers. The [562]
reader may have noticed that so far there has been mention only of boys. In 1940, girl education was but an idle dream. Now each mission has its separate girls' school in the care of the Sisters, and so the prospects for the future Christianizing of the Shilluk are thereby considerably enhanced.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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565 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, [563] while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

601 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This [582] distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 174 So the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word *Okāṇo*, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with *Ñíkāṇo*, and means a descendant of *Kāṇo*, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dọni*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagir; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 domiciles; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain *rôle* in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Ñodeni*.

RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

648 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them.

RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the wells at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fa ḍeni* "village of cattle").

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

174 South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common

IV. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

25. The Election of a King.

Rǫń riţ.

* 539 *Kǫń rǫń (rǫń) riţ, ńi dwái kwárè ḍḍńḍ, ka wẹ̄ḷí ńa riţ, ka gẹ mẹ̄t, ka jẹ̄ kẹḷọ fẹ̄ţẹ ḍḍńọ, ka lẹ̄lè kẹ̄l, ka kiţe mach, ka búk. Ka wẹ̄ḷọ́ lẹ̄ńḍ, lẹń yi mach, ka mach bẹ̄dọ lẹ̄ch, faţe riţ; ka chiki mẹ̄kọ ţẹ̄ńọ mach, ka e lyẹli nọk, faţe riţ, ka chiki ţẹ̄ńo mach, ka e lyẹlọ duọń nọk, faţe riţ; ka mẹ̄kọ chiki ţẹ̄ń mach, ka mach e ţẹ̄, faţe riţ; ka mẹ̄kọ ţẹ̄ń mach, ka e lyẹl lyẹl duọń, ka pōţọ mal, ka ţẹ̄rọ ńẹ̄ţḍ, riţ anan! Ka ţẹ̄rọ bẹ̄ńḍ, ka nẹ̄na pẹ̄l. Ḍukí ka jẹ̄ bẹ̄ńọ, ka jẹ̄ waṇọ pach; tyẹń ţẹ̄l a bi, ka gẹ ńi ţẹ̄ńa pān, ka ńi gẹ̄ţí ḍeań; ka gẹ bẹ̄ńọ waṇi pan, ka gẹ̄ţí ḍeań. Ka gẹ wiţa Báchẹ̄dḍ, ka jańe duọń e pẹ̄chẹ̄ kiṇe: amẹn a kwáń yi lẹ̄lḍ? kiṇe: ńa riţ ńate.*

Chōţí, ka jẹ̄k dwái, ka gẹ dwai Mwọmọ́ ki Tūńọ. Ka e bẹ̄ńọ bẹ̄ṇe, ṇa jāgẹ bẹ̄ṇe, ka kwọ́f kṵm, ka ţẹ̄rọ kṵḷḍ, ţẹ̄rọ kẹţa fārẹ, ka pāre tyẹ̄k, tyẹk ákyẹ̄l. Ka jẹ̄ nẹ́ńḍ pẹ̄l. Ka kọr ṇi ka jẹ̄ bẹ̄ńọ, gẹ kẹa pach. Ka tẹń kwańi chińḍ, ka jẹ̄ kẹţa kul, ka tyẹńe mẹn é yuḷńḍ. Ńi rẹ̄ṇ ṇi lẹ̄dọ wẹt; ka jake, kwā riţ, a chwṵ́l, ka gẹ kẹţa kal. Ka tedet ńṵ́lé ki tẹń; ka gẹ poţa wẹt, ka ńa riţ kwáń gẹ wẹk ki wẹt. Ka e mujọ ḍeań, ka ḍeań nṵ́kè yi jẹ̄k, ka gẹ chama ḍeań. Ka kẹ̄l ka tẹ̄rḍ ká Tàbàḷḍ, ka jāgẹ é kánḍ ki atūt, ka atūt chḷńè riţ, ka kwọp kṵ́mé chẹ̄.

* 539 When a king is to be elected, they bring the descendants of the Nubians,[1]
643 and the sticks of the princes are broken. And some people go to the Nubian
country, and bring some flint stones; they are put into the fire; then the fire is
[563] blown up; and a stick (of the princes) is thrown into it, into the fire; if the fire
remains black, then that one (the prince or pretendent who threw his stick in)
is not the king. Another stick is thrown in (by another prince); if the fire burns
(flames up) a little, then this one is not the king. Again another stick is thrown
in; if the fire burns a little high, that one is not the king. Another stick is
thrown in; if the fire dies, that is not the king. Another one is thrown in, and if
the fire burns with a big flame, and blazes up, then the people laugh: "This
is the king (the prince who threw in this stick, he is to be king)."

[Hofmeyer says concerning this: "According to an ancient use which existed before Nyikang's time, a number of little stones according to the number of princes which have been proposed for election are thrown into a fire. Each stone has its name; now the one whose stone remains in the fire wi[illegible] cracking becomes king. This test is repeated so long till only one single stone is left.]

After that the people come (from different villages); they sleep in the bush,

[1] The Shilluks say: "When Nyikang brought his people into the Shilluk-country, he brought some Nubians with him; these Nubians live in several villages among the Shilluks up to this day; they are known by the Shilluks, but in their outward appearance they do not differ from the Shilluks." According to the report given above they seem to play or to have played rather an important rôle in the constitution of the Shilluk dynasty. It appears that the Shilluks have been in some political connection with the Nubians.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937) 1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. R. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [526 559]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [526] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 643

[p. 319]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *orwo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orwo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 100,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·3 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *Kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*Kwo* Okello'—the descendants of Okello—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [3.1]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565 ●
614

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [622] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief- [173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been
644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line-
[613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang*
565 *nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince
644 during his lifetime, and after his death their de-
613 scendants continued to live near the prince's
621 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general
[101] category of commoners, only, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

The development of the Shilluk kingship has thus produced, though not in a very pronounced or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin). 565 644

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben 643 114 642

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
82] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582 are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting
for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireek*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836 Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareek*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
546 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated
[562] with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyiwek*; his grandchildren are
546 *nyinyiwek*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyiwek*; their children again may be called *kwanyiwek*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyiwek* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyiwek* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwarek*. The title *kwanyiwek dwong* (great *kwanyiwek*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyiwek* or to a *kwanyiwek* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Meurer as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Rur, of the Chief (King) of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Nadwayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be allowed out by wealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he appears that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260-1). Mr. Hussey confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowad, considered very longsuffering by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and drove them in the river, but Dowad succeeded in removing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigad instead of their previous appellation Kwanyi. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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566 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwu*. [563]

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

601 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations [582]

583 72
604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *uza* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given ~~on~~ their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be [88] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal ● [565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here [683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two 304 or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young 881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man [305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, 881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that [561] they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help. 643

Though many commoners will give some such account there is no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles. [173]

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well-informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon. 643 565 [173] [886] [173]

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*, 173 643

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . . his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 EJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The *same result is obtained by washing the hair* continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513] [237] [301]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bōdo*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

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[461]
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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall like a great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the large, coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

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Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

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[692]

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

174

EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendancy from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa ajo* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chiliq* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1°12 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 174 So the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word Ółáq, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with *Ńjáq*, and means a descendant of *Ńjáq*, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dpú*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagr; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 domiciles; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain *rôle* in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Nadwai*. RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

648 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peacefully now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them. RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the walls at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fashoda (Kodok). RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

174 Outside of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

174 of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years thus reached at is between 13 and 14 for each king. Now from the reign of Nyikang, who was the first Shilluk king, till to-day the Shilluks have had 28 to 30 kings; 29 multiplied with 13½ leads back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About this time, then, the Shilluk kingdom was founded, or, in other words, during this period a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks, and made itself the ruling factor among the latter. The first of these leaders and rulers was Nyikang, or possibly Nyikang is only a personification — the heroic eponymous — of the foreign element in the Shilluk population. From those early days up to the present never a "Shilluk", i. e. a member of the original population, has been king, solely the "descendants of Nyikang" forming the royal family, from which the king is elected. Even to-day the descendants of Nyikang do not intermarry with the "Shilluks", they live in districts and villages of their own and enjoy certain privileges, thus forming the aristocracy of the nation. Second in rank are those Shilluks which migrated into the country together with Nyikang as his "followers" or "servants." They also possess several social privileges and state functions. The lowest class of Shilluks are the natives found in the country, when Nyikang and his adherents arrived. They may be designated as the "common people", the "subjects" in the state community. The second and third categories, and also the first, have no doubt been mixed by intermarriage. From the earlier centuries of the Shilluk dynasty but scanty historical data are known. The only reports we have are the list of kings (vide page 135), and a considerable store of traditions, dealing with prominent acts of single kings and important events which occurred during their reigns. Some of these native records are printed on pages 141 ff.

174 565

RELATIONS WITH THE FUNJ

The first time the Shilluks enter history is about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is at the same time when they took possession of their present seats. Beginning at this period they have, during almost two centuries, played an essential part in the history of the *Funj* people. The question of the origin of the Funj is as yet unsettled. In order to introduce the reader into the problem, I shall give a short survey of this remarkable people and their history.

174

The most common form of the name is Funj or Fonj, and Fung. Funj is in phonetic writing probably *Fun*, ending in a palatal n, and Fung = *Fun*, ending in a velar n. Of these two forms I suppose Funj = *Fun* to be the older one. Foreigners who are not used to a palatal n standing at the end of a word, find its pronunciation difficult, and frequently substitute *ŋ* for *n*, a mispronunciation which I myself have often heard in the Sudan. This Funj, Fonj is probably identical with the Shilluk word *fuun* "stranger"; in Shilluk as well as in Nubian b and f are interchanged; in Fuur the word for "stranger" sounds *fun*, and in

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Titrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shilluk[1] is a trade which comparatively few men learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house. 342 [565]

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house. [462]

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope-maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick. [325] 283 342

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner 342

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Dong Adok *(doni adak)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kyla)*; Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro *(Omoro)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maal *(wat mjil)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dijil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dijil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kiorn *(Nyakor)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Uag-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The oldest son of Nik-Kiorn, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Nyikó*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Dowat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Dowat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Doi, Ari Umkor, and Bun Yong, his brother Umoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shilluk race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Dobeib Hill.

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Nyikang, Dowad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Ouaes from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwot. Nyikang and Dowad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Dowad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Bosh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak." Another man, called Obogi, kept aloof from at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the fellow came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and opened the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i.e. Shilluks.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

Ukomo Dalalajak Achodwai Detwak Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Kwu Malakal Datin Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwu, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golban, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Ukomo and Tunga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

(c) *Nyureth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwayireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyureth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 614 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The ororo are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the ororo always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the ororo. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The bang *reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the bang *reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 782 567 675

The bang *reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the bang *reth* clan and, as an indication of the responsibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer bwora, "my grand-daughter". 565 614 609 644

The bang *reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become bang 565 644 614

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Cole

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The *cole* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *cole* clans like the *bearreth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *bearreth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally hunting this rule over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dong pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

		C.I.	I.I.	L. (cm)
"P" Gare Dyn.	(12)	72.2	66.7	178.6
Lack "	(22)	71.1	66.4	178.0

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This is further and clearly illustrated from the measurements taken only on the Gale I say reason Skilluh other than the members of the royal family and the Gare members:

"P" Gare Dyn.	(6)	71.3	65.2	178.2
Lack "	(12)	71.7	65.8	178.5

Here the differences are even more clearly than those in table "P" in which royal members are included. This means, that the royal members have got, as to say, a compensating effect on the indices and further it means that the royal members have different anthropometric qualities. This is shown in table "P".

	C.I.	I.I.	L. (cm)
Royals (11)	72.0	65.0	178.5
Gale (23)	70.5	67.2	178.5

Also there is a tendency among the royal family members to differentiate physically, in earth and earth. This may be seen clearly in table "P".

Gare (6)	71.1	65.0	178.7
Lack (5)	70.5	65.9	178.0

The same indices for the 6 women were

"P"			
Gale(5)	72.1	66.1	162.0
Royal (1)	72.00	65.1	165.7

But it also on the differences between measures and indices, though the number of samples is not sufficient to stand by itself. In depend here on the results of the 34 not measured to state that differences of physical character occurs also among Skilluh women.

In turn all some notes on the accompanying tables, to say up for the time being, a hundred conclusions leading to alternative of our anthropometric studies on the Skilluh and related tribes are undertaken in the future.

1. The difference in the Rawl index in table "P" may be attributed to difference in the points of measurement between Brahmanic Religious and so, whose Religious has taken his samples from a certain area in the Skilluh-land. If this happens to be the case, it is most probable that the majority of the samples were taken from members indebtedness to general, and the statistics of Tamil and Malaylang specifically, because my samples in this area also the highest nasal indices recorded as shown in table "P" below.

2. The considerable difference between earth and earth, shown in tables "P" and "P", are a matter of the first degree of importance. This is the first time, as far as I know, that this difference has been brought to light, and the hypothesis is not a self-contained social action, but is connected by Skilluh sociology in which Earth and Earth which is based on caste where as the political units and in certain there as the religious units.

9.Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of class:

(i) The *dwonit*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *dwonit* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *dwonit*, *ororo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dwonit*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theocratically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of [illegible]. This was after a very severe epidemic in [illegible] and it may be asserted that they had lost at least [illegible] per cent. of their cattle. A human census, accurate at any rate within [illegible] per cent., gives a population figure of [illegible]. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between [illegible] and [illegible]. Cf. Nuer where higher ratio given is [illegible] and the lowest [illegible].

[2] *Ororo*: Literally "descendants of", prefixing the name of the clan. "Ororo Okelo"—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhum*,[1] 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[2] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kindred group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *ryo ne dhum*, 'the girl in place of the man';[3] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e nam*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried, a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, where homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relate the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services,

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109-10. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born to such circumstances are known as *ahiir ed ahiir* (literally 'to and which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer that has taken the *ryo* girl in return for his services will use in the negotiations for peace, the *reth* (the 'bull calf of blood') and *ryo* (the 'girl in place of the man'), besides two cows which he contributes at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these cattle

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Orero*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Orero*, are usually treated with a certain outward deference by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[19]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Orero*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

566 The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country. 614 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristocracy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes 644 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk [625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

559 Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are 566 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*), 614 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nydreth* 644 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

19. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[14] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[14] into the charge of some reputable *Collo chief*[14] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

14. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *hareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will inherit no lineage.

15. *pith* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *hareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE OBORO.

565 *Oboro* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiwek* who ruled the Shilluk country from Detlim in about 1850.

18. *e.g.*, *Amarajuok*.

19. *Tiak mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Orero*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of cutting branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[10] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Orero*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[11] which is often used to describe the *Orero*.

The *Orero* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chieftship of Tonga. For the purposes of

10. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Orero* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages of one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Orero* will evasively which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either ignorant or vague about his ancestry.

11. *Seng kolli yi gro.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 614 644 [643] the rules of exogamy the *Ovoo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwar Rak* as well as with any *Collo* clan other than their own. The *Rak* always has some *Ovoo* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[20] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[21] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[22] are avowedly accretions, others[23] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 644 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as *Bang Rak*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the [702] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times [738] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary [644] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Rak*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Rak's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Rak*, which is [652] of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

20. *e.g.*, *Kwar Abugo*, *Kwar Wadi*, *Kwar Nyilang* and *Kwar Ojal*.
21. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jur*, *Kwar Ochoo* and *Kwar Ojal*.
22. *e.g.*, *Kwar Jang* (who were originally Dinka).
23. *e.g.*, *Kwar Gwan* (of Ogak).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwar*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my grandchild) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 644 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently [614] beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by [554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, [622] are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyibool. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokeith the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abedok who had previously ruled after the death of Bum and had resigned to make way for Dhokeith. Tugo had been living at Atbokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abedhok. Abedhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abedhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Collinh, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence. 181 181 648 [152]

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly. 576 861 [516 276]

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *bits kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kwaajwak* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Orero* it is *Nyagul* and for some reason for the *Jwang* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1] 576 195

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth* or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such 195 565 [554] 614 644

1. *Kaiyo* means "oldest born," *Nyagul* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "one."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Jsoh* (you have been brought
64 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Rtih* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Rtih* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Rtih* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yari nen*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
848] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debale*, founded by [173] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Orow* from the *Kwar Rak*, 565 was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhak*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amelak*[1] who holds the *Law Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debale* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Law Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [128] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment 648 must be confirmed by the *Rak*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debale* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debale* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debale*, sprang the hamlets in *Yow* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhak Alel*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* contains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debale*. In the case of *Pa Mayak*, *Okwaw* the son is

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1. *Jago Amelak* is now dead.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Lusk. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is the village or *ber*.[a]

The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of class.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[b] is chosen.

(ii) The Ometo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

a. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement"; *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.
b. The word reth has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk word throughout.
For Notes see pp. 13 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan 565 614 [644]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwa*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 644

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth's* daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect. 565 614 644 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the most permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new reth, is a very cautious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [179]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Cole, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Cole together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the reth, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clan" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *ryiereth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Cole are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [64 64]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Faloja about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Cole. Kwareth, who are descended from some of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

26: Pumphrey G-S (1914-1917)1917
F323 Shilluk F323

SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., Kwar Reth) and "Shilluk" (Shil., Collo). Kwar Reth includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ocwa," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Ukwa, who, in about 1500, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country.

Within the Kwar Reth there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyimth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyimth* or *Nyimpith*, for the son of a *Nyimth*. All other members of the Kwar Reth are entitled *Kwar Nyimth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyimth*. All Kwar Reth should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wau*.

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Fung (Fung clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the Collo. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the Kwar Reth.

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the Kwar Reth but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyimth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain actions have to be borne carefully in mind.

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never eat smoked. When not more specifically

Cp. 319]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fatiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers fanned on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fatinda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been unwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Gwere[11] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as memento. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white drapery with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[11] Gwere. This clan seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., N 10, 21, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwere». According to Fatiti, they were the sons of Odok son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Dowat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Dowat came to his own, and he then took from those others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Dowat's time no one has become an Gwere although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Ret; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Gwere.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGIN

101 The reader will by this be anxious to know something of the people who inhabit this promised land, the people whom up to this I have spoken of as the Shilluk. That is the name by which they are known as a tribe both among themselves and by others. At present the tribe numbers about [161] 120,000.

142 The Shilluk are for the most part tall and lean in appearance, taller in general than the average, though the mean height of six feet attributed to them by some writers is something of an exaggeration. In features and colour they vary very much, ranging from the squat, ebony-black face with beetling brows, flat broad nose and thick lips to the long-headed aristocratic type, light in colour, with high cheek bones, long straight nose and thin lips. An almost universal 304 custom among them is to tattoo the brows so that the flesh is raised to form, as it were, a row of beads running from temple to temple. This practice of cicatrization often finds expression too in the pricking out on back, breast or arms [532] of elaborate designs in the shape of a scorpion, a fish or a lemon. The custom of knocking out the lower incisor teeth of children is still frequently practised, often, strangely enough, at the wish of the child himself, or herself, for girls also submit to the ordeal. At one time it seems to have been [25] obligatory for the children of commoners, but it is no longer so. The teeth are extracted when the child is about eleven or twelve years old, and many a pleasant-looking face is spoiled by this crude dentistry. Most native Africans have beauti- [142] fully white teeth, and it seems a pity that a child should be thus mutilated, and that a beaming smile instead of revealing two rows of lovely teeth should expose an ugly gap in the lower jaw.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dimo.
131 They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
361 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and found a foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognized as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304] Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
[301] wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
[292] according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such. 565 644 [857]

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required. 565 173 [693] [687]

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this 565 563

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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enclosure surrounded by a reed fence which overlaps on the side facing the central space, leaving a narrow entrance about two feet long. This is so narrow that one has to turn sideways to get through it. The narrowness of this passage and the smallness of the doorway of each house are a means of defence against possible aggressors. No intruder could rush into the small compound and take those inside by surprise. As an additional protection the passage is blocked at night with thorn branches, which serve the purpose of a barbed-wire entanglement. 351

A chief or a nyiweth may have three or four huts in his enclosure. The huts are made with walls of well-puddled cotton-soil mud about five feet in height, surmounted by a high conical thatched roof. The floor is often a little below ground level with a semi-circular step sometimes decorated with an inset pattern of mother-of-pearl, coloured glass, or fragments of pottery at the threshold. One of the two huts is used as the living and sleeping room, the other for cooking and the storing of the grain supply. The fence which encloses the homestead is about eight feet high and is constructed of millet stalks closely fastened together; it is set close to the walls of the houses. On the outside it is strengthened by cross-ties of stalks bound together, and the number of these cross-ties is regulated by strict custom: an ordinary Colo may have three or four, a chief or prince up to six, and only the fences around the king's enclosure have eight. 342 [565] [531] [343] 351 [565]

The largest building in the village is the communal cattle byre which is built like an ordinary hut, but about thirty feet in diameter. The high pitched roof, because of its great span, is very heavy and has to be supported by strong branches of trees based solidly on the floor and wedged tightly against the slope of the roof. In an open space near the byre thirty or forty stakes are driven into the ground, standing perhaps a foot above it; at first sight these might give one the impression that the villagers indulge in the simple pleasure of a game of quoits in the cool of the evening when the day's work is done, but they are for the much 343 [233]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the
[765] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in,
[536] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is ac-
[538] companied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and
[777] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of
768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as
428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere-
[565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the *hawak* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *hawak* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

The contents of the *hango* vary, but they always include certain sacred spears, called *alude*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognised as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1921 wrongly described as elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alude*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies, but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

D. Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or carries with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ajgo* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. Twinship is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a branch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the crops of which they try to acquire cattle. — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all members of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves captured before the present regime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from further up the Nile. They were captured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merissa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious notions are connected with it, I do not know.

3:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F323 Sheldon F323

643

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 143; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Sandeiner and Dr. Gillen her name is not mentioned. [Sa.]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [Ga.]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, beans, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [Ga.]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have no unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 691 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict becomes the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ngai ngai* ("sons of sinner") or *ndjoy*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *ndjoy*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *ndjoy* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *ndjoy* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *ndjoy*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

(a) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyareth*. 565
(b) *Kwanyareth* - The grandson of a *Nyareth*. 619
694

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth's* wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyareth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some commoner settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyareth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement.

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house.

The Orure

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *orure* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *orure* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *orure*.

The Bang Reth

The bang *reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shilluk land, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth's* retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the bang *reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

The bang *reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the bang *reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'.

The bang *reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyareth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become bang

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

[illegible] year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *dwonit*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *dwonit* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

There are no real caste distinctions between *dwonit*, *ororo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dwonit*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate to any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 100,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·5 and the lowest 1:1·5.

[2] *Kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*Kwo Okelo*'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

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There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes:

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of death, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance.

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Pakur, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pakur and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the cattle and cattle away from the village, even the shadow of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that:

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the culprit became the slave of the King, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *rpa wed* ('man of crime') or *ashwa* ('slaves' of the Royal Household).

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances.

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Dwaci and Tiwuru already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows:

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the settlers of Dwaci and Tiwuru on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and 2nd. He then went to Tiwuru where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Tiwuru companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and horns were in full blast and everyone in a much sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. 160.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Rak*.

Relations between a *Rak* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Rak* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Rak* died. The *Rak's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the house be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Rak's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Rak Kwalkker*" or "*Bang Rak Nyakwar*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Rak*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Rak* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Rak* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Raks* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Rak* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Rak* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Raks*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Rak* "A" or *Bang Rak* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Rak* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Nyirak* was planted out the *Rak* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyirak* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindedness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would lessen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

Succession.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

they perform in connection with the reth. They are a distinct class 565 619 [649]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwe*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the reth, his wives or wives of the past reths, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who undertook to serve the reth by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 619 649

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the reth's daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous reths are treated with special respect. 565 619 649 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

29: Thomson G-S (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK (1945)

By W. F. G. Thomson.

These notes are intended to amplify the article "The Death of a *Reth* of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor" by Mr. P. P. Howell and myself published in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXVII, 1946. 121

No attempt is made to describe the ceremonies in full. The general pattern followed that of 1944 and these notes are chiefly concerned with the differences observed on this occasion, and the reasons given by the Shilluk for these differences. It was interesting to observe that in several cases where points of ceremonial differed, the procedure reverted to that of January 1918 described by Munro in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I, 1918.

The disposal of the Body and Soul of Reth Anei.

The course of events was as follows :—

Reth Anei Kur died on November 10th 1945. He had been ill for some days, apparently from an attack of relapsing fever, which was prevalent among the Shilluk at the time; he was known to have a bad heart, and had in fact had a heart attack some months previously in Malakal hospital. A Shilluk medical assistant, present at Fashoda at the time of the *reth's* death, reported that he died in his arms of heart failure. This is as good evidence as we are likely to obtain that *reth* Anei died a natural death. 693

I was invited, as in 1943, to pay my last respects to the corpse. This I did on November 11th, and the scene was similar to that of 1943, but simpler. The corpse was fanned by sisters of the *reth*, and his wives were not in the house with the corpse. Several were observed outside. The reed mats were not so elaborate as in 1943 and there were no cloth curtains. 766

The corpse was not immediately buried, as happened in 1943, but was taken on the night of 11.11.45 to a small hamlet belonging to the village of Fadwal, (the village of the Bang Reth Kur — slaves of *reth* Kur, the father of Anei) some three quarters of a mile from Fashoda, and sealed up in a hut. These proceedings were naturally secret, and I was not invited to enquire into details. This method of disposing of the corpse was a reversion to tradition: there is no evidence that a [567]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

69 Amajok married Nyagolding for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagolding gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Othou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger *wad* Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Aciethgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Aciethgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhok remo*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk
[613] say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[571] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts
[178] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1935, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to
586 divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland,' and Shilluk refer to *podh rollo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ring* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941, FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

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to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) [264] sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-[562] one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
796 *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly
782 consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest
782 shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December,
796 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete :—

[114] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

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517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

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On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok (*jwɔ̀k*) or God; 2. Nyikang (*Ńɪ́kàŋ*), the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo (*àjwɔ̀gɔ́*), the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok (*jwɔ̀k*) is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lɔ̄mɔ* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kɔɔchɔ* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 762 [177] [793]

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

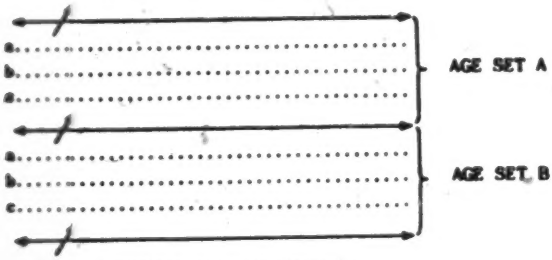
*539 *wu kgń? wộ kò: wa kgla fōte Chółò! Kine: wích apọńọ? Kine: wa chaka ńeau wọ byél. Kine: bụ́h, a ḡọ́ wun yi kgch? E ko: kgu hwak! Ka wọ kgla hwak, ka ońwọk kḡl, ka nḡk, ká châm yi wọ́n; ka chak kḡl, ka wọ châmò, ka ńygń a kgle wọn, ńeau ki byel. Ka wọ bḡnọ, ka kgti yi yāt, ka wọ bḡnọ, ka ygi mákè yi pàr, ka ygi mudọ, ka wọ kwāńọ wọk; a bḡnà, a tḡńa Ńebḡdò, a bḡna pach, a bḡna Peńidwai; kḡch kḡch!*

We travelled to *Tonga* and from there came into the Nuer-country; we were travelling on some river, whose name is *Ńeygrọ*. We came to Teryau, there we landed; we roasted fish. We went and turned to the home of the king, whose name was *Pędō*. We turned towards the cow-house. He asked us, "You Shilluk children, where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the Shilluk-country." He asked, "What for?" We replied, "We want to buy dura." He said, "Why, are you suffering ("dying") from hunger?" Then he said, [574] "Go into the cow-house!"[1] So we went into the cow-house. A ram was brought and killed, and was eaten by us; and milk was brought, and we ate. Then we brought forth money to buy dura. (After we had bought it and brought it into our boats) we went into the boats and returned home. But one boat was seized by a hippo, it sank, and we swam to the bank. So I came home turning towards *Ńebḡdọ*, I came home to *Peńidwai*; the famine was very great.

[1] the cow house serves as a residence for guests.

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 'head', 'neck' and 'middle'. 561

Elders in Retirement



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the *ngol* or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each sits in a special place and sings its own song. [764 504]

Age sets emphasize the solidarity of the settlement by organising the generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear 182 561 621

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] [Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
●574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walh Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
[114 171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walh Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sou beside him, the escort chants

643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *bangreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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the place very inviting, or, if one must enter, tempt one to 343
linger. One is happy to conclude's one's business and escape
to the comfort of the hut opposite.

This is the living and sleeping hut, and is usually much 342
more clean and tidy than the other. The hard earth floor is [356]
neatly smoothed over with mud and carefully swept. Several
cow hides hang on the walls or rest against them, and one of 352
these is placed for the visitor to sit upon crosslegged, or a [516]
small platform made of light ambac wood may be brought
forward for his accommodation. Lying against the wall is 411
also the tall war shield of toughened hippopotamus hide [237]
belonging to the master of the house and his two spears, one
his fighting spear, seven feet in length with a broad, smooth,
highly polished, leaf-shaped blade on a straight, slender shaft
of brown wood; the other his fishing spear, a foot shorter in [227]
length and with a long, narrow, triangular blade armed with
ugly, serrated barbs. Inside the hut we may find several 516
men; some sit in the neat way the Shilluk have with one foot
tucked beneath them, a posture impossible for a stiff-jointed
European, but one which they can maintain for long periods
without the slightest discomfort. The host is dispensing beer 273
to his guests from a large pot placed in the centre of the 574
floor, and a generous bowl, holding about a quart, will be
offered to you. This beer is made from fermented millet, and
looks, and tastes, rather like cold cocoa. Courtesy demands
that you take some, so you sip a little slowly, balance the
bowl in your lap for a while, take another small drink and
hand the bowl to your neighbour who finishes it off with
avidity. You linger over a cigarette while the others pass 276
round a pipe filled with rank, home-grown tobacco, or, if 574
this is scarce, with charcoal. A Shilluk pipe has a large bowl
made of clay, fire baked, fancifully carved and picked out [531]
in red and white and black; into this is fitted a wooden stem,
two feet long and an inch in diameter, with a bulbous
mouthpiece made from the stem of a gourd. With a com-
plete disregard for hygiene a member of the party takes the
pipe from the man next to him, puts it to his mouth, sucks
vigorously for a few moments, his cheeks going in and out

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 796 and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a [778] basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty [614] it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of [533] songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacu- [574] ated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in [533] his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they [574] rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary [131] fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [431]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] 574 [854]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many [535] village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should 606
be try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously 587
avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance.

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a 606
man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would [576] be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations.

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his "nakedness".

The wife's brother's wife is called *ora* and treated with the respect 606
due to a mother-in-law. How far she is regarded as a potential
mother-in-law it would be difficult to say; there would be no objection 607
to marrying her daughter if the first wife died childless, but it did not appear to be customary. When told that among another people (the Ba Thonga) if a wife died childless the widower might claim his wife's brother's wife, or take her daughter in her stead, the custom was approved, though foreign to the Shilluk usage.[1]

Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage, 606

[1] Classing the wife's brother's wife with the mother-in-law is common in the Sudan: we found no reason for this, but think that given by the Nuer to Professor Evans-Pritchard may probably hold for other tribes (see p. 219). Should the wife's mother die, then her status may be held by the wife's brother's wife.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ̱ jwɔ̱k* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yi lɛ̱l jwɔ̱k* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi nɛ̱ts jwɔ̱k* "you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

[761]

[576]

[753]

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114]

[In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG, AND THE ORIGION OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɡɛ̱ɔ̱ aduk*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɛ̱lɛ̱; Kɛ̱lɛ̱* begat *Omarɛ̱*, who begat *Wat Mɛ̱l* ("son of *Mɛ̱l*"); *Wat Mɛ̱l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiɛ̱l, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Ñakɛ̱ɛ̱* and *Oiwɛ̱t*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Ongi*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Bunɛ̱*. Okwa married

*193 *ñāch* back: behind: *ñāch jal gni* behind this man;
būtǫ side: beside: *būte wǫt* beside the house;
yech belly: in: *yey pi* in water;
dygr, often shortened into *di*, middle: amidst, in, *di nam* in the water.
ṭa the base, the lower part: under, below: *ṭa yaṭ* under the tree.

Verbs:

witǫ to reach: *witǫ awa a ba bi* reaching yesterday he did not come: until y . . .
gitǫ to reach: *gitǫ ḏukī* till to-morrow.

Particles which cannot traced back to nouns or verbs:

kī may have very different meanings; its original meaning is: with; *kī nam* with whom; *kī tǫā* with a spear;
yī towards, by: *a nek yī jal an* he was killed by this man; *kgī yī jal dugā* go to the master; *yī* is connected with personal pronouns as follows: *ya* to me, *yī* to you, *yē* to him, *yī wgn*, *yī wun*, *yī gga*.

Salutations.

576 Some of the most used forms of salutations are given here. A. is the villager, B. the stranger.

Instead of our knocking the door, the Shilluks, before entering a courtyard, say: *yā nān* I am waiting (may I come in?) A. answers: *bi* come! If the salutation is going on in the open place of the village, as is usual, this phrase is not said.

A. *yī bi* you have come?
B. *yá bì* I have come, or: *yá nāt*.
A. *yī kīl juǫk* you have brought God.
B. *yī mīṭī juǫk* you have held fast God.
A. *yī nīn* did you sleep (well)?
B. *yá nīn* I slept (well).
A. *yī kwai* (meaning not known).
B. *á, yá bì*.
A. *wotǫnǫ nāt* are the little ones well (existing)?
B. *Nāt* they are well.
A. *tygā gīl ūn* your women (are well)?
B. *Nāt* they are well.
A. *Tīrǫ bīdi yau?* Are the people well?
B. *Nat* they are. — These enquiries after the well-being of the people in the house can be extended at will, to grandparents, grandchildren, cousins etc. On leaving:
B. says: *yá kgīlǫ fach* I am going home.
A. *kīṭ* go! or: *kgīli juǫk* go with God!

*539 *Kine: à, dǭch, kɛ̱ɩ, kɔ̱lú jwɔ̱k! Ka gɛ̱ bɛ̱̄nɔ. Ka gɛ̱ wanɛ fōtɛ gɛn, ka būl gǭch, ka tɛ̱̄rɔ chɔ̱̄nɔ kí bùl. Ka gɛ̱ lɔ̱̄gɔ: wuna yik tɛ̱̄rɔ, ê, wɔ́ dúɔ̀k, dɛ̱ bɛ̱̄t pen mɔ̱̄ɩ.*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyɔ̱k-antelope. And all
224 the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
643 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyɔ̱k-antelope, which belongs
651 to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "Whe have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?" They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big
●[576] steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
[644] it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now!)". The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay!)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people; "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

28. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̱ɩ tɛ̱̄rɔ bɛ̱ ùwɔ̱t ki yat, yɛ̱tɛ kwèr, ka tɛ̱̄rɔ ùùdɔ̀, ka yat kɔ̱̄l, ká tɛ̱̄rɔ̀ bɛ̱̄nɔ̀, ka tɛ̱̄rɔ wanɛ́ fach. Ka jāgɔ chwɔ́l, ka yat tyɛ̱r ká è nɛ̱̄nɔ, ka e kapɔ mɛ̀, ka e ko: kwań yɛ̱ɩ ak! Ka kwáń, ka e ko: mɔ̱k an ba mɔ̱k rɛ̱ɩ, ka mɔ̱k an tyɛ̱ń, ka gɛ̱ kwóch, ka gɛ̱ bɛ̱̄nɔ gin keau Bachōdɔ.*

[1] The dyɛ̱k-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Sub- 181
ordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the
Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. 181
This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and 648
apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have
now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it [152]
seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of
temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think
that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This 576
is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail 861
within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When
four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and
eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and
distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless
it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners [516
are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn 276]
backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view
is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their
general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of 576
punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word 195
thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the
speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness
of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born").
For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is
Nyagol and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* 195
must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their 565
names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be [554]
made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*,
or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs 614
of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such 644

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright
●576 whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not [782] 778 576 788 [793]

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang hecdi tho wadi nini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

[783] On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

[411 184] [576] [631]

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[21]

[428]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

643 782 [578]

[21] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [576 554]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [576] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 648

[p. 319]

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do
643 not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from
648 or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly
the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction
[576] produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is
that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation
to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far
as you are concerned.

195 The *Reth's* head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is
643 his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When
he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*).
When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms
used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of
things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes.
An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the
objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be
643 used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is any-
648 thing comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the
purpose of this note (which is serious).

539 Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry
outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to
meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* [576]
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a [753]
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the [731]
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. [782]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 lying right across the entrance. It was poor Rachael who
*797 had been stretched out across the threshold where anyone entering the hut could not fail to step on or fall over her. Sitting against the wall opposite the entrance were four
[521] ancient-looking hags who were simply passing the time away in gossip whilst waiting for the old woman to die. When I made my undignified entrance, one of the unlovely quartette, Rachael's daughter, said, 'Get up, Rachael. Here's the Father and he has brought you a burying cloth.' Said I, 'I haven't brought a burying cloth.' Chorus from the four beauties: 'He hasn't brought a cloth, Rachael; don't get up.' To me, 'What have you brought?' 'I have come to give her a blessing.' 'Oh! He's come to give you a blessing, Rachael; don't get up.' At this point poor Rachael dimly understood that someone had come to give her something, so she asked me to put it in her hand and not let the others get it.

I thought that I had better get on with the good work, and blessing the hut and Rachael with holy water, I began to recite the Litany of the Dying. Half-way through, there was an interruption from the daughter: '*Jal duong*'—a
[514] pause whilst she spits, across Rachael and through the doorway; a good ten feet.

Myself: 'What?'

Daughter: '*Yi bi.*'

• [576] This normal Shilluk greeting often comes, not when first meeting a person, but halfway through the conversation or visit. I said something more than my prayers, while the four resumed their gossip and spitting.

Daughter: '*Jal duong, Jal duong.*'

Myself: 'All ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Shut up.'

Daughter: 'O-oh! He says: "Shut up," and I was going to tell him that I went to the Sister to tell her that my mother was dying and to ask for a cloth to bury her in.'

At length, without further interruption I finished the prayers for the Dying, and gave poor Rachael one final blessing and prepared to depart. The four beldams followed me out of the hut, and the following conversation resulted:

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
[692] to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
● 577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ogo*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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In matters of money they are often surprisingly honest. Money loans are usually repaid punctiliously and without prompting. On one occasion there was great difficulty in paying out correctly a sum of about £E. 80 to workers for the Egyptian Irrigation Department owing to the names having been written down in Arabic by a writer unfamiliar with Shilluk names. After the main part had been eventually distributed through the District Commissioner's office there remained some £E. 10 unpaid. Many Shilluk refused to accept from the Irrigation Department sums written against their names declaring that it was more than they had earned. This sounds unlikely but it happened nevertheless.

577

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and
[681] mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is
the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence
permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy
of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native
peoples of the country to administer their own territory
according to their age-long traditions and usages. And in-
deed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner
with only a handful of police to help him in administering
an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed
of the power of being in several places at once, can attend
personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually
come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious
criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[684] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an
individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these
cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the
African has a strong sense of justice and resents being
treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents
being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being
treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to
tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and
nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing
tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The
643 belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
669 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by
173 recent Shilluk history any more than the belief that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He [595]
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was 578
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 272. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and
233 boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of [578] another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

535 541 [Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the clans had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that soul-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manoeuvers were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and then the horn sounded the

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
578 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
593 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk
626 about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dāṇ lɩ́pè, ywódɛ́, ɛ́ bíɛ̀ wɔ̀k, ka kɛ̀l, ka chɩ́kì kɛ̀lɔ̀, ka ṅan ɛni e rɛ́ṅò, ka biɛ bɛ kwɔ̂p: yá nɛ́ka ḍāṇ a wɛr! Ká bùl gɔ̂ch, ka tɛ̄rɔ biɛ wɔ̀k, ka tyɛ̀ṅ a mɛn kɛ́tɛ bɛ yɛ́ké jam, gɛ kân. Ka tyɛ̀kɛ̀ bɛ̄nɔ, leṅ rɩ́t; ka fach yâk, gyɛn mâk, ka byɛl kɛ̂l. Ka tɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ, ḍɔk a kɛ̂l fōtɛ Jɛṅ. Ka ṅi ɩ́ ɩ́ ḍɔk leṅe rɩ́t, ká ḍɔ̀k dùɔ̀k. Ka ḍɔk aryɛu gɔ́ṅ yi jāgɔ, ka mūje rɩ́t, ka rɩ́t e wɛ̀rɔ̀, ká è kò: kɛ́t, chɔ̀l! Ka tɛ̄rɔ chùdɔ̀, ka mɛn e kānɔ ḍeaṅ, ka mɛn e kānɔ ḍeaṅ, ka ḍɔk e tûmɔ̀, ga pyārɔ. Ka chwɔk wûr, ka e bɛ̄nɔ, ka biɛ yi jāgɔ, kɩ́ne: kwɔ́p bɛ̀dà dì? Kɩ́ne: kwɔf á ṭùm. Ka ḍɔk kɛ̂l, ka gɛ ṭyɛ́r, ka gɛ mūjɔ kɩ dyɛk, mɔk kwache tyɛ̀ṅ rɩ́t. Ka tyɛ̀ṅ rɩ́t yiɛ̀ṅò, kɩ́ne: ḍāṇ rach! Ka nɛ̂kɛ̀ kɩ ḍeaṅ mɛ̄kɔ, ka ḍɔk kɛ̂l, ka tyɛ̀ṅ rɩ́t e bɛ̄nɔ, kɛ́ta Fashōdɔ kɩ tyɛ̀ṅ ḍāṇ, tyɛ̀ṅ ḍāṇɔ ṭōtɛ ḍɔk abich. Ka rɩ́t kɛ̂lɔ ḍɔk abich, wɛ́t akyɛl ywɔk ṅál ɛ́ní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy. 171 682

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature. 682 114

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says: [621] 561 701

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *bang*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947: 701 578 624

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 57.
[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.
[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1954 (unpublished).

701 have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself
578 is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is
624 appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bany*, like the *ryireth*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

578 On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the
701 matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing
[643] singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

578 I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action
643 against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

175 There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from
628 Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace cere-
[643] mony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been
628 mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
693 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person
754 boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

5718 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
754 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances [684] if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the [848] dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of [578] acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. 613 Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer 614 to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. 621 In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally 36 nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social 484 cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due [102] to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has [578] been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

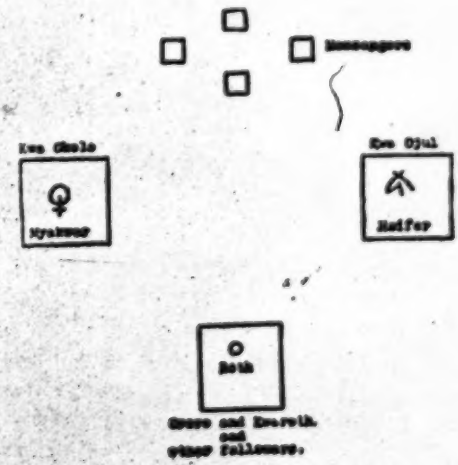
Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 654
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move far. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal. 578 The argument arose over the privilege of sowing cowry shells in the 614 *reth's* path on his journey to Fashoda. Kwa Mal maintained that 643 it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yoleiker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *nyireth* Nyawelo, the eldest son of the late *reth*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sowing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the 578 plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went. 643 Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of Nyikang, which should be carried before the *reth* (Note 10), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *reth*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojul on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *reth's* messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *reth* himself :—

643



Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fashwore at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Palo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *hengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwey*, sacred objects, in particular the ambush seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambush seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be hemo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established customs if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorkiher, the chief of Got Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reik's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorkiher, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and tinular chief of Got Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reik* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reik*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireik* Abyei Anyong of Derwek, placed a head on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reik* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

[611 164] [576] [631]

Finally the *reik* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *ooo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reik* which were his just due.*

[828]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reik* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reik* Kur *wad* Fadul, the thirty-second *reik* of the Shilluk, was over.

643 782 [578]

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reik* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

628 raided in turn, his father speared to death and his brother so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards in Malakal hospital. The fact that one of the dead was the chief minister of the king did not deter the attackers from taking his life in retribution for the outrage they considered done to their family. In Detwok, over thirty miles away, we felt the repercussions of this awful tragedy. One of the teachers was a relative of the first aggressor, and he went in fear of his life for weeks after the unhappy event, and despite my assurances that no one would dare raid the mission, he insisted on carrying his spears around with him, even to the schoolroom and the chapel. The affair took place during the school holidays, and the boys from Lul who attended the Central or Teachers' Training Schools at Detwok did not return for some weeks after the new term had started, refusing, until the culprits on both sides had been arrested and security had been restored, to leave the safety of their villages, lest they be ambushed on the road and killed.

628 578 Sometimes a feud develops between two villages originating perhaps in some trivial incident now completely forgotten in the passage of time, but the principle is always the same: some injustice, real or imaginary, was suffered by one individual at the hands of another and such a thing can never be permitted to go unrequited. Reprisals follow from one side and the other, and a bitter rivalry springs up between the respective villages of the original antagonists, trouble breaks out periodically resulting in a little bloodletting and a few cracked skulls on both sides, police are [689] called in to restore order and to whisk the offenders off to prison, the village responsible for the breach of the peace is fined a number of cattle and both sides settle down to an uneasy truce until the next outbreak.

Such an antagonism exists between Detwok and its neighbour Pabiu. The quarrel originated over half a century ago when one village or the other—I could never discover which—destroyed or damaged or in some way desecrated the war drum of the other. The bitterness between the two villages grew with the passage of the years and there were

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all.

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out.

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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578 he had better restrain his young men before something
628 happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Pabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

578 Poor Detwok! Poor Pabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only
628 wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice',
648 as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and [578] acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the [692] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 581 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tiang wogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*wogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 23.

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nian ajur*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [837] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [848]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 191 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim
836 of blackmail. The *nyiroth* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *nyiroth* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *nyiroth* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual
644 intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard
684 Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal
836 clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between
671 offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *nyirths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *nyiroth* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwaroth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the
[643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpreta-
[121] tion of his legal functions.

Conclusion

171 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found
58 both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *nuot* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. 582

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

8:Howell E-4 8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *oksijo* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *oksijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
182 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nian
ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox.
Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift fur Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his 593 initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

428 If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya pjñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tijñ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

291 The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tinē atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tiang mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

only in the one case already described does he receive anything; *i.e.*, when he claims from the bride wealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments.[33] 583

ORA.

A man will describe as *Ora* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ora* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various sex taboos such as *dwalo* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ora* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife. 607

Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special reverence[34] to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognised necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid ten head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, so to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of five head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or five sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the 581 607 607

33. An example may clarify this. X has been married by A who has paid 6 head of cattle only. Y is the brother of X. X has, by A, a daughter, Z, who is married by P. The bride wealth paid by P all goes to A, but A must pay 4 head of cattle to Y, because these are due in arrears to Y from the marriage of X. Y is of course the maternal uncle of Z.

34. W'nav.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage
[608] of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from
[669] Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

• • •

• 581 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly
583 concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated
584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

583 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's
[578] family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the
[592] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle,
[587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism
• 681 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

many?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*arunyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwom*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa resh* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa resh* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heany writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to
643 mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
82] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Henry informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
586] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
566 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582 are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting
] for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *ayiwak*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[834 Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children.
] Mr. Henry informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwarwak*

[1] Mr. Henry considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, [563] while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

601 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This [582] distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwure*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wu* and the *uwu*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to 584 the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the [476] husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [561] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four 684 cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time
582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except [595]
his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. 582

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrasing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 [727 735] [567 672]

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction an paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has commited adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann wicows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribe groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XIV, p.29.

582 could marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working
613 of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each
836 lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary *ora* relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is *ora* in the second degree. B, C and D may have an *ora* relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an *ora* relationship between the two
[753] lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwalo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

601 Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

771 There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

776 The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups al-
[171] though beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang.
[782] The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*padi*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*par*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *par*: pl. *nyer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized by the man offering the woman's *gat*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhol*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng meglo* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*meglo thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0.95; Nuer 1:1.3 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii, 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 23.

583 [17] [686] of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.

Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstand- [672] ing from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create [776] reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one [592] domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally 592 expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [597] and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [838] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called "active divorce", when both parties are still living, and "dissolution of legal union", which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 1926 meeting of the Shilluk Council (1925) recorded: "Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(a) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(b) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(c) Smoking her in a closed up house.
(d) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

"The Government does not object to the lawful punishment of a woman or a girl giving her non-mobile [illegible] with the blade of his hand, or a light whip, but flogging with a rick is also forbidden." [172] 648 681

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two.

Sexual Offences Concerning Female spiritis

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *spirit*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied.

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nimr* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been strictly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *spiritis* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *spiritis* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country.

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *spiritis*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *spiritis* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds.

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *spiritis* who connect with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its directions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *spirit* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwar*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *spirit* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *spirit*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*.

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the loss of the

[1] *Nyiroth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 226.

106 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[36] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *dwerik*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from
[559] commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *dwerik* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[561] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to
[792 795] serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically here.

[564 562] There are no real caste distinctions between *dwerik*, *ororo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dwerik*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[564] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
771 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against rinderpest gives a figure of 23,000. This was after a very serious epidemic in 1948 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their cattle. A human census, accurate to any one within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·5 and the lowest 1:0·6.

[2] *Ororo*: Literally "descendants of", prefixing the name of the clan, "Ororo Ghaki"—the descendants of Ghaki—and so on.

[3] Ghost now attendant at the many shrines of Nyikang.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

that the most definite courses may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Mumo and Tong, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *pak*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *Reech* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *Reng reth* living in close association with *Reech* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*, George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak neighbors, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Dalberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pak*. It turns shortly and relatively soon after I had outlined what, working on article on this subject to very *pak* simply means "home" or "homeland" and Shilluk refer to *pak* rather "Shilluk-land". The word itself has the same relativity as the Maori word *whenua* and the Dinka word *ater*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and government of factors and factors characteristic of any expansionary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, predisposes very great change. The limitations of high ground, with their [illegible] boundaries, together with [illegible] seasonal economic interests, tend to stabilize [illegible] societies.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pak*. Where we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Dinka, Dodoth).

[6] Lineages of the *Reech* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *agwith* (son of a *reth*), or *nyawoth* (grandson of a *reth* who founded shrine. Thus *Reech Fadan*, *Nyagwoth Adong*, etc. Similarly, *Reng reth* are distinguished as *Reng reth Fadan*, *Reng agwith Adong*, etc.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 F323 Shilluk F323

are hazy as to the powers which animate the different clowns, but they 754
have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims.

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as 754
the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family 527
may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time.

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, 522
and while the man affected in this manner is not desirable as a husband, 754
yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry [543]
for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the affected man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbors ignorant of their powers.

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive 754
the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power.

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon requires about it, and is told. However one 754
mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in 526
which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 582
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [586]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reik*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for bachelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reik's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyol dhak*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*bieng magke*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public.
The completion of the cattle payments (*kaey*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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since family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist. 586

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogko thiok*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopements which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopements are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can. 584 583 582

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the bride's [illegible] 584
already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tang* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

31. *Jal tang*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhay tang*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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607 husband will not speak to his *ere* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 The *ere* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of
613 practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach
835 of which is visited by *dwale* sickness. In what follows the word *par* (*or par*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *par ere* thus means a *par* which is *ere* to the speaker's *par*. Since the speaker's *par* will not all have married into one and the same *par* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram:—

581 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X,
835 Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ere* to A, A being reciprocally *ere* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X,
613 Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have
607 other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

[illegible] *par* [illegible] enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pars* which are *ere* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *par* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *par*[11]. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

11. For example it is the tendency of the *pwoths* of Fakwam to marry girls of Ashiburg.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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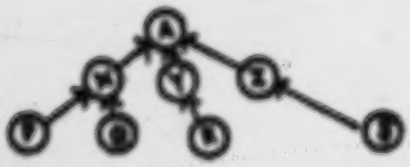
compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwale*. 582 835 613 607

Dwale[98]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as below, *ore* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *per* A as *myer man ore*,[99] that is to say *myer ore* of the *myer ore* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ore* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ore* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ore* of the second degree (*per man ore*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwale* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man having relations with a woman to whom he is related; but it seems that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *per ore* and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *per man ore* girl. This may require explanation. As already said 582 582 607 613 835

98. *Dwale* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dengue. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has endeared her in contravention of the taboo makes a propitiatory sacrifice by spitting a guard, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the guard in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwale*." 582 835

99. *Myer* is the plural of *per*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above) to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwale is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwale* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ol*,[*] or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognized as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

[*] Literally "substitute of the house."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kuor yar ciu dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kuor yar wiro a jur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kuor bando ciu dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kuor bando wiro a jur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kuor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
847 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kuor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are [illegible] claimed from five separate men. But sometimes when the [illegible] names are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.

[591] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men is on the average as high as twenty-eight extra marital relations are not uncommon.

[637] [584]

[591] Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a son.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan 565 614 [644]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwa*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 644

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. However the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth*'s daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect. 565 614 644 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him: «Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the «temporary hut» during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
[94] there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the «battle» was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

[778] «Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

«The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
[538] out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
[422] the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
[582] up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases.»

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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[114] [1] Seligman (p. 206) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 19th at the time of the mock fight [illegible] so it would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Henry writes that unless the king takes a

582 girl in compensatin for some great favour shown to her father
●583 he pays bride-weth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid y a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor wuld a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealt that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or ther relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence s do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593] woman is particulay reverential to her husband, nor would she take
[562] a beating with resned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head toeceive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty iforms us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated vth great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermdiary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment unil displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from e *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because nson of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's chilen are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month ofher pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants andattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protectin of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return tFashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a diffent village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cate that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (r she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for th selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the cief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence ogood grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recogzed as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence nd respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are [illegible] are not allowed to m[illegible]ot so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] for a woman of roya[illegible]arry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting marry a *ayiwak*, or th[illegible] birth to marry a commoner, while she could not
[836] Royal daughters m[illegible]e descendants of one, as this would be incestuous. Mr. Heasty informs [illegible]y have lovers, but must not bear children. [illegible]s that they may select whom they will, *kwareh*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers [illegible] is ambitious for his sons a[illegible] born in Fashoda they would [illegible] the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king to Shilluk villages in the [illegible] hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were [illegible] have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent [illegible] the way as are Shilluk women.

be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's 601
family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother [587] are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's [837] wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan [614] after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and [851] *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his [607] wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much 606
tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by 607
means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid 593
upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in 606
importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described [114] by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth [583] had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

606 (1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his "nakedness". Among [291] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of 606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that 835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *awa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *awa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *awa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

606 It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *awa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as 607 *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father 607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may 583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *ne* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth.

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *ania* of his wife. The wives of the *ania* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *ne* or *ania* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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The relations from the "in-law" category are equally important
604 from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's
605 parents *ewa*, but addresses them as though they were her own grand-
parents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything
to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but
there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his
mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure,
but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwara*, grandchild; she falls into the
category of wives of a classmate with whom sexual intercourse is
inadmissible, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed
between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a
man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses
terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own
relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with
the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested
as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated
602 in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ewa*; these are wives of
relatives, some, but not all, of whom are classmates (see p. 61).
These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives
of classmates, the *wo* and the *ewa*) with whom connection is permitted
during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited
after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so
583 long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship
584 can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested
in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter,
for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle
he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's
sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how
can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters?
583 A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own
602 sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour.
583 The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle
584 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is
paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately
607 distributed and may even play its part in another's marriage. Thus
a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable.
Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

Z:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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crown the bride's bereaved and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the lancing ground.
Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears
at the returning bridegroom; he dodges them and retaliates by
throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as
a souvenir. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the
bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her
people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Henry suggests that 604
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the wife
(father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in
her husband's homestead her wife accompanies her and initiates
her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent
together the wife comes early in the morning and washes the husband
and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated
on several mornings.

Mr. Henry describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 951
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' [349]
house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it [293]
to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and
grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer,
a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops a some gift,
which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at
the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Henry states is
a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment
of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families
are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law;
in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food
from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dhi nam, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more
may be paid if a man is very attached to his betrothed.

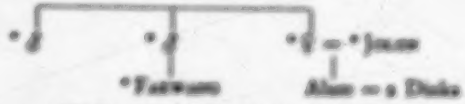
Dhi nam, the sheep of the marriage.

Lam nam, spears and other goods.

The *dhi nam* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them
all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

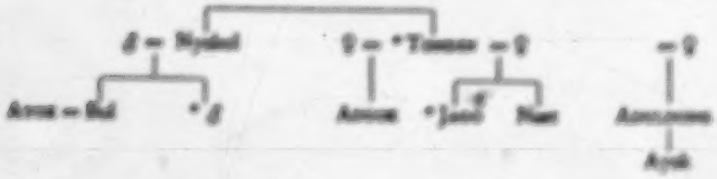
[1] Op. cit., pp. 2 sq.

583 Seventeen cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one Joken on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the *no* of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven Joken took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. Joken had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, ten went directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



*Indicates persons who received cattle.

The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (twin), were distributed as follows: two cows went to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's *no*) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's *ono*) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his sepo.



When Nan marries all his cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no *no*. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or keepen *no*, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the younger brother, Adurk (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his elder brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

It will be seen from these examples that though the term *no* can be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the *no* are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any *ono* of the mother.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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The *ifoi* *nuku* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*uncle*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uncles*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uncles* who are her classmates. 583

The *fono* *nuku* consists of four hens, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *fono* *nuku* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mokoha* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be delayed. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hens and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Tangiloi, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.* Such a case would probably be taken before the *vaka* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to send the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who controlled coconut disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 587

* Malinowski states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would lie her cohabit with one of his sons, and the village would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 108). [592]

2:Seligman & Seligman K-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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553 one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

845 Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nwin juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Anger, the second Tim. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

593 605 Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *ows* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a barrier constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see more of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *ows*, *nyiwa*, *owajo*, and *nywajo* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *owa nyiwa* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

604 There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*ne*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *ne* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though [721] the *ne* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his fees on the bride-wealth of the *nyoka*, i.e. of their own *nywajo* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle [722] when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *wajo* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [723] ●

[1] Malinowski, op. cit., xxv.

to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *wujo*, *nyuqio*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *uncle* to his *nyuqio* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal family down to the *kwanyiwek*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heavy informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwanyiwek* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the ninth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *ni*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go to the cattle byre and hear the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as initiators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heavy says that in the neighbourhood of Duleib Old there have been no age-classes for many years.

3:Westermann E-5 (9910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she consents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of cows and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pinned and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide pageeny. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page xxxvi) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is on footing a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown considerable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in funeral and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active role, vide page XXXIX. — Ordinarily or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

584 583 585 581 554 606 595 582 562 [593]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, ●[583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of [482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); 431] after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the house of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure is besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

Kpi wijio kol wuol, ko mor(ij ni wji, pj ni ribbo. Ko e ko: wjio ffiq, wjio ffiq, ki rio y ribbo? Ko wjio i wjiij, ko pj ribbij. [527]

Kwakadwai was a rich man. He started to marry, and he married the daughter of a king. He brought sixty cows as a dowry. He married a second wife for sixty cows.

He used to drive his cattle to *Tjir* (a place of pasture), and when the grass was finished there, he drove them to *Ziyr* (another pasture).

One day some princes were travelling, and they came to him. He entertained them as his guests; dura and dried meat were brought, and milk, and bread baked in butter, and meat. But one of the princes refused, "I don't want these things!" "Why not?" (asked the people). "Because he is a (mere) Shilluk (not one belonging to the royal family), and yet he is so rich!" He did not touch the food.

This (rich) man, when he went to his cattle place early (every) morning, he used to kill a calf and to eat it. And he said to his people, "Some of men, kill a man! I myself will make amends for him!" And they killed a man, and he made amends.

101. The Hyena with the Bell.

Ko jal wijiij ne rij, ebwjio Lwel Pilkin, ko dyaiij ribbo yj dwaja. Ko bwy bwbwij, ko ejwjo wuil yay bar. Ko Lwel bjwj, ko ejwjo bjwbj, ko: wwi, ba wjii. Ko wwi, ko pajio yyr bjij wuiio, ko ejwjo e bjiij ki wuiij pajio. Chwwij wj wuiio bjr, ko bjr wj wjwj, ko kiwy bjiij yj bjwk, ko e jj.

There was a certain man, a prince, whose name was *Lwel Pilkin*; his guests were being eaten by the hyena. Therefore he dug a hole and caught the hyena in the hole. When Lwel came, the hyena begged him, "Leave me, do not kill me!" So he let her go, but he tied a bell to her neck, and the hyena went away with the bell about her neck. But now whenever she wanted to catch game, the game (heard the bell ringing, and) ran away. At last the hyena became tired with hunger and died.

[515]

* [illegible].
* A sign that these cows were used as the numerical as dowry for buying his own a wife.
* Of this wife then, the dowry paid for her has to be reckoned by her family; in this particular case it would be difficult for the father of the girl to give back so many cows, so some would die or perish in some other way in the meantime, and so the other would then not a chance to the father and the girl.
* In short his immense wealth, it was a bagatelle for him to pay a dowry.

having a given number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shilluk land, and there are no periodic reunions.

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his identical lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members.

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.[11] If disposition has not been made before death they are usually taken by the oldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the surviving girl leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the girl to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a girl leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his girl still unmarried and requiring cattle. The girl leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is stipulated that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of inheritance would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."[12]

Unoccupied land belongs to anyone who arrives on it.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous: a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the lineage may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of close relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these exceptions it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters.

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of two head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to one the father of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth transactions and exogamic prescriptions appeared by the suitor's girl and by the girl's [illegible]

[11] Pumphrey, J.A.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
[12] Ibid., p.25.

[illegible] and by the girl's gri. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's gri leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

[illegible] If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's gri. The acceptance of a sheep - the dyel dhak - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-drinking and wedding dance on the bride's village follows and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the angle ciook, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seducer fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

[illegible] If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of ten head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, however, once the stamp has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

[illegible] If the wife dies her gri must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

[illegible] Fines for adultery are paid to the owner's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.56.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

[illegible] kinship within one settlement is certainly conspicuous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in other localities throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and grain. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the bride. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been cases where few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and grain, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the circumstances of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of H. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity) between the parties . . . ; and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*ghol dhol*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This connection, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *ring angle* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*angle dhol*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, entirely correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of beasts to cattle population: Shilluk [illegible]; Nuer [illegible]; Dinka [illegible].

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (Howell, vol. 4).

[4] Pumphrey, "The Shilluk Tribe", J.A.I., vol. [illegible].

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are in the published form.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. [illegible].

S:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

over at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kuy*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *ungle thid* unless they are satisfied with the payments.

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwar kwain ciu gier*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwar kwai-ne dhom*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, betrothal carries with it a degree of legal status and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2]

Pumphrey also states:

Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a consecutive transaction. Accordingly, children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep.

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *ungle thid* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final consummation of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece each cattle so as to remove from the marriage of his niece.[3]

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen

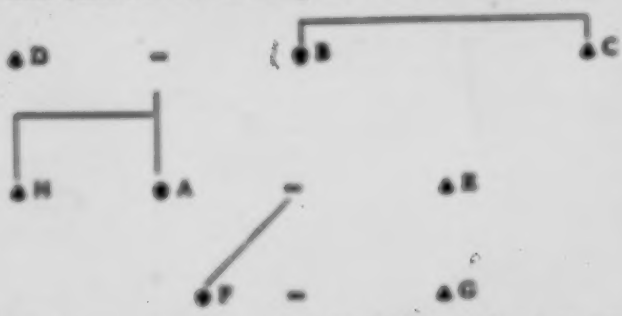
[1] A further one (*yowe ma*) shows the ten head of cattle (or bridewealth) is repaid after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not to mean as the successful and consummate elopement which forms part of the *ungle thid* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: "The *ungle thid* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom", op. cit., p. 48.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 48-49.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uncle) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uncles and half-brothers within one domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally proceed to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger sister (sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher.

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines and prostitutes.* This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are really able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and sub-chiefs have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what may be called "active divorce", when both parties are still living, and "dissolution of legal union", which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

* Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary disincentives. The rule meeting of the Shilluk Council (1951) records: "Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:—
(1) Tying her up in a cow and hold discussing her.
(2) Tying her up outside a night for the exception of her lies.
(3) Smacking her in a closed up house.
(4) Stabbing down up her finger nails.
The Government does not object to the lawful punishment of a woman or a girl giving her non-public connection with the palm of the hand, or a light other beating with a stick in the forbidden

8:Howell K-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

Acire Diwre: This is simply known as *nyi*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *gaay nyi*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known as *kaw kwak*. The expression *kaw kwak* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen here, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kiw nur*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kaw kwak* or *kiw nur* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parentage of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen here, the children would become *ohoje* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

Kok wad Bunyiwan v. Anyang wad Dwale (1941)

Kok married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and [illegible] in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kok claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimation fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimation fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kok and which Kok was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kiw nur* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok wad Deng v. Ghong wad Deng (1941)

Nyayuel (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, eleven sheep and goats, eleven bushels of grain and [illegible] in cash. The marriage took place in well Dudier's time

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 . F223 Shilluk F223

Amajok married Nyagoldong for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagoldong gave birth to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as X and Y were living. Amajok now claims *kai ar* from Odhow. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ar* if his daughter Y had lived and married, though X might have done so.

Anger and Nyang v. Kanker and Ning

Anger married Kanker's sister, Acimbgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in 1918 Padier's time (circa 1905). Acimbgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1940) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle owed to *dhol nam*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

Kai ar therefore has various meanings, the more precise being another daughter of the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ar* even in a later generation, if no bride-wealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bride-wealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ar* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ar* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has created. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bride-wealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than divorce awards) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1931, Pumphrey says:

> Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are as court substitutes for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to divorce or death, the marriage payment is outlawed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or due to the marriage of one of his male male relatives.*

* Pumphrey. from unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages [illegible] shown that many cattle which should be re-
tained for bridewealth to be used by [illegible] the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently
paid away as debts, or slaughtered, [illegible] sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is
perhaps natural among the Shilluk, [illegible] who have to place greater reliance on an agri-
cultural economy, but whose agricul[illegible] [illegible]ral activities are no more productive or reliable
than are those in other parts of the [illegible] [illegible]ilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

[illegible] to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the
[illegible]ewaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard
[illegible]k have a custom which compels the bridegroom,
[illegible]his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the
[illegible]which may die in the interim.[2]

[illegible]e of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from
[illegible] that it no longer applies when the marriage is
[illegible]ld and the bride's change of residence.

[illegible] progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed.
[illegible]ount of cattle. This amount will vary according to
[illegible]n by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of [illegible]hildren in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the
children born of the dissolved mar[illegible]ge are legitimate irrespective of the smallness
of the cattle payments and of the fa[illegible] that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey
mentions, not here but later, that a [illegible]ertain number of cattle must remain with the
wife's family if the ex-husband is to [illegible]ain legal parentheood of these children. If these
deductions are not made, the childr[illegible] are automatically cleared as alays.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

[illegible]e to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband
[illegible] the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if
[illegible] wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded

If the wife had produced sufficient chil[illegible]
will be entitled to receive nothing upo[illegible]
the marriage has been broken through
the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to b[illegible]
[illegible]ve that this statement is incorrect, at any rate
according to the principles of Shi[illegible]ch law, for although a husband may be so
[illegible]ed by the conduct of his [illegible]
cattle, he can only do so by waiving [illegible]ts as to demand return of all his bridewealth
he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions [illegible]l legal rights in the children of the union, and
rights in the bridewealth cattle of a [illegible]

[illegible]ation principally in connexion with subsequent
[illegible]ughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[illegible] Gray production in Shilluk country is [illegible]
and sands, because the soil on the high gro[illegible]
the immediate vicinity of the villages is reliable
while the land in the inundated is subject to [illegible]
owing to poor drainage.

[illegible] Pumphrey: unpublished records.
[illegible] Ibid.
[illegible] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 46.
[illegible] Ibid., p. 55.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Though there are differences of detail in the manner of divorce, the general principles are again similar and both the legality of marriage and the legal status of children are established by the same method, the transfer of cattle being the material symbol of the transfer of legal rights. As elsewhere in the Nilotic world, litigation over rights in marriage and parenthood is common in the Shilluk courts; not that the rights and obligations are in dispute but rather that persons refuse to honour them. It is also possible to trace the gradual development and crystallisation of custom and usage into customary law now consistently enforced by Shilluk tribunals established by the present Government.

There are also points of contrast. The most obvious of these is the rigidity with which the amount of bridewealth is fixed. Among Nuer and Dinka, where the ratio of cattle to humans is generally higher, the number of cattle claimed in bridewealth is greater but it is also more elastic and, provided certain minimum claims are met, will fluctuate according to the prevailing condition of the herds. By sticking permanently to a fixed number, even a comparatively small one, and regarding any cattle outstanding as an almost perpetual debt, the Shilluk marital system is the cause of many social maladjustments, some of which have already been described. These difficulties may well be aggravated if the population increases while the herds continue to be depleted by epidemics of rinderpest or trypanosomiasis.

Résumé

NOTES SUR LES SHILLUK DU HAUT NIL: DROIT COUTUMIER: MARIAGE ET DROITS SUR LES FUMMIES

Les mariages chez les Shilluk sont officiels par l'existence de plusieurs éléments ayant une importance tant sociale que rituelle, qui sont accompagnés par le versement de bétail représentant le paiement du mariage. Le versement de bétail figure, également, dans les actions de divorce et détermine le statut légal des enfants, car il constitue le symbole du transfert des droits légaux. Ces caractéristiques des droits de mariage chez les Shilluk sont également rencontrées parmi les Nuer et les Dinka, bien qu'il y ait des différences de détail, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la répartition, parmi les parents, du bétail qui constitue le paiement du mariage. De plus, la quantité de bétail représentant ce paiement, parmi les Shilluk, est toujours de dix vaches, et les mariages en suspens sont considérés quelque-fois à perpétuité. Ceci est une autre différence d'évolution sociale et de fonction, et les difficultés qui en résultent sont susceptibles d'être aggravées par l'accroissement de la population et l'épuisement des troupeaux par suite de maladie.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims. 754

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time. 754 527

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, and while the man affected in this manner is not desirable as a husband, yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the affected man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbors ignorant of their powers. 582 754 [543]

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power. 754

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon requires about it, and is told. However one mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark. 754 [illegible]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[20]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong.

It is not perhaps too hazardous to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal.

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute.

[20] Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchase of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would lessen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

Succession.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 582
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "in trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [576]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kinar Rath*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [581]
place in society for bachelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Rath*'s daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the woman's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhak*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*bong ungho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public.
The completion of the cattle payments (*bong*) may be delayed over a 582
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 581

17: Pumphrey G-S (1934-1938) 1941
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her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

Customs Surrounding Marriage.

Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnize and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce outside a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to create family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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some family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will due his fiancy, as also will the best man,[p] and the pair will prefer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow shortly and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*nagho dhok*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[q]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopements which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopements are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to prefer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jol tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

p. *Jol tong*, meaning literally "men of the spear."

q. *Nyo dhay tong*, meaning literally "young women of the spear."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *fal ang* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *angle dhok* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relatives reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *nook dhok*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tires of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the women, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

19: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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only in the one case already described does he receive anything; *i.e.*, when he claims from the bride wealth of his sister such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments.[20]

Obs.

A man will describe as *ibo* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ibo* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various *ibo* taboos such as *dwala* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ibo* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife.

Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special *ibo*[20] to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognized necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid two head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, as to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of two head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or two sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the

(1). *Ibo* example many clearly claim. B has been married for A, who has paid B head of cattle dowry. C is the brother of B. B has, by A, a daughter D, who is married by F. The bride wealth paid by F all goes to A, but A must pay 2 head of cattle to C, because C has arrears due to arrears in C under the marriage of B. C is of course the concerned uncle of A.

(2). *Ibo*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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there develops a tendency for *pur* A (to refer again to the diagram above) to marry women of *pur* X. Men of *pur* A will therefore have ready access to the unmarried girls of *pur* X, as, similarly, will men of *pur* X have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ere*, P. Now if a man of *pur* A seduces a girl of *pur* P it naturally annoys the men of *pur* X who regard *pur* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwale is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwale* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ere*.

Divorce.

The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ol*,[16] or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and lost a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

16. Literally "substitute of the house."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *oheijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[30]. A girl who is *oheijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR BETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)

30. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwale* taboo.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 F223 Shilluk F223

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
43 with a bull (*Wâlk Owow*) as well.[6] This bull is treated with great care
[568] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[569] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 711] to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organised according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[778] 6. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wâlk Owow* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the *Zeral* mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Gollwiga to buy a bull,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
F223 Shilluk F223

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithfulness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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697 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
493 pleasu may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be borrowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[683] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[684] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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582 here there is brought up in that village under the tutelage
583 of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much
the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not
forgotten that he is a Nyiwith, and consequently a potential
king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood
is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from
584 Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the
rich, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the
princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

* * *

587 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly
588 concerned, but for the whole community, for among the
Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly
from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost uni-
versal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated
584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts
the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly
says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I
presume that an English youth in similar happy circum-
stances would address his prospective father-in-law thus:
'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the
honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief dis-
cussion of present security and future prospects, the matter
would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-
to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in
person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage
for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but
must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion;
spears, bows, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother
of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of
seven sheep which become the property of her brother or
cousin, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

585 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential
condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in
instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually
extends over several years, but there can can be no question
of the young couple living together as husband and wife

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations. 583

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing rush of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian family and the marriage had been solemnised in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

583 586 583 586 686 797

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the woman and children were not returned to their home within three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he assume the size and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowery to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippen. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

J.Seligman & Seligman K-9 (1909-1910) 1932
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related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much and in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth the the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hodnayo states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus absolute reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his overall behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Hunter states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*kraal*). Where there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *ukomwan*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any conditions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hodnayo states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the marriage must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *ngu dey ewu*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 23.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-6 (1909-1910) 1932
F223 Shilluk F223

The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the ao—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual position was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, where they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

J. Gulliganan & Selig
an E-6 (1909-1910) 1932
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[1] Dishonor means that before dwelling
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ride's brother (*ponic*). If the bride has
vided sacrifice her own, her father's
her own who are her clansmen.
e horn, two fish spears, four spears (reg
shield of tobacco and a bundle of
ape by the parents and is not shared

the *middle* or when cattle have been
bride or part of the bride-wealth may
however, cancelled; the husband may
e bride-wealth for a daughter of the
e original number of cattle agreed for
ne of his.

without having a child, the husband 586
bride-wealth from the father. If he
ed both the sheep and the horn and
re gone, so he will not ask for them,
e might even do that, though such [621]
hapened. Yangick, a chief of Tonga,
en leaves her husband all the bride-
cept one bullock, but if the wife is
ed one cow and one bull are kept

, divorce is amicably arranged, as a 586
if his wife has left him for another man, 587
have to hand over bride-wealth to her
ginal bride-wealth to the first husband.
daughter of suitable age the husband
ld try to return his wife because she 586
ction would arise.[1] Such a case would
ck and judgment might be given that
returned. Probably before the case
ave tried to steal the cows from his

who was betrothed as a child to a man 587 ●
ne. One cow of the bride-wealth

e a woman to leave the husband would be her [592]
r would also be called to an administrator meeting

C.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

Mr. Hearey saw the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such kids grow up the true father will often notice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwarok*.

The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Hearey states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unauthorised adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the lover pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected, marriage 581
if she assents, she throws her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if those also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which 583
consists of cattle. From four to six head of cows and one which cost in the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law or cows, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at 585
the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cowrie shells on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are planed and the tassels are fastened to the horns. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival with pageantry. — A man cannot reach 581
a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without 584
cattle, so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the 586
full dowry is paid, and in such a case the father of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband, but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not 588
be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 67) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in 582
any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriages have not a well established ritual custom, and people flee to heads them, but death follows marriage.

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown considerable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war dances the women play an active role, vide page XXXIII. — Evidentiary or lay, the man may give his wife a dowing with a rope. position of women 582

3.Westermann II-5 (2910) 1912 F123 Shelfmark F123

II. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SCENES FROM DAILY LIFE.

15. Marriage.

Kwaya wanyu.

[illegible] 538 *[illegible]*

[illegible]

A man talks with a girl, and in the course of their conversation he says: "I 539 *
have come to you." She asks: "What for?" He replies: "I want to talk with 540
you." She asks: "What do you want?" He replies: "I want to marry you."

the says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the ox of the dowry!" And the ox of the dowry is brought, the goat for the people in the village of God.* Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is brought by all the people, the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who hold fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the manager of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-manager of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they are heard, beard which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people continue, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle are, he has still to give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-strips, and tomahawks for spring."

And (the next day) food (meat, and different kinds prepared of them) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The man who marry is, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (as the matters, as a present), after that the matters come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard of the bridegroom. Now beer are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the matters), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their heads on the ground. So some more beer are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their heads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the house of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for sand which is used in building, and the enclosure is bestrewed with sand (is repaired). When they have

* See the footnote [illegible].

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shilluk, and there are no permanent headmen.

Members of a lineage are bound one with the kinship tie, but also by the strong lineage consciousness of the same ancestors. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his individual lineage and refers each other to the leader of his lineage in the district assembly. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is seen likely to be made to the leading member of a person's clan. In permanently assigned, the acceptance of a stranger being as a substitute of subjunction lineages which grew sometimes were the genealogical ancestors of the dominant lineage through marriage with the female members.

CHARACTERS

Only the medium lineage were in of any importance on the subsistence of property. Peoples stated that there are no defined rules for the inheritance of chattels.[12] If disagreement has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the eldest of his sons there are no sons. Cattle are taken to the succeeding girl leader, either a special son or a special brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits various traditional obligations. He has the moral obligations to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the girl to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a girl leader to marry a second time himself while there are sons of his girl which concerned and requiring cattle. The girl leader is also responsible for paying compensation to cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognized that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in cases of famine and to purchase grain. Peoples states that a breach of these rules of inheritance would "be extremely unusual and would probably not be approved with by the elders."[13]

Unofficial land belongs to anyone who settles on it.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygamous. A wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the lineage may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of blood relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obligations it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes on sentimental matters.

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of two head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arrangements present between representatives appointed by the suitor's girl and by the girl's [illegible]

[12] Peoples, G.A.S. 1962, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
[13] Ibid., p.25.

[illegible] and by the girl's girl. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's girl leader, she is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumpkey states that the married uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman states an instance in which 27 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 20 were directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

[illegible] If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts him, the lover may go to obtain the consent of the girl's girl. The acceptance of a sheep - the girl dish - by the girl's parents signifies their consent to the engagement. According to Pumpkey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-drinking and wedding dance at the bride's village follows and serves to publicize the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the mafe ritual, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seducer fines her to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

[illegible] If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of one head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, however, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

[illegible] If the wife dies her girl must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

[illegible] Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumpkey, S.N.R. Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.36.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yar nion ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yar cie dhano* or *kwor yar cie ot*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okeyo* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of *ruth* Kur (1903).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara *Khuwa*: خوة, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when 584 ● cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his [582] daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will 585 follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thich*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridgegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go- [584 between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance 583] of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies [584] him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

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31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage
[608] of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from
[669] Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

• • •

581 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly
583 concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated
584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

583 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to 584 the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

● 585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony. 585

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings. 585 604

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them. 851 [844] [273]

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:— 583

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diek num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage. 582

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrasing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 584 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go, [583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of *539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is 585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to [583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of [482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present); after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard 431] of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

Ḷāp kpá a ŋ́ŋwé, ka ʋ̄rɔ dwai, ka gyīnɔ kwaá, ka gŋ̄ch feá, ka gyīnɔ ŋ̄ʋ, ka lɛ́ń tátyɛ́l, ka gyīnɔ mɔ̄kɔ nák, ka gŋ́ch feá, ká ŋ̄ʋ wiy ɖāp; ka dyɛl kɛ̄l, ka gɔchí[1] *loɛ, ka wei budɛ́ ki kal. Ká wàɛ́ kɛ̄l, ka chwŋ́p, ká jɛ̄ chùkù, ka jam kwɔ̄r gwach. Ka dɛ́ŋ́ kɛ̄l, ka tɛ́ń kɛ̄l, ka kwŋ́r kɛ̄l, ka atāgɔ kɛ̄l, ka lāu kɛ̄l; ka tyɛ́ń kɛ́dɔ bɛ́ ńɔte kwɔ́dɔ, mɔ́n tāt pɛ́m; ka ʋ̄gɔ twoch tyɛ́le gɛ́n. Ká gɛ́ kɛ́dù, ka gɛ́ ńùdù kwɔ́dù, ka kwɔ́dɔ kɛ̄l gɛ́ pach, ka wɛ́kù tyɛ́ń kwoá, ka tyɛ́ń kwoá ko: kɛ̄l kɔ́ch! Ka kùch kɛ̄l, ka gɛ́ ko: rɛ́ɛ́ń ɖāp! Ka rɛ́ti kɔ́t, ka ɖāp rɔ́m, ka rɛ́te kɛ̄l, rɔ́m kɛ́y bùr ɖāp. Ka ɖāp e kwɔ́á, ka jī mɔ̄kɔ́ ye kwońɔ ɖāp, ka jɛ̄ mɔ̄kɔ yɛ́chɛ́ ɖeàń. Ká pyɛ̀n kɛ̄l, ka ɣɛ̀r (rɛ̀r), ká tàt pɛ́m, ká kiɛ́ feá (tabate). Ka ɖāp dwai kàl, ka chyɛ́gɛ́ chwŋ́l, ʋ́ mɔ̄ɛ́ tyɛ́li ɖāp, ka ɖāp kiɛ́ wiy tabate. Ka ńà gɔ́l gɛ́n yɛ́chɛ́ tyɛ́li ɖāp, ka ńwɔ́ɛ́n chwŋ́l, ʋ́ ŋ̄ná tūk. Ká àtl kɛ̄l, ka dyɛl kɛ̄l, ka dyɛl gɔ́che loɛ; ka būl gɔ́ch. Ka jī yɛ́ɛ́ńɛ́; a tini ʋ̄rɔ fa ɣɛ́ɛ́ń, ka jɛ̄ wùchù. Ka yàí shām, ka ɖāp á rùmù kí kwɔ́ńù. Ka bak e kɔ́t, ka ʋ̄rɔ kɔ́gké gat, ka ʋ̄rɔ duɛ́gɛ́ fach. Obɔ́bɔ́ kɛ̄l kí gyɛ̄nù, ka jī fwɔ́t kí obwɔ́yɔ. Ka jī kɛ̄ti fach. Ka fāl rép mach, ka kɛ̄l, ńi gūsh bɔ̄lé jɛ́; jī e ŋ̄yù, ka jī rīyɔ chéń gɛ́n dáwɔ́ɛ́n. Ka mɔ́gɔ́ dwɔ́l, mɔ́n kiɛ́ kwɔ́m ɖāp kí kúbɔ́ù. Ká ɖāwá kɛ̄l, ká mɔ̀gù yɔ́ń, ka mɔ́gɔ́ kɛ̄l, kɔ́ń kwɔ́m ɖāp. Ka kúbɔ́ù dwai, ka kiɛ́ kwɔ́m ɖāp, ká mwɔ́n kí fí, ka mɔ́gɔ́ chɛ́kí kɛ̄l, ka chɛ́kí kùń, ka wɔ́ɛ́ chwŋ́p, ká bāl fwɔ́t, ka ʋ̄rɔ e wìchù, ká yàí shām, ka ʋ̄rɔ ŋ̄yù. Ka dwan fūr, ka ʋ̄rɔ kɔ̄bɔ́ kí*

[1] *gɔch yɛ loɛ.*

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *mogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

8:Howell E-4.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *guitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwel nian gior* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances [684] if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the [848] dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of [578] acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

586

cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

584 [582]

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thick*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

585

584 583

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

584

31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *fal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thieh* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thieh*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which 684 case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number 583
has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations.

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when 583
the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has 585
been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and 583
claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the 586
law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find 686
himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian [797]
family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important
606 from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's
603 parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwaro*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated
602 in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *awu*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so
583 long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship
[582] can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters?
[593 A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour.
620 The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle
583 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately
• 586 distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable.
607 Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*faak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *ofwanan*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nya dhy* cuan, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 223.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uwa* who are her clansmen. 583

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 ● [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 584

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his *uwa*, and the *ajuage* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 276). [842]

584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

595 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time
582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

*539 *Jal mɛ̄kǫ e ńwǫmǫ. Ka ńan a ɖachǫ bɛ̄nǫ, e kānǫ pí; ka jal gui wɛ̄rỳ, kíne: à, ga pi ńǫ? Ya by kɛch. Ka ńan a ɖachǫ ka kwōna wǫk. Ka gɛ ngnǫ, ka gɛ tōrǫ yi kɛch; chama ńí butǫ fen, ka ńiné bánà mɛ̀jỳ yi kɛch.*

Ka gɛ kɛ̀ɖǫ bɛ̄ kɛ̀rɛtǫ kí byɛ̀l, ka ńan a ɖachǫ lōńa wǫt (γǫt), e kānǫ gin cham. Ka gɛ bɛ̄nǫ, gɛ kātǫ byɛ̀l, ka gɛ pɛ̄ka pén; ńan a ɖachǫ kúchè gɛ́n, ńan a ɖachǫ pɛnǫ kí gɛ̀re wǫt. Ká gɛ̀ ńàmỳ, ka ńí ko: á, ɖwà, chɛ (cha) dugń a wań mɛ̄yi (mɛ̄ri), ńwāl ɛ́ńá! Ka gǫ ńwāle. Ka gɛ yūjǫ kí byɛ̀l. Ka ńan a ɖachǫ fɛ̄chǫ kíne: ńímla, a kídí? a ya re wa reɛ? Jal e ko: ɛ́ ńawǫ-tyau! gɛ́ń ɖǫga! Kíne: kípańǫ? Kíne: chá re a wɛ̄ke ya kɛch? ko: ɛ́, fatɛ yín a kōbí awa kíne: ga pi ńǫ? Ka ńal gni kɛ̀ta wǫk; ka wɛn chwǫ́l, ka e bɛ̄nǫ; e ko: á, pyeche ńa wun, wɛ̄ke ya ɖǫga! kíne: kípańǫ? Kíne: ɛ́, pyeche yau! A pyey ńān gni, kíne: ńān! á kídí? A kōp ńate, cha wɛ̄kè yɛ ɖǫgɛ! Kíne: ɛ́, kúchè yán! Ńa tyau, tā kwǫ́p! Ya kɛ̀la pi awa; a kōbí kíne: gɛn a pi ńǫ? Kɛ́ń gni anan; ɛ́na (γɛna) kɛ́ɖá. Kíne: ńɛ̄! A tōre yi kɛch, a kɛ̀ti gɛ bɛ̄ kwɛ́dle byɛ̀l, a kíta gin cham wǫt, gɛ tɛ̄k. Fatɛ kɛ́ń gni anan? a bɛ̄ni, a kōbí kíne: ówà, cha dugń a wań byɛ̀li! a ńām gɛ́n, ɛ́ná kōbá, kíne: yá nɛ̀n! A kōbí: ńa tyau! gɛ́ń ɖǫga! A kōba kíne: bɛ́ɲh! na yín a kyɛt dwà, kíne: ga pi ńǫ? Fatɛ kɛ́ń gni a bɛ̄n anan? A kɛ̀la gin cham; a yɛ̄dé. A kōbe wiy ńán ɛ́ní: yi kwata kapańǫ? Adi? chɔ̀l byɛ̀lá a kwāl yi yín! A kōbe kíne: kípańǫ? Yā dɛ, a wɛ̄ke ya kɛch! Yi cha (yá) kúwa! ɖǫgi gɛ̄ńa yin. A kɛ̀ɖǫ, a kɛ̀le wǫt, mɛn lɛ̄gɛ́, a lɛ̄gɛ́ lwǫge ɛ́rà, a ɲumí kwǫp.

[515] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him
*539 water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was
593 angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon
●586 the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

[674] In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in the same house) went to steal dura. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen dura. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle."[1] She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

[1] This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man 539*
went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask
your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father 586
asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how 593
is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know."
The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have!' Then I said: 'Here am I!' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!" After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!" [1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal mēkę ńị bẹ̄da gwǫlǫ; ka kōpa ḍāne gǫ́lẹ̄ kịne: ḷ, ńān, ya lōńa ṭal![2] *Ka* 539*
ńane ḍachǫ ko: dẹ̄ch! Ka e ko: bụ́h, ṭāl dẹ̄ch ẹ́n! ḍāṇ yiga máchwé yị ṭàl. Ká è
ṭāḍǫ. Ka e kẹḍǫ, ka kwǫn lẹ́wẹ́, ka óbẹ́ị ṭwǫra mal, ka gǫ ńị yárẹ̄, ka gǫ ńị kẹ̄ńị
pań. Ka kwǫne chẹ̄gǫ, ka wiy pań rum yị pyǫn, ka kwǫn tẹ̄kẹ, ka lwǫl duǫ́ń tẹ̄ke
ńa-gǫl gǫn. Ka mǫn a gẹ̄pe wóṭẹ̄ṇẹ̄; ka e bẹ̄dǫ gǫn óbẹ́ị.[3]

Ka gin cham e ṭum kị́ chàm, e bẹ̄dị́ yau, ka ńan a ḍachǫ kẹ́ta wǫk, ka pań
ńwālẹ, ka gǫ yódẹ́ e tẹ̄k, obẹ́ị ṭwǫwǫ. Kịne: ból, ụ ya tich adi? Ka ńị butǫ pén, ka
ńị ḍwǫṭa mal, ka ńị gụ̄yǫ, kịne: bụ́h, hẹ̄! Kwǫp a bań dwẹ̄gẹ̀. Ka ńa gǫl gǫn ko:
á gin ńiṇ̀? Kịne: ḷ, faṭe gin ńị kwǫp! mī ńa-ḍāṇ, chwǫla: ńị chwé chwǫla yị ńị
chām óbẹ́ị, ka ṭāla gin cham a tin, a tẹ̄ga obẹ́ị pań. Kẹ́ń gni anan, dẹ chwǫla yin
chwé yị obẹ́ị. A kōbị́ ńan a ḍachǫ kịne: wiy ńāra, yị nẹ́ke mgre ńǫ chǫ́n? Ya fa
dẹ̄ge ṭal kẹ̄te. Kẹ́ń gni anan; a ḍwoṭị́ ńan a ḍachǫ mal, a ṭāṇe gin cham, a chāmị,
ka chwẹ́ṭ mịṇ̀.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will 462
cook in place of you." The woman said: "All right!" He said (to himself): 539*
"Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the dura of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will come later", or: "do later, cooking": I will cook after, instead of you.
[3] He remained thinking of the foam.

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *nogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [548] and prostitutes.[2] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [839] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[2] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1935) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden' [177 648 681]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

●586 *Action Divorce*: This is simply known as *tag*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *gaay tag*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known [684] as *kwer kwob*. The expression *kwer kwob* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kiec mac*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

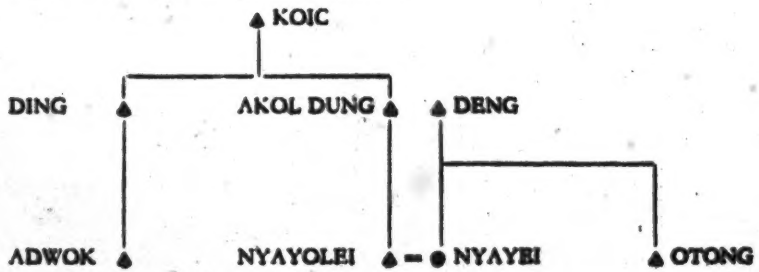
(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kwer* [613] *kwob* or *kiec mac* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood [848] of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *oksijo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

586 69 Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

Kak *wad* Banykwec *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

[583] Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £E2.500m/ms. in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kiec mac* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



[583] Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .500m/ms. in cash. The marriage took place in *reth* Fadiet's time

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

(*circa* 1915) Nyayei bore no children and ran away with another man. All the cattle have been returned since then, but not the sheep and the goats nor the grain. Adwok then claimed one bull in place of the grain. The Court in the final instance decided against Adwok on the grounds that no cattle as *kwor kwob* (*kier mar*) had been retained by Otong and the sheep, goats, grain and cash must be held to represent them. 586 69

Dissolution of Marriage owing to the Death of the Wife

This is known as *tay juok*.[1] Pumphrey says: 586

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister known as *kai ot*, or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals), making deductions for the children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death.[2] [587]

This statement requires qualification:

(*a*) If the wife dies soon after marriage and without issue, all cattle should be returned to the husband or, in some cases, another girl from her family might be given to replace her. The Shilluk refer to this as *kai ot*, which, as Pumphrey states, means literally 'substitute of the house'.

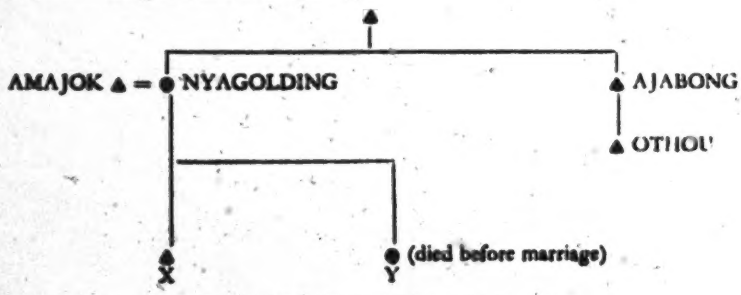
(*b*) If the wife dies a long time after marriage and after giving birth to children, thereby fulfilling her procreative obligations to her husband, *kai ot* may still be claimed, but is recognized as being only two head of cattle. *Kai ot* in this sense is intended to assist the husband to marry again, but it is often claimed, not by the husband, but by the wife's male children many years after her death. In fact, it frequently happens that a man claims *kai ot* on the death of his mother or of his father's wives. It is also a subject of frequent litigation in the Courts.

(*c*) If the wife dies in childbirth, the child dies too, and she leaves no other children, then all cattle should be returned with the exception of two known as *dhok wic dan* or *dhok remo*. *Dhok wic dan* means literally 'cattle in the place of children' while *dhok remo* means 'cattle of blood'.

It should be noted that the deduction known as *kwor kwob* would not be claimed in addition to *dhok remo*, and only applies if no children are born to the wife. 69 586

The following disputes settled before the Court provide examples:

Amajok *wad* Deng *v.* Othou *wad* Ajabong



[1] *Juok* means God: hence dissolution by act of God.
[2] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 52.

69 Amajok married Nyagolding for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagolding gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Othou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger *wad* Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Aciethgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Aciethgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhok rumo*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk
[613] say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[571] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts
[178] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1935, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to
586 divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marrige, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> it is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeijo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yac nian ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yac cie dhano* or *kwor yac cie ot*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okello* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of *reth* Kur (1905).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

584 [582]

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thick*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

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584 583

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

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31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836 684] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[584] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
768 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,[38] or
[587] they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations. 583

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

583 586 583 586 686 [797]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

583 break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
586 woman and children were not returned to their home within
686 three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
797 we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

583 And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he
602 assume the airs and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippon. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
231 few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details [181] of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time.

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will [462]
at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FSZ3 Shilluk FSZ3

586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and [578] acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the [592] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 581 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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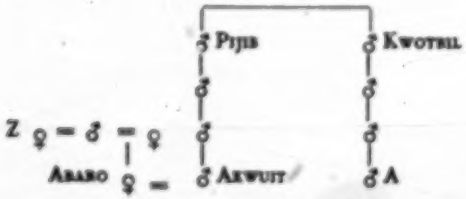
606 Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where—

> "not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this taboo came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half-brother of Kwothil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club."



A called Akwuit *uwa* and avoided Z.

Although this behaviour seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide significance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the "fathers", as well as all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behaviour did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that

[587]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should he try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance. 606 587

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations. 606 [576]

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his "nakedness".

The wife's brother's wife is called *ora* and treated with the respect due to a mother-in-law. How far she is regarded as a potential mother-in-law it would be difficult to say; there would be no objection to marrying her daughter if the first wife died childless, but it did not appear to be customary. When told that among another people (the Ba Thonga) if a wife died childless the widower might claim his wife's brother's wife, or take her daughter in her stead, the custom was approved, though foreign to the Shilluk usage.[1] 606 607

Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage, 606

[1] Claiming the wife's brother's wife with the mother-in-law is common in the Sudan: we found no reason for this, but think that given by the Nuer to Professor Evans-Pritchard may probably hold for other tribes (see p. 219). Should the wife's mother die, then her status may be held by the wife's brother's wife.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uwa* who are her clansmen. 583

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 584

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his *uwa*, and the *ajuogo* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 276). [842]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry 587 them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is 763 very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a [361] circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread [237] a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. [825] The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot 751 going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given [202] in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events 535 in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a [574] drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
● 587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dâṇ lépè, ywódé, ɛ́ biɛ̨ wòk, ka kɛ̨̀l, ka chíkì kèlò, ka ńan ɛni e rɛ́ńò, ka biɛ̨ bɛ̨ kwûp: yá nɛ̨ka ḍāṇ a wɛr! Ká bûl gɔ̨ch, ka tɛ̄rɔ̨ biɛ̨ wòk, ka tyɛ̀ń a mɛn kɛ̨tɛ bɛ̨ yɛ́ké jam, gɛ̨ kân. Ka tyɛ̀kɛ̀ bɛ̄nɔ̨, leń riṭ; ka fach yâk, gyɛn mâk, ka byɛl kɛ̨̀l. Ka tɛ̄rɔ̨ bɛ̄nɔ̨, ḍɔ̨k a kɛ̨̂l fōṭe Jaṅ. Ka ńi y dɔ̨k leńe riṭ, ká ḍɔ̨̀k dùɔ̨̀k. Ka ḍɔ̨k aryau gɔ̨ń yi jāgɔ̨, ka mūje riṭ, ka riṭ e wêrò, ká è kò: kɛ̨́t, chôl! Ka tɛ̄rɔ̨ chùdò, ka mɛn e kānɔ̨ ḍeaṅ, ka mɛn e kānɔ̨ ḍeaṅ, ka ḍɔ̨k e tûmò, ga pyārɔ̨. Ka chwɔ̨k wûr, ka e bɛ̄nɔ̨, ka biɛ̨ yi jāgɔ̨, kine: kwɔ́p bɛ̨dà dì? Kine: kwɔ̨f á ṭùm. Ka ḍɔ̨k kɛ̨̂l, ka gɛ̨ ṭyɛ̂r, ka gɛ̨ mūjɔ̨ ki dyɛ̨k, mɔ̨k kwache tyɛ̀ń riṭ. Ka tyɛ̀ń riṭ yiṭńò, kine: ḍāṇ rach! Ka nɛ̨̂kè ki ḍeaṅ mɛ̄kɔ̨, ka ḍɔ̨k kɛ̨̂l, ka tyɛ̀ń riṭ e bɛ̄nɔ̨, kɛ̨ta Fashōdɔ̨ ki tyɛ̀ń ḍāṇ, tyɛ̀ń ḍāṇɔ̨ ṭōṭe ḍɔ̨k abich. Ka riṭ kɛ̨̂lɔ̨ ḍɔ̨k abich, wɛ̨ṭ akyɛl ywɔ̨k ńál ɛ́ní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *nogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwolo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

(*circa* 1915) Nyayei bore no children and ran away with another man. All the cattle have been returned since then, but not the sheep and the goats nor the grain. Adwok then claimed one bull in place of the grain. The Court in the final instance decided against Adwok on the grounds that no cattle as *kwor kwob* (*kire mar*) had been retained by Otong and the sheep, goats, grain and cash must be held to represent them. 586 69

Dissolution of Marriage owing to the Death of the Wife

This is known as *tay jwok*.[1] Pumphrey says: 586

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister known as *kai ot*, or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals), making deductions for the children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death.[2] [587]

This statement requires qualification:

(*a*) If the wife dies soon after marriage and without issue, all cattle should be returned to the husband or, in some cases, another girl from her family might be given to replace her. The Shilluk refer to this as *kai ot*, which, as Pumphrey states, means literally 'substitute of the house'.

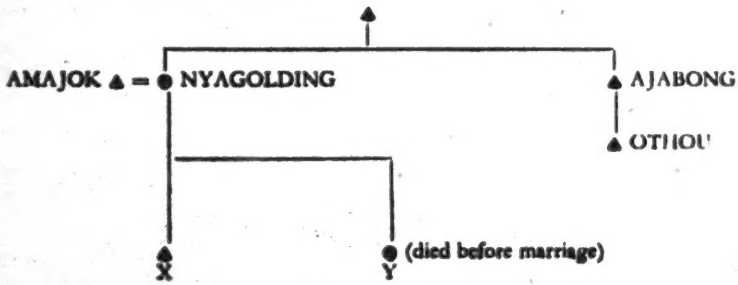
(*b*) If the wife dies a long time after marriage and after giving birth to children, thereby fulfilling her procreative obligations to her husband, *kai ot* may still be claimed, but is recognized as being only two head of cattle. *Kai ot* in this sense is intended to assist the husband to marry again, but it is often claimed, not by the husband, but by the wife's male children many years after her death. In fact, it frequently happens that a man claims *kai ot* on the death of his mother or of his father's wives. It is also a subject of frequent litigation in the Courts.

(*c*) If the wife dies in childbirth, the child dies too, and she leaves no other children, then all cattle should be returned with the exception of two known as *dhok wic dan* or *dhok remo*. *Dhok wic dan* means literally 'cattle in the place of children' while *dhok remo* means 'cattle of blood'.

It should be noted that the deduction known as *kwor kwob* would not be claimed in addition to *dhok remo*, and only applies if no children are born to the wife. 69 586

The following disputes settled before the Court provide examples:

Amajok *wad* Deng *v.* Othou *wad* Ajabong



[1] *jwok* means God: hence dissolution by act of God.
[2] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 32.

69 Amajok married Nyagolding for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagolding gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Othou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger *wad* Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Aciethgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Aciethgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhok remo*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not
[613] confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[571] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts
[178] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1935, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to
586 divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[586] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
768 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *hai ol*,[38] or
[587] they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literallly "substitute of the house."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's [578] family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the [692] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 581 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

8:Howell E-4.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
849 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *ohoje* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *gaier*, even though this carries with it no
[643] legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
128 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *ohoje* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*mee ahal yi min?*—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584] *ohoje*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[577] marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwel nian*
ajer and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox.
Pumphrey remarks that,

[834] . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585] marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ral dhum*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya nir dhum*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

682 [608] [175] 583 613 682 [171]

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e wum*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

[171] 682 565 614 644

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

682 [562] [572]

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

[171]

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

171 628

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ebir* or *ebir* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwa* takes the *yang kwiai* in return for his services only on in the negotiations for peace, the *reth ruw* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern there myth

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 582
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [596]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Rek*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Rek*'s daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyd dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tiong nagke*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kaey*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

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644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [162] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
● 591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
82] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[587 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
96] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
● 591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
665 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[583 are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting
for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyiwak*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836 Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwarak*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will seize villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the [591] husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was cel[illegible]ed [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our inform[illegible]g gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 636 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

*Ţiŋ kpá a ţówŋ, ka ţrŋ dwaí, ka gyţŋŋ kwaá, ka gţeh fek, ka gyţŋŋ ţţ, ka lţó tátţţl, ka gyţŋŋ mţţŋ mdè, ka gţeh fek, ká ţţŋ wíy ţţŋ; ka dyţl kţl, ka gţehl[1] lţţ, ka wení bwdţ kţ kal. Ká wiţ kţl, ka chwţp, ká jţ chţţkţ, ka jam kwţr gwach. Ka dţrţ kţl, ka tţó kţl, ka kwţr kţl, ka atkyţ kţl, ka ítu kţl; ka tyţó kţţţ bţ ńţte kwţţ, mţn tát pţm; ka ţkyţ twach tyţle gţn. Ká gţ kţţţ, ka gţ ńindţ kwţţţ, ka kwţţ kţl gţ gach, ka wdkè tyţó kwaá, ka tyţó kwaá ko: kţl kţch! Ka kţch kţl, ka gţ ko: rţmh ţţŋ! Ka rytţ kţţ, ka ţţŋ rţm, ka rţţe kţl, rţm kţy bùr ţţŋ. Ka ţţŋ a kwdé, ka jţ mţţŋ ye kwaáţ ţţŋ, ka jţ mţţŋ yţchţ ţţnk. Ká pyţn kţl, ka ybr (rbr), ká tát pţm, ká kţţe fek (tabete). Ka ţţŋ dwaí kìl, ka chyţţţ chwţţ, ɯ mţţe tyţţ ţţŋ, ka ţţŋ kţţe wíy tabete. Ka ńń ţţl gţn yţchţ tyţţ ţţŋ, ka ńwţn chwţţ, ɯ ţţnd ńńk. Ká bìl kţl, ka dyţl kţl, ka dyţl ţţcke lţţ; ka bùl gţch. Ka jţ ywţţţ; a tíní ţrŋ fe ywţţ, ka jţ wìnkţ. Ka ybí ńkìm, ka ţţŋ á rìmţ kţ kwdţţ. Ká bak a kţţ, ka ţrŋ lwţkí ţţţí, ka ţrŋ dwţţţ fack. Ołwìyţ kţl kţ ţţţnţ, ka jţ fwdt kţ ołwţţţ. Ka jţ kţţí fack. Ka fţl rţţ mack, ka kţl, ńţ ţţeh kţţí jţ; jţ a ńţţţ, ka jţ rţţţ chéń ţţn ńńwţn. Ka mţţţ dwţţ, mţn kţţe kwţn ţţŋ kţ kńţţţ. Ká ţţnk kţl, ká mţţţ tyţń, ka mţţţ kţl, kpá kwţn ţţŋ. Ka kńţţţ dwaí, ka kţţe kwţn ţţŋ, ká mwţn kţ ft, ka mţţţ chţţţ kţl, ka chţţţ kţń, ka wţţ chwţţ, ká bìl fwdt, ka ţrŋ a wìnkţ, ká ybí ńkìm, ka ţrŋ ńţţţ. Ka dwan fţr, ka ţrŋ kţţţ kţ

[1] gyach yi laŋ.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 735 567 672

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nim ajur*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [521] [837] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

> Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [848]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

> Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 171 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 614 644 554

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

565 614 644

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

644 591

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

565 591 621 644 [361]

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the
583 husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to
591 get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep
has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a con-
848 comitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances
[684] if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often
586 dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the
[848] dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of
[578] acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which 684] case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group. 182 613 621 622 554

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members 613 621 [571] 614

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyols Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder. 613 621 361 621 166 361 621 [591] 361 621

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Mas Cello* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adulung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adulung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 which he said were for his personal use at night, since they would not glint and reveal his movements.

[644 591] 4. All sons of *reths* are brought up in a village away from Fashoda (either their mother's or that of some Shilluk chief who has agreed to adopt them), and there lead a somewhat secluded life.

The king or *reth* of the Shilluk is a classic example of Frazer's conception of a divine king. The argument resolves itself into the following essentials :-

1. The king has power over nature, which may be exerted voluntarily or involuntarily.
2. He is considered the dynamical centre of the universe.
3. Hence the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and the course of his life ; both must therefore be carefully regulated.

The fourth essential, which Frazer stresses later in the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, is that of 'king killing.' By this he means that the physical condition of the king reacts upon the fortunes of his people and must not be impaired. Therefore, if the king shows signs of senility or physical imperfection, he must be removed, and a successor substituted.[5] The only way to remove him is to kill him. Among the Shilluk there is abundant and current evidence of the first three essentials both in the regulations which control the *reth's* life and the rites and ceremonies performed at his installation. There is evidence also of 'king killing.' There are in fact two forms of 'king killing' among the Shilluk :-

(i) According to tradition the *reth* may be strangled or suffocated by his wives if he fails to satisfy them, or shows signs of illness or senility, which may effect the welfare of the tribe. This is supported by tradition only.

5. See C. G. Seligman. *Egypt and Negro Africa*. p. 4.

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fadiet *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom.

[183]

(ii) In the case of his successor Anei *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Dak *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption.

[643 591]

[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

[2] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Id.*, p. 6 and p. 75.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's • [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savannah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka, they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, for their long river frontage gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the comparatively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty homesteads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golhak as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dilnin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dilwok, Dimoth, Nom, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangwiang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwo* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pe* (or *fe*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwo* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwo*, arising through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwo*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Dolebi Hill takes its name from an influential

Part II

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION, POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES OF THE NILOTES

INTRODUCTION

The structure and organisation of the Nilotic tribal groups, though showing similarities in many respects and suggesting a certain degree of progressive variation from one or two structural types, cannot be considered in one descriptive whole owing to the complexity of the subject. It is therefore proposed to consider the main Nilotic groups in turn and in conclusion to point out some of the features common to all.

Except where specifically mentioned, the information relating to a people applies to their indigenous organisation.

THE SHILLUK

GENERAL

The Shilluk live in a number of hamlets and settlements which, almost without a break, line the west bank of the White Nile from about 11°N. Lat. to Lake No in the south. There are also a few settlements on the east bank and along the lower reaches of the Sobat river.

They are predominantly agricultural and sedentary, owning comparatively few cattle. The long river frontage of their habitat gives them adequate water and grazing in the dry season for the few cattle they do possess. There are no large scale transhumant movements in the dry season to find cattle pastures. Only youths go into dry season cattle camps which are situated mainly on islands in the river or in dry water-courses near it. The cultivations are likewise nearby, either in the settlement area or inland a short distance away. Ecological conditions therefore enable the people to remain in the same place all the year round and render the settlement areas self-contained economically.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND KINSHIP UNITS

The Homestead (gol)

The gol is the smallest social unit in the tribe and usually consists of about two huts enclosed by a fence. Every married man has a gol which he occupies with his wife, or wives, and children. In addition

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their oldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the 678 cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (piw)

Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the 34 river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained 860 there. There is often a *gen*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.
613

The Settlement (pooth)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different 36 lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spatially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

559 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wuth*. It is said that Nyikang, 621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origi-
773 nally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wuth*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wuth* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wuth* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

628 The chief of the settlement, the *reth*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stranger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the dyal lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs.

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his gol, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.)

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Lowk & Gorr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Unang & Tungo

.....Division (Lowk).....Division or Court Chief.....

Settlement (*Fowk*)	*Jago*
Hamlet (*Pur*)	*Jol wang pur*
Homestead (*Gol*)	*Jol Gol*

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.)

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual..."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful.

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs are there *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.36.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [61]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding gol leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the gol to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a gol leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his gol still unmarried and requiring cattle. The gol leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognized that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 572 [625] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the kwareh may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595] 554

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments present between representatives appointed by the suitor's gol and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, J.R.A.I. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) Ibid., p.25.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

existence. The smallest unit of Shilluk social structure is the family (*gol*) living in a homestead of one or two huts. From one to fifty or more such homesteads built together form a hamlet, the members of which keep their cattle together, and are gathered round a headman; a group of hamlets forms a settlement, of which there are about a hundred in Shilluk-land. The settlement is composed of branches of different descent groups, one of which is dominant within the settlement and forms a nucleus around which the others form themselves into a distinct community. This dominant descent group or lineage provides the leader or chief of the settlement. Settlements are politically opposed to each other, though there have been in the past loose confederations of settlements, which have been used, and sharpened in outline, for administrative purposes. The whole of Shilluk land is divided into two provinces, Ger in the north and Lusk in the south. All the Shilluk recognize a common head of their whole land, the *reth*, who is here called the king; the king always comes from the royal clan, the *Ameneth*, founded by the first Shilluk king, Nyikang; it is the largest clan in Shilluk land, and may have representatives in any settlement. There is now a royal capital at Fashoda. In Shilluk tradition the earliest Shilluk kings had no fixed capital, but reigned from their natal homes. Now, although the capital at Fashoda has been long established, the wives of the king are sent away from Fashoda to various parts of Shilluk land to bear their children, and the children of the king (*eyireth*) are brought up away from the capital. Only those princes whose fathers have been installed as kings of the Shilluk can themselves claim to be installed and, in theory at least, princes who are thus eligible may at any time advance their claims by killing the reigning king. Besides the royal clan, and the lineages of 'commoner' clans, known collectively as the *cuo*, there is a distinct clan called *awee*, originally a branch of the royal house, but said to have been disinherited and cut off by an early Shilluk king. Members of this clan have special duties to perform in connexion with the king, but do not have royal status. In addition, there are the *beng reth*, servants of the king, composed of wives of previous kings, descendants of personal attendants of the king, people possessed by the spirit of Nyikang or of some other king, and others who in one way or another have become retainers dependent on the royal house. From these come the guardians and priests of the shrines of Nyikang, of which there are several in various parts of Shilluk country, and the shrines and graves of other Shilluk kings. Offerings are made at these graves and shrines as part of the religious cult of Nyikang and the royal house, which is the main cult of the Shilluk, though offerings are made to their own ancestors also by the heads of the commoner lineages. Their totemic observances seem to amount to little more than not eating the totemic species, and both totemism and the cult of ancestors of commoner descent groups are said to figure less largely in Shilluk religion than the cult of Nyikang and the kings. Shilluk totemism may in fact be of Dinka origin. Besides the priests of the Nyikang cult, and operating apart from them,

8:Howell K-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.

Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally respect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the 361 sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very 621 large hut (*luak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year [345] as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a [513] normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gen*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put [237] the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have [825] a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an [342] area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The 592 family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by [417] transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere 592 is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of 672 its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* [422] leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater- [171] familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filiei familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader [182] has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

681

Shilluk tribe	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang*.
Division (*luak*)	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*) ..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	*Jal Gol.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kiar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[30]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [681] [626]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613] [614] [672]

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
[454 The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
556] maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-
[684] mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
[182 The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
583] system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
[146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

428 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.
428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 428
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 592
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [595]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no [589]
place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [162]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be [583]
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public.
The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a 182
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 591

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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[233] more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all [513] night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the [342] boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in [592] the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

[415] The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. [252] Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety [415] of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. [353] The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail [241] to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are [261] stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the [292] good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line [251] is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
562] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836] Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's 601
family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother [587] are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's [837] wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan [614] after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and [851] *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his [607] wife's sister " sister " ; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the " in-law " relationship is one that requires much 606
tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by 607
means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid 593
upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in 606
importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described [114] by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth [583] had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important
606 from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's
603 parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had hir mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated
602 in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *awa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so
583 long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship
[582] can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters?
● [593 A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour.
620 The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle
583 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately
586 distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable.
607 Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwarek*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, [illegible] bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time 582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *uma*, *nyima*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

[1] Hadenya, op. cit., 277.

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyiwik* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and he eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gal* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *pano* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (9910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; MARRIAGE 584
if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which 583
consists of cattle. From four to six head of cows and one which cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at 585
the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 179. — A man cannot reach 581
a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without 559
cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the 606
full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not 595
be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 177 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in 582
any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is on levels a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown considerable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active role, vide page XXXIII. — Moreover or less, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMAN 562

[593]

when a man dies, and he has children, his property
rain below by the elder! *Social Institutions*

*539 one; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
928 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
● 903 himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk
about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your
elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it
all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted
or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay
all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the
younger one gets his part. After that they again build a big palaver, and they
make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The
elder son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the
younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid,
the elder son will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother
marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (there with) thus: the elder brother
987 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
94 and takes one.* And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the
house of the elder brother.) The elder wife of the deceased, the mother of the
children, remains with the elder brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 [illegible]

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
602 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer)
runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man
last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

* The man marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

3:Westermann K-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

Jol mijiŋ e mwyny. Ko nen e ɗuoŋ lipuŋ, e lituŋ yé: ko jol gwi wbrij, kjue: ì, ga yi ŋ? Yo ly kpò. Ko nen e ɗuoŋ ko lwiteo wuò. Ko gy wyny, ko gy ŋwy yi kpò; chanu mj lwiy fin, ko ninj bòòò mijiò yi kpò.

Ko gy kpòj lij kwaŋ lij lyol, ko nen e ɗuoŋ lima wut (yy), e lituŋ gin chum. Ko gy lipuŋ, gy litiŋ lyol, ko gy yjiòo gòo; nen e ɗuoŋ bòchò gòo, nen e ɗuoŋ pyoŋ lij gyre wut. Kò gò nbrò, ko mj ko: ì, ɗuò, chj (cha) ɗuò: e uwò mòyi (wòò), mwòl ɗwò? Ko gy wwòlo. Ko gy yòjij lij lyol. Ko nen e ɗuoŋ fjòlj kjue: nimòo, e kjòl? e ga ro ma ruy? Jol e ko: ì mwoy-tyum! gyò ɗyyo! Kjue: kjwòŋ? Kjue: chò ro e wòlo yo kpò? ko: ì, fòjo gòo e lòlij mwu kjue: ga yi ŋ? Ko mol gwi kpjo wuò; ko wuo chwòj, ko e lipuŋ: e ko: ì, pyòrbo ro wuo, wòlo yo ɗyyo! kjue: kjwòŋ? Kjue: ì, pyòrbo yoo! A pyyy nìm gwi, kjue: nìm! ì kjòl? A kìp ɗwòo, cha wòlò yy ɗyyy? Kjue: ì, bòchò gòo! Ro tyum, ò kwòp! Yo kjòo yi ŋwu; e lòlij kjue: gyo e yi ŋ? Kyò gwi ŋwu; ɗwo (yyo) kjòjò. Kjue: òj! A tòro yi kpò, e kjòj gy lij kwòlò lyòj, e kjjo gòo chum wut, gy ɗjò. Fòjo kyò gwi ŋwu? e lipuŋ, e lòlij kjue: ŋwò, cha ɗuò e uwò kyòj? e nìm gòo, ɗwò kòlò, kjue: yò wjo! A lòlij: ro tyum? gyò ɗyyo? A lòlo kjue: kjò! ro gòo e kyòj ɗwò, kjue: yo yi ŋ? Fòjo kyò gwi e lòo ŋwu? A kjòo gòo chum; e yjòò. A lòlo wòy nìm ɗwò: yi kwoto kwyòŋ?..AÈ? chò kyòò e kwòl yi gòo! A lòlo kjue: kjwòŋ? Yò ɗj, e wòlo yo kpò! Yò cha (yò) ŋkwo! ɗyyi gjòwo gòo. A kjòo, e kjòo wuò, wuo ljyò, e ljyò kwyyo ɗwò, e jwwi kwyy.

[56] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

[57] In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in the same house) went to steal corn. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the man had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen corn. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle." She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

* This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know." The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have? Then I said: 'Have an I?' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!' After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!"[1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal mijiq ej lijlo yunjiq: ko kiyo ginu yiij. kiyo: ŋ, ebo, yo kinu yal?[2] Ko ŋanu ŋanŋ ko: ŋlijl! Ko e ko: lijl, gil ŋlijl ŋo! ŋiŋ yiyo wuŋlanl yi yil. Ko i ŋlijl. Ko e lujlu, ko kuyo ŋlanj, ko ŋlijl ŋuyuo wuŋ, ko yy ej yŋlij, ko yy ej lijuj yunl. Ko kuyuo ŋlijyy, ko mij yunl wuu yi yyyu, ko kuyo ŋlijy, ko kuyl ŋuyul ŋlijo ŋo-yyl yyu. Ko wuyo a yŋiyo wuŋlijyl: ko e lijlij yyu ŋlijl.[3]

Ko yiu ebuu e yuu lij ebiu, e lijlij yuu, ko ŋuu a ŋanŋ lujlo wuŋ, ko yuu ŋanŋ, ko yy yŋlij e ŋlij, ebuj yuyuy. Kiyo: lil, ŋ yo ŋlil mil? Ko ej lunj yiil, ko ej ŋanŋo wuŋ, ko ej yŋyy. kiyo: lijl, lij! Kuyp a luu ŋanŋyl. Ko ko yyl yyu ko: ŋ yiu ŋlij? Kiyo: ŋ, fuju yiu ej kuyp! mi ko-ŋlij, ebuyilo: ej ebuul ebuyilo yi ej ebiu ŋlijl, ko yiilu yiu ebuu a ŋlu, e ŋlyo ebuyl yiil. Kyl yul ŋuuu, ŋj ebuyilo yiu ebuul yi ebuyl. A lilij ŋuu a ŋanŋ kiyo: mij ebuu, yi wyilu wuyu ŋj ebiyo? Yi yo ŋlyo yul kiyo. Kyl yul ŋuuu; a ŋanŋj ŋuu a ŋanŋ wuŋ, a ŋlyo yiu ebuu, a ebiuŋ, ko ebuuj wuŋlj.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will cook in place of you." The woman said: "All [illegible] "Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the corn of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will cooks later", or: "do listen, cooking": I will cook when, instead of you.
[3] He remarked thinking of the fears.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 F323 Shilluk F323

SL/ class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (ckwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (wbi). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

• 593 Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his [illegible] In deference to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The interveuor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

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but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the men initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726]
into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (left hand)." [illegible] dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwi). 882.

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cigi) "my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, "Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women?"

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, "Do you have a name?" If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, "Is that his name now?"

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, "His property is on the ground (yond yo ŋiŋ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (ŋlukŋ).

People who are of the same age are called (ŋiŋ ŋyel). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (ŋiŋ ŋwi) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two homes. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a bgla. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 629 484

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God.—We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes. 462 512 [356]

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours. [273] [264]

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk. [241]

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord! [252] [264] 593

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night. 512 233 867

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours. 233 512 462

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is 756 merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly head—admittedly not particularly concerned with any- [181]
thing that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you off-hand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time.

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. [562]
Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will [442]
assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

461 And often enough, that is just what does happen. The *797 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth. 606 607 583 [604]

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them. 607 583

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others. 607 835

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously. 607 [595] 602 835

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

• 515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time 582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle
are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *awa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his
father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except [595]
his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father
will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to
another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants
could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely
it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when
he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *awa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *awa* had been to his wife while he was
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *awa*. It is
all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger
he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was
exercising his rights towards the wife of his *awa* (actually his father's
brother's son) said that his *awa* (the husband) knew, and that he made
no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging
to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *awa*, *awia*, *awa*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was
believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states
that intercourse with the wife of an *ova* would be looked upon in
the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [838]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband
and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 255.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is decidedly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., 2[illegible].

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; MARRIAGE 584
if she assents, she divests her lover to her parents and the old people of the
village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which 583
consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the
ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the
whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, be-
fore the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when
they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the
marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at 585
the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men
of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows'
tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying
these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A
young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns
for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach 581
a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without 554
cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in
order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the
full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may be- 606
come the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between
husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a
legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often
threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not
be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few 595 ●
exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 582
127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in
any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage
laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest
death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown considerable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active role, vide page XXXIII. — If reluctantly or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562

[593]

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [619]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding gol leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the gol to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a gol leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his gol still unmarried and requiring cattle. The gol leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 572 [625] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the kwareth may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 512 [595] 554

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's gol and by the girl's gol. 573 [574]

(1) Pumphrey, S.E.P. (ms), Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) Ibid., p.23.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 752
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 753
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and my ancestor (Nikang), and Dieng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby. [539]

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their chil- 756
dren are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [757]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [558]
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he [559]
usually only has a few children.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
F723 Shilluk F723

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man 574
dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two 582
unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified 581
outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry
as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a [575]
full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no 586
place in society for bachelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact
with the exception of *Reth*'s daughters and the mentally deficient
they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is [142]
reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not 585
created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a
marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive [582]
barrier, such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be
an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized [583]
by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhoit*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng ungho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the women's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kwy*) may be delayed over a 581
period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually con- 583
tinues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 587

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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many?" asked the priest. "Once," promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, "perhaps twice." "Oh," said the Father, "why only twice?" "If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?" "Yo-es," conceded the boy, "he can marry again." "And if that second wife dies," continued the Father, "can't he marry a third time?" "No," said the boy. "Why not?" "Because he has no cows left" was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relatives, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

8:Howell E-5,8 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F223

171 nant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
849 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *ohajo* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613] legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
728 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *ohajo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost Marriage'.[1] It is not sound
588 to a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is secured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bag reb* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*ane ahel yi ane*?—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
818 child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584] *ohajo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[577] marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is announced a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *bere dwal ohe*
ajer and compensation is secured, both customarily and traditionally, at cost to.
Pumphrey remarks that,

[834] '. . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585] marriage dues from the acceptance of the sheep and it is impossible that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.'[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Sociologus* (*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1951 and *Sociologus* [illegible] 1956.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

19: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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GB married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwar par ric thow	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwar par wiee a jur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwar bunlo ric thow	— for having relations with a married woman without causing pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwar bunlo wiee a jur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without causing pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

GB Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwar* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (*jiber*, of course, then his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

GB Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully; nor will a man then cannot even deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hastens to claim the requisite *kwar* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many persons are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men is on the average as high as twenty-eight extra marital relations are not uncommon.

GB Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay other for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a son.

2.Seligman & Seligman E-4 (1909-1910) 1932
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It should have been mentioned in the Foreword that, for the reasons stated on page III, relationship terms are generally given in the possessive (from person singular).

[p. x]

Seligmann, & Seligmann E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92-6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *wada*, though swiftly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyikang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (*Nuba*, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Shilluk, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the system of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confined with the father's brother, or elsewhere of the father's generation, but certain ceremonies are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of such description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden to marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the individualism which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

C. Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, *ate*	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *ate*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *ate* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *wuja* and *ate* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ate*) *ate*.
Mama	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wa (pl. *wada*)	Son.
Bwoc	Children.
Ocu	Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.
Nyaca	Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.
Ocu	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother or a polite form of address.
Nyaca	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Ma	Mother's sister.
Ocu	Son of me.
Nyaca	Daughter of me.
Ma	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Ocu	Son of me.
Nyaca	Daughter of me.
Wada	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Ocuja	Father's sister's son.
Nyacuja	Father's sister's daughter.
Ma	Father's brother's wife.
Ocu	Sister's son.
Nyaca	Sister's daughter.
Ate	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wuja	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Ocuja	Son's children, daughter's children.
Ate	(m.c.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any sons. (w.c.) Husband's uncle and husband's sons.
Ate	The sons of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *ciwada* is more correct.
*Ciwada**	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

* This term may be confused with *ciwada* "sister's daughter". In the Shilluk the *ciwada* term is different from that used and understood when the contrast does. We have only a difficulty in spelling but the difference commonly difficult for the uninitiated ear to detect may lie in tone or in the vowel consonant, as there are three different *a* sounds in Shilluk.

[601] Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ke* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ke* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reik*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ke wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ke ne*, *ci ne* for the wife of the *ne*, *cimude* (from *mun*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyuka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *wa* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *wa jakwopio*, lit. "relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls "father's son". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* "father", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, "grandfather", while all those of the same generation are *cwa*, "father's son". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be "son"; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wide* (*wun*); the brother's sons are *cimude*, "sons of the man." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *ciko*, the sister's daughters *nyuka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

[611]

Mujwa—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *cwa* are *ne*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify kin or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head covered. All the children of the mother's *cwa* are *wwa* and *nyiua*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded as some sorts as children of the mother's brother.

[600]

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *mujwa*. The children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *wwa*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a diminutive form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it as Fashoda in circumstances where the meaning was quite definite.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Westermann gives *maye-mai* and *ma-mai* for mam,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *maye-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here. [601] [W]

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognises clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *ewe*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *mu*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *ewe* are his *ma*; from the point of feudism, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *ma*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ewe*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyiwa*, *nyiwia*, *nyiwa*, or *nywajo*. As will be seen later, the most important of these are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nywajo*. A man calls *ewe* the "parents-in-law" of all his *ewe*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *ewe*. When *ewe* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any women who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *ewe* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ewe*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ewe* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother. [GH]

When a woman speaks, the term *ewe* has a much less wide significance. Her *ewe* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the *ewe* of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ewe* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Fewa.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *ewe* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 190.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may usually be regarded as *ewe* of the wife's parents and as such she is seen by quite that people some other Shilluk peoples the wife's brother's wife is generally a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

601 only used by women to men, but it may also be used reciprocally. It is a peculiar term; at first sight it might be looked upon as derived from the same root as *ava*, but the meaning is entirely different, so this is improbable. *Ova* respect one another, and a breach of etiquette between them is a serious matter, but between *yuva* there is no restraint and a woman may be the paramour of her *yuva*, 'her husband's *ava*. Also *ava* may inherit each other's wives, so that *yuva* may become legitimate spouses. The bearing of these facts on mother-in-law avoidance will be referred to later.

It may be said that the terms used by a man depend on his physiological connection with his mother and her legal bond to her husband, and hence to his father and his father's clan. The terms applied to all these people follow a logical system based on the fact that relationship to the mother is a biological one, while that to the father is sociological. The father is head of the household and is normally the physiological father, but if he should not be so it would make no difference, the mutual relationship would be the same and it would not affect inheritance. Further, a man belongs to his father's clan and all his father's clansmen are his own clansmen, thus among the cousins there is a great difference according to whether they are clansmen or not. Later, by marriage, a man sets up new relationships to his wife's relatives. All of these, except his wife's sister and the *yuva*, are his *ova*, people to whom he must show respect, avoiding any behaviour that might lead to quarrels; he will never become familiar with any of them. His intimate friends will be chosen from among his clansmen. The relationship to the *yuva* is dependent on that between *ova* (clan-brothers), who stand in such close relationship that they have access to each others' wives.

An unmarried woman uses kinship terms in the same way as a man, but certain terms are used in an anomalous manner by a married woman. She calls her husband's sister *wuju*, and her husband's father and mother *bwa* and *wuuju* respectively. Two points are apparent in the anomalous use of these words. Thereby all persons are addressed by a term which ordinarily is applied to someone of an older generation; further, instead of being addressed as relatives by marriage they are addressed as own relatives. Thus towards these persons a woman uses terms that might have been used by her husband, but in each case these relatives are considered to belong to one generation higher than they really do. Opportunity did not arise to discuss this point with the Shilluk women; a simple explanation might

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in such case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive men. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *wwie* and *ajimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *ajimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his own. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relatives—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; our informant, however, told us that a man might not show her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of residence and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary ore relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is ore in the second degree. B, C and D may have an ore relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A entered a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an ore relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. *Jwolo* sickness would result from this offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual: the recognition and worship of *Juok*, the cult of *Nyikang* and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are lesser important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

Juok

The concept of *Juok* is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk *Juok* refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. *Juok* is above *Nyikang* and can though he is approached principally through *Nyikang*. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to *Nyikang* which cause him to move *Juok* to send rain, to prevent hailstorms, remove sickness and so forth. *Juok* is not linked to *Nyikang* but he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intermediary. *Juok* is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognized a creator though he is believed to show little concern in man being a big greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word *Juok* in order to bring out one or other of his attributes.

(1) Pumphrey, J.C.A.S. (No) Vol XXIII, p.36. (2) Ibid., pp.2-4.
(3) Hofmayr, Zur Religion, 1922, op.cit.? and p.193.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwale* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwat[9] who married his half-sister, Nyugo. *Kwayiroth* Bol Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Division) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(i) Relationships with kinsmen.
(ii) Other relationships.
(iii) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(i) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Dong" means Dong's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relatives of the same generation:*

Uwi	Uwia	Every male kinsman (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (i.e., classificatory brother).
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Same as Uwi, but female, (i.e., classificatory sister).
Uwi	Uwia	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

9. This is kept highly secret.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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(b) *Relations in father's generation:*

Wi	*Wia*	Father, and father's *wui*.
Waja	*Waja*	Father's *nyiwi*.
Mai	*Maia*	Mother.

(c) *Relations in grandfather's generation.*

Kwai	*Kwaia*	Grandfather and any male relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandfather's generation.
Wang	*Wanga*	Grandmother and any female relative (patrilinial or matrilinial) in the grandmother's generation.

(d) *Relations in son's generation.*

Wad	*Wada*	Son.
Nyar	*Nyara*	Daughter.
Umalke	*Umalke*	Son's *wui*.
Nyimalke	*Nyimalke*	Son's *nyiwi*.

(e) *Relations in grandson's generation:*

Kwar	*Kwara*	This word is used for any descendant (of either sex) of grandson's (or any more remote) generation. It is also used for plural of each.

(ii) OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

(a) *Relations in the same generation:*

Uwai	*Uwa*	Mother's brother's son or *wui* of each.
Nyiwai	*Nyiwa*	Same as *wui*, but feminine.
Uwa	*Uwa*	Son of mother's sister or *wui* of each.
Nyiwa	*Nyiwa*	Same as *wuwa* but feminine.

(b) *Relations in the mother's generation:*

Mai	*Ma*	Mother's brother or *wui* of each.
Ma	*Ma*	Mother's sister, or *nyiwi* of each.

(c) *In higher generations:*

It has been noted above that all blood relatives of grandfather's generation are called *kwai* or *wanga* in accordance with whether they are male or female.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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(d) *In ane's generation:*

Ohai	*Ohe*	Sister's son (son of *nyinai* would also be classed *ohai*).
Nyihai	*Nyike*	Same as *ohai*, but feminine.

601

(e) *In lower generations:*

Kwar	*Kwara*	The meaning of this term has been given in (c) (e) above.

(g) Conversion Consequent upon the Marriage Tie.

(a) *Terms used by men:*

Ore. A generic term used:—

(i) By a husband to describe his wife's immediate family.

(ii) By a husband to describe the *ore* (in sense (i)) of any of his kinsmen.

(iii) By a man to describe all blood relations of his wife.

(iv) By a man to describe the husband of his sister or of any related to such husband by blood.

(N.B.—It will be seen the *ore* is a very wide term. Strictly men class every member of a class to which any of their class is married or has ever within memory been married as being *ore*. Nevertheless a man will only call another *ore* or *fal ore* when the person addressed is a member of his wife's immediate family.)

(b) *Terms used by women:*

Yare	*Yare*	*Ore* of husband.
Waje	*Waje*	*Nyiwi* of husband.
Kawi	*Kawin*	Husband's father or husband's father's *wai*.
Wang	*Wangu*	Husband's mother, or any female relative of husband belonging to husband's mother's generation.
Ore	*Ore*	Husband's younger brother.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] Op. cit. pp. 99-136. [2] Op. cit. p. 11.

2:Seligman & Seligman K-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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[606] provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a gun, but even then he may only enter the house of the mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head covered and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

[608] A man observes ceremonial avoidance of the wives of certain of his own kinsmen. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his sons and sons, sons and sons, sons and sons, he cannot visit them as freely as he can the house of his own, because he must avoid the wives of all these relatives (while with the wives of his own he may be on quite familiar terms). When he enters any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with covered head.

[609] A man may salute the wife of his no but must not sit in the hut with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her mat or skin it would cause ditch either to himself, his no, or the wife of his no. A man can never inherit the widow of his no as can be done among some other Indian tribes, e.g. the Bari.

We now pass to the male no whom a man must avoid. A man [606] avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a time, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance [607] decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance between a man and his wife's mother's brother (her no); they may [608] never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the [610] wife's no ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the no of the no, the no of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the little-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I no no no jalywaja? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been no to this girl and Fakwang to her son had inherited the privilege of the no, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's no and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his son (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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men and his *ova jalowajo* might exchange gaweers of sheep, the girls always being gaweered through a third party.

The husband of the sister, either the *ajiwaio* or the *ajiwa*, is treated in the same way as the husband of the *ajiwajo* and privileges can be claimed from him; the husband of the *ama* is also respected. Thus, though *ama* is a reciprocal term, the respect and deference shown is not mutual. The *ama* to whom deference is paid are the wife's male and female relatives. The more important of these are the mother, the father, the *ma* and the *ama*, the *ama* and the *ama* of the wife, all of whom are treated with ceremonial avoidance; the *ama*, though respected, are not avoided. The *ama* from whom a man claims privileges are the husbands of sisters and cousins, especially the husbands of the *ajiwaio*, *ajiwa*, and *ajiwajo* from whom little-wealth he has received cattle.

604 There is no avoidance between women; a woman does not avoid her husband's mother.

605 A man must kill a bull at the death feast of an *ama*, the father, mother or brother of his wife, and if he lives near his wife's family 744 he kills a sheep on the day of the death. He must not see the corpse or assist at the burial.

603 From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ama* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ama* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ama* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *ama*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *ama* towards her brother's daughter, though these to his *ama* are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *ma*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ama*.

There seem to be four aspects of the *ama* relationship:—

(a) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(b) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

(c) The attitude a man observes towards the husbands of his own female relatives. Relationships (b) and (c) are reciprocal but the behaviour pattern is not identical.

(d) A woman's attitude towards the relatives of her husband.

We may now consider these different aspects of the avo relationship in detail.

(c) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our occasion said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his "nakedness". Among a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only have a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a commercial manner that there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and connect with the wife of one of his avo, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his avo as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that avo the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term avo for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these avo will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is commanded to avoid the avo of those of his avo with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as avo and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

(d) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father and her brothers. They are her natural guardians to whom she may

I.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fall that this should be returned, should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's sons and his sons both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are one. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a reciprocal custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be considered as the fall that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth.

(c) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of that shown. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(d) A woman only looks upon her husband's younger brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her sons. She avoids them mildly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the cause of the avoidance is sexual, and that by reason of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Dilbik conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the avoidance from it are in nothing as the Indonian. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading are at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the sons of his wife. The wives of the sons are not sons; the wives of clansmen stand in very definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to none of these descriptive terms are used. The wives of all these clansmen called either sa or ana belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the women. Thus, though ana called ana, they are avoided conscientiously.

2.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ewa*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwaru*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissible, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ewa*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *ewa*) with whom cohabitation is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

4:Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned.

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the gol of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1)

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups.

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ore

The in-law relationship of *ore* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense.

A man describes as *ore* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's gol have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's gol. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ore* and meets them as little as possible.

In a wider sense the *ore* tie is connected with certain *ore* taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwolo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ore* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ore* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ore* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D

(1) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

Dak. In this story, and in the women, female associations of the village of Col, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the aggressive, bandicoot Dak represents in importance the weaker eldest son, Col. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people and clowning to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the hand of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yangaro*, *Tangaro*, or *Djindjiro*, and other details of the story are said to resemble those with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The version here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 159–61.

that the more definite processes may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized ownership is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who came to reigns from among other Shilluk speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Mesmo and Tung, these divisions, and finally each division has a number of settlements which are referred to as *pak*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a discrete kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *Jwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also long-established lineages in close association with *Jwareth* or holding one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side extend to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*, George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Jonak subtribe, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Hofmayr, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pak*. A more classic and adjective term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937 *pak* simply means "home" or "homeland" and Shilluk refer to *pak pak*, "Shillukland". The word *kwil* has the same relativity as the Nuer word *cieng* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] These terms, of course, have changes of boundaries and governance of fission and fusion characteristics of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The boundaries of high ground, with clear and transcendent as boundaries, together with permanent swamps, minimize, tend to stabilize some situations.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pak*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is a concept to which tribes, but does not extend here and other boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Dinka, Dinka).

[6] Lineages of the *Jwareth* are referred to by the name of the *wak*, special (non of a *wak*), or symbolic (grandson of a *wak*) who founded them. Thus *Jwareth Fadiro*, *Jwareth Adong*, &c. Similarly, long with are distinguished as long with Fadiro, long spirit Adong, &c.

11: Oylee 36-5 (ca. 1910)1919 F 223 94-Glub F 223

to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to kneed his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a smoking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three highly pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blows it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles he prays: «Help my house that the man may live. I have washed, the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who cured, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he relents and leaves all his old practices, and turns his powers to help people. When they try to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the case, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the case, two cows were paid. The patient was tied as he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you want, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

Another celebrated malignant medicine man, had such power over a certain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give us a fee the first fish taken, and

of the Dorwah division came together, and so did all sections of Fadiodo division, but the component sections of the Gulbainy division split and formed separate meetinghouses. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a meetinghouse. Lemane is a small section and could not produce a meetinghouse of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a rok. The rok had originally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :—

1. Fadiodo 2. Gulbainy 3. Dorwah 4. Fadiodo (again)

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fadiodo division, but Dyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only.

The late rok's mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all.

Lemane or the village Fadiodo Fadiodo

Fadiodo Fadiji, also called Alwengarika, "fear of death", the village which the late rok built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late rok reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late rok is in the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of willow outside, which was built after the late rok's burial. This

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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SES break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
SEG women and children were not returned to their home within
LEL three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
NFT we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had presented successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

SES *And what of the happy father of the bride?* Does he assume the air and authority of a cattle baron at thus being
LOZ enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippen. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
23/ few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

S.Seligman & Seligman K.-O (1909-1910) 1932
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Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ke* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ke* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *ced*, *ci* for the wife of a contemporary. Thus *ke wo* or *ci wo* are used for the wife of the *wo* (not the mother), *ke ro* or *ci ro* for the wife of the *ro*, *cimada* (from *ma*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal ryaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *wo* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *wo jakwaya*, lit. "relative-by-marriage, husband of my father's sister's daughter".

Wo—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls "father's son". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wo* "father", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, "grandfather", while all those of the same generation are *wora*, "father's sons". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be "sons"; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wiak* (*wora*); the brother's sons are *wonak*, "sons of the *wo*." The sister's sons (*wo.n.*) are also, the sister's daughters *ryaka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *wora* are *ro*, and those whom the mother calls *wo* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify clan or nameset. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head covered. All the children of the mother's *wora* are *wora* and *ryaka*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded as some sons as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *wora*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk dialect. We heard it at Fashoda in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

The relations from the "in-law" category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *wu*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, hands when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut to his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they willed.

A man calls his son's wife *kwen*, granddaughter; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissible, and so double the ceremonial behaviour observed between granddaughters and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman sees some to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the more ceremonial manner as are the *wu*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wu* and the *nwu*) with whom consortion is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry some wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—causes the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to any man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

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(6.0) provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a gift, but even then he may only enter the house of a mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head covered and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

(6.0) A man observes commercial avoidance of the wives of certain of his relatives. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his wife's uncle, couple and son, sister and son, he cannot visit them as freely as he can the house of his own, because he must avoid the wives of all this relatives (while with the wives of his own he may be on quite familiar terms). When he meets any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with covered head.

(6.0) A man may salute the wife of his no but must not sit in the house with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her no or this it would cause death either to himself, his no, or the wife of his no. A man can never inherit the widow of his no or no a dower among some other Indian tribes, e.g. the Bari.

(6.0) We now pass to the male no whom a man must avoid. A man avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a fan, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever enter the avoidance between (man and his wife's mother's brother (her no); they may never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the wife's no ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the no the son of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the no of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I not no no *fingwajo*? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been no to this girl and Fakwang as her son had inherited the privilege of the no, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's no and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his son (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

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complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is on them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should the children seem to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's sons and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are one. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a unknown custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be considered to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth.

(c) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(d) A woman only looks upon her husband's senior brothers and his mother's sister's sons as his sons. She avoids them mildly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the reason of the avoidance is sexual, and that by reason of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *ameh* of his wife. The wives of the *ameh* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to none of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *ne* or *ame* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the women. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided consciously.

across the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the unmarried bridegroom; he dodges them and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a souvenir. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.* Mr. Hearey suggests that 604
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the aqio (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her aqio accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the aqio comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Hearey describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 951
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' 949
home, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it 979
to her husband her friends have questions of her. This they take
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brought the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Hearey states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dak nam, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attached to his household.

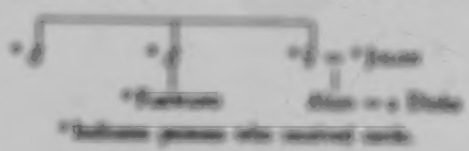
Dak nam, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam nam, spears and other goods.

The *dak nam* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

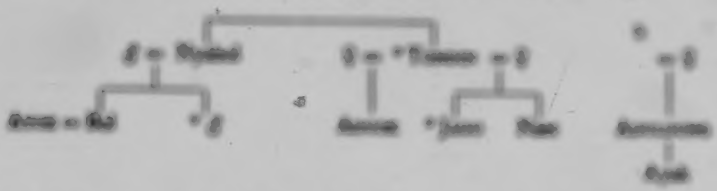
* Op. cit., [illegible]

[E] Seventeen cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one Jokou on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the ne of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven Jokou took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. Jokou had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, one went directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



*Indicates persons who received cattle.

The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (Abu), were distributed as follows: two cows went to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's ne) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's ne) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his aqin.



When Nyan marries all the cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no ne. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or hopes to, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the younger brother, Ashok (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his elder brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

It will be seen from these examples that though the term ne can be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the ne are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any sons of the mother.

one or his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.*

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as such (not, literally "children of God"); the first is called Juggu, the second Tim. The new child born after twins is called Nikel.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their own (brothers and cousins) and of girls their sisters (sisters and cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a border consciousness the intimacies of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see more of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be ama, nyiku, ocuju, and ayuju to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the ama nyiku relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*ma*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and so persuaded her to expel her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *ma* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his fees on the bride-wealth of the *nyuju*, i.e. of their own *nyuju* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *nyuju* (father's sister) always constitutes one head of cattle

* Delaney, op. cit., etc.

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to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no sisters, or none, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not wholly constitute, but in the full position of one to his sisters and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither breaking one tooth or wearing the footwear could properly be regarded as a puberty rite.* Both girls and boys—except the royal family down to the twenty-tooth—have their lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Hanny informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—so the young teeth may be born away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *Jaunch* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *ra*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man who is expert at the work. Forehead tracing seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, and at this period the lads come to sleep in their parents' huts, they go to the cattle byre and bear the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as onlookers than participators, whereas this head wearing the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the wearing he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads reared at the same time were

* Mr. Hanny says that in the neighbourhood of Duk, 150 class have been in new age-classes for many years.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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ordeal". He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is; a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of government resulted in his being removed from office, a much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted. The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on floaty rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, "I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?"

After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child. If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

dowry. The medals are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the naming feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinement as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

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Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

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Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

604

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

[428] [431]

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle [583]

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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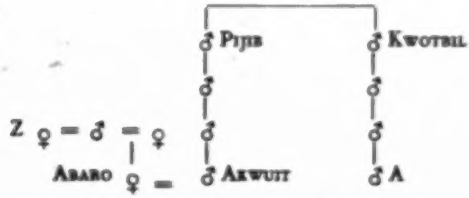
be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister " sister " ; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the " in-law " relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

606 Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where—

> "not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this taboo came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half-brother of Kwothil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club."



A called Akwuit *uwa* and avoided Z.

Although this behaviour seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide signficance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the "fathers", as well as all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behaviour did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that

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potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should he try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance. 606 587

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations. 606 [576]

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his "nakedness".

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Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage, 606

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606 We now pass to the male *ora* whom a man must avoid. A man avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a time, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance 607 decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance [604] between a man and his wife's mother's brother (her *na*); they may never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the 602 wife's *na* ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the *na*, the *una* of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I not an *ora jabnywaja*? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been *na* to this girl and Fakwang as her *una* had inherited the privilege of the *na*, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's *ora* and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his *uwa* (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

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From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ora* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ora* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ora* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *waja*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *waja* towards her brother's daughter, though those to his son are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *na*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ora*. 602

There seem to be four aspects of the *ora* relationship :—

(1) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(2) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

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606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that
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It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term
606 *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It
607 is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father
607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth. 606 607 583 [604]

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them. 607 583

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others. 607 835

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously. 607 [595] 602 835

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The omissions from the " in-law " category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *uwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE 584 583 585 581 554 606 595

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

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The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrasing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN 562 [593]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606] ●
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister " sister " ; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the " in-law " relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells ; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

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It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term
606 *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It
607 is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father
607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth. 606 607 583 [604]

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them. 607 583

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others. 607 835

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umis* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously. 607 [595] 602 835

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The omissions from the " in-law " category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *awa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference 607
to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" [584]
relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman 607
persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, 586
and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. 883
The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by 883
night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible 584
boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by 836
blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nyu dey cuan*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dualo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [953]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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only in the one case already described does he receive anything; *i.e.*, when he claims from the bride wealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments.[33] 583

ORA.

A man will describe as *Ora* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ora* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various sex taboos such as *dwalo* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ora* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife. 607

Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special reverence[34] to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognised necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid ten head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, so to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of five head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or five sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the 581 607 607

33. An example may clarify this. X has been married by A who has paid 6 head of cattle only. Y is the brother of X. X has, by A, a daughter, Z, who is married by P. The bride wealth paid by P all goes to A, but A must pay 4 head of cattle to Y, because these are due in arrears to Y from the marriage of X. Y is of course the maternal uncle of Z.

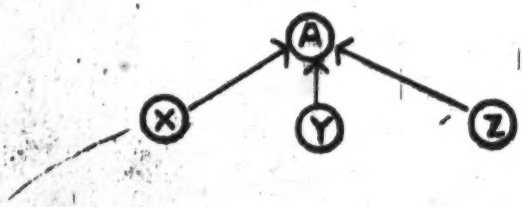
34. *Wuor.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

607 husband will not speak to his *ora* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 613 835 The *ora* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach of which is visited by *dwalo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ora* thus means a *pac* which is *ora* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram :—



582 835 613 607 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X, Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ora* to A, A being reciprocally *ora* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X, Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ora* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*[35]. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

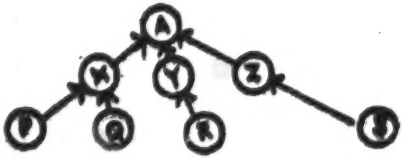
35. For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathworo to marry girls of Adhidiang.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182 having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582 that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607 It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613 Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835 and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." 753 755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[586] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
583 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *hai ot*,[38] or
768 they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals)
[587] making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literallly "substitute of the house."

(c) *Nyureth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 735 567 672

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognised functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Tiherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara *Khamr*: خامر, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Tiherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *col dhano*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wic dhano*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a wano*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *akir* or *akir* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwai* takes the *yang kwrini* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *rwath rirni* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwac* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these might

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. 177 [643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [431]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] [574] [854]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage
[608] of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from
[669] Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

* * *

581 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly
583 concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated
584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

583 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

621
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a popula- 631]
tion of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

621 form a separate social community with its own
613 corporate life. This lineage is generally dominant
609 in numbers as well as in virtue of the prestige derived from its traditional association with the
[622] settlement site. The chief of the settlement is chosen from it and by its members, though the stranger lineages have some say in the election, which must be confirmed by the king (*reth*) of the Shilluk. Even when a stranger lineage, sometimes a branch of the royal clan (*kwareth*), becomes more numerous in a settlement than its dominant lineage and dispossesses its members of the chieftainship they still retain some prestige as owners of the soil. Unity in a settlement and the authority of its chief are said to depend on its integration around a powerful dominant lineage. I must, therefore, say something here about Shilluk lineages.

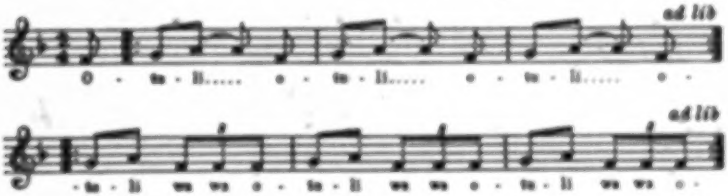
613 There has been, and still is, some obscurity about Shilluk descent groups. There are said to be in Shillukland about 100 groups designated by the word *kwa* (descendants) followed by the name of the ancestor of the group. These are often described in the literature as exogamous clans but many of them might perhaps be better spoken of as lineages. They have a typical lineage structure with its characteristic branching off in response to the formation

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Acholi FK4
Latuko FJ17
Azande F07

S 524 533 539 797 604 302

This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "chin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Nuts and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step :— S 524



S [533 539]

without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song :— B F 524

Ac 524 533 539

the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

IMITATIONS OF ANIMALS, ETC.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs :— Az 524

20. *Buck-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Ghodi,"

of new territorial units. Colonies of the same 613
lineage are found in several settlements, so that in
any settlement several different descent groups are [621]
represented, one of them, as I have already ex-
plained, being always dominant in it and identified
with the settlement politically. Although the dis- [614]
persed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and
sometimes acknowledge their common descent in
other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his
localized lineage, reference being usually to the
ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement.
It is interesting to note a further common feature 613
of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who 611
has settled with his wife's people trace their descent 621
through the wife to the lineage in whose home they
live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic
peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages
are grafted into the genealogical structure of the
dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until
we know more than we do at present about the
distribution of lineages, about their genealogical
structure, and about the part they play in inter-
settlement relations it will not be possible to esti-
mate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common 631
polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [162] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

601 Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ba* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ba* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reth*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ba wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ba* or *ci na* for the wife of the *na*, *cimada* (from *mat*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *ora* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *ora jalnywaja*, lit. "relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls [611] "father's son". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* "father", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, "grandfather", while all those of the same generation are *uwa*, "father's sons". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be "sons"; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wōde* (sons); the brother's sons are *umade*, "sons of the *mat*." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *oka*, the sister's daughters *nyaka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *uwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify [603] clan or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *uwa* are *una* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded to some extent as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *uma*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fenikang in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Ɗāŋ lɩ́pà, ywódɩ́, ɛ́ bū́ wɔ̀k, ka kɩ̀l, ka chɩ́kì kɔ̀lɔ̀, ka ńan gní e rɩ́ńɔ̀, ka biɛ́ bɛ́ kwɩ́p: yá nɛ́ka ɗāŋ a wɛr! Ká bɔ̀l gɩ́ɛ́ch, ka ɗírɛ́ biɛ́ wɔ̀k, kū tyɛ́ń a mɛ́n kɛ́ɩ́e bɛ́ yɩ́kí jam, gɛ́ kɔ́n. Ka tyɛ̀kɩ̀ bɛ́nɛ́, leń rɩ́ɩ́; ka ɩ́ɩ́ch yák, gyɛ́n mák, ka bɩ́ɛ́l kɩ́l. Ka ɗírɛ́ bɛ́nɛ́, ɗɛ́k a kɩ́l fɩ́ɩ́ɛ́ Jɛ́ń. Ka ńí ɩ́ ɗɛ́k leńe rɩ́ɩ́, ká ɗɔ̀k dùɔ̀k. Ka ɗɛ́k aryɛ́n gɩ́ń yí jīɛ́ɛ́, ka mūje rɩ́ɩ́, ka rɩ́ɩ́ e wɔ̀rɔ̀, ká è kɔ̀: kɩ́ɩ́, chɔ̀l! Ka ɗírɛ́ chùdɔ̀, ka mɛ́n e kīnɛ́ ɗeńń, ka mɛ́n e kīnɛ́ ɗeńń, ka ɗɛ́k e tūmɔ̀, ga pyūrɛ́. Ka chwɛ́k wū́r, ka e bɛ́nɛ́, ka biɛ́ yí jīɛ́ɛ́, kíne: kwɩ́p bɔ̀dà dì? Kíne: kwɛ́f á tòm. Ka ɗɛ́k kɩ́l, ka gɛ́ tyɩ́r, ka gɛ́ mūjɛ́ kí dɛ́ɩ́k, mɛ́k kwache tyɛ́ń rɩ́ɩ́. Ka tyɛ́ń rɩ́ɩ́ yɩ́kɔ́ń, kíne: ɗāŋ rach! Ka nɩ́kì kí ɗeńń mɔ̀kɛ́, ka ɗɛ́k kɩ́l, ka tyɛ́ń rɩ́ɩ́ e bɛ́nɛ́, kɛ́ɩ́a Fashōdɛ́ kí tyɛ́ń ɗāŋ, tyɛ́ń ɗāŋɛ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɛ́ ɗɛ́k abich. Ka rɩ́ɩ́ kɛ́ɩ́ɛ́ ɗɛ́k abich, wɛ́ɩ́ akyɛ́l ywɛ́k ńdl ɩ́ńl.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jugo* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage. 613 621 [182]

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pun dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pun dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pun dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyole myer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2) [611]

The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3) [631]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Mau Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adulung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adulung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbañ as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to 614 the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 621 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with
Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
fane, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*).
631 A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
list [1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a
114 number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

784 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
825 any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—

825 "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kejo respectively.

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the [678] cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

36 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [882] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

●[613] *The Settlement (poth)*

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [36] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang,
621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin-
[773] ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[629] The chief of the settlement, the *jago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jugo* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage. 613 621 [182]

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pan dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pan dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pan dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyole myer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2) [611]

The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial units, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3) [631]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

614 565 644 *nyireth* and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

565 614 The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

643 [173] [175] The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

622 643 The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

613 622 The *jal dwong pac* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs. 613 622

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.) 592

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Luak & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
.....Division *(Luak)*.....	Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal dwong pac*
Homestead *(Gol)*	*Jal Gol*

631

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.) [648]

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful. 643 114

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials. 631 643

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.39.

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ban)* is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 614

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. 621

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 625 626

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 595 554

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's *gol*. 583 584

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114] [182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain *ora* taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwolo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.39.

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary ora relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is ora in the second degree. B, C and D may have an ora relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an ora relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwalo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.20. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.27-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. 182
This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a 773
Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is 776
now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he 773
made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he cap- 776
tured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk 825
common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that 773
is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts 776
of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant [613]
lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk 631
country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and 775

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 136; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhod*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng meghe* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*meghe thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0.85; Nuer 1:1.5 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii, 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 63.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Active Divorce: This is simply known as *tap*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *gaiy tap*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known as *kaw kwö*. The expression *kaw kwö* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kier nur*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

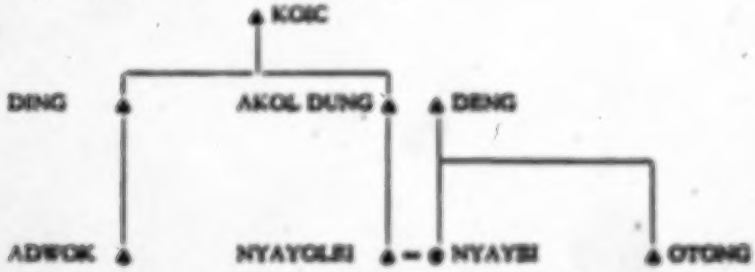
(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kaw kwö* or *kier nur* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *ninjo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

Kak *wad* Banykwer *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyahony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £Ea. 300/[illegible] in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyahony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kier nur* was claimable by Nyahony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .300/[illegible] in cash. The marriage took place in ret Padiet's time

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 . FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

69 Amajok married Nyagoldiing for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagoldiing gave birth
586 to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Odhow. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger wad Nyang v. Kanker wad Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Acieth gwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Acieth gwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhol rom*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of
587 the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not
[6.3] confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies
[59] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a
[111] previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.*

Writing on this subject in 1951, Pumphrey says:

583 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to
586 divorce or death, the marriage payment is refunded, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.*

* Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
849 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *akuje* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *guiter*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
928 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *akuje* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bay rith* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*nee akal yi mie?*—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

698 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimised and must therefore remain
[584 *akuje*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[577 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwel nien*
ger and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox.
Pumphrey remarks that,

> [832 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
> is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
> marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family
> [585 will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1939 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here.

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *pull*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwarth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwarth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6]

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition.

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Delberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pull*. A more choice and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *pull* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *pull collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word *lenk* has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fusion and fission characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great changes. The limitations of high ground, with clearest watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize even minorities.

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pull*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngok Dinka).

[6] Lineages of the *kwarth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *ajwoth* (son of a *reth*), or *ajwoth* (grandson of a *reth* who founded them). Thus *kwarth* Fadiet, *kwajwoth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang ajwoth* Adung, &c.

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *rel dhum*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wir dhum*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a wum*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109-12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ahir ur ahir* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwa* takes the *yang kwiai* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *reath rowi* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he survives at the ceremony. In some parts of Bentiuland these cows

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over 614
the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been [613]
termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic 621
"dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or [192]
a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in [63]
size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others *containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines* [361]
approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative 613
difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first 621
to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dis- [182]
sident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. [173]
The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered 554
the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from 613
subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally 621
the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the 622
next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
361 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
613 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong*
621 (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
613 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
621 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
622 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

The Hamlet and the Homestead.

[613] Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Par* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.
Its plural is *ngar*.

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177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed [613] for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as [541] a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong [648] chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177 631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

613 The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

631

Shilluk tribe	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang.*
Division (*luak*)	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*) ..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	*Jal Gol.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[30]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [681] [626]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613] [614] [672]

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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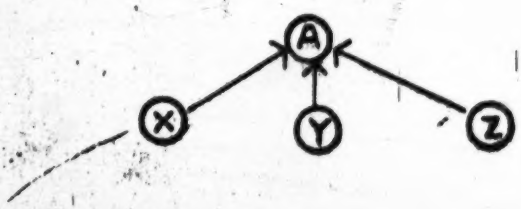
607 husband will not speak to his *ora* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 The *ora* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of
●613 practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach
835 of which is visited by *dwalo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ora* thus means a *pac* which is *ora* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram :—



582 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X,
Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ora* to A, A being recipro-
835 cally *ora* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X,
613 Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have
607 other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ora* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*[35]. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

35. For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathworo to marry girls of Adhidiang.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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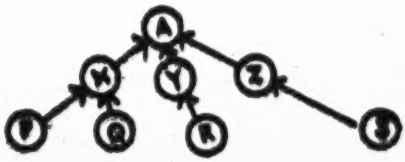
compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182 having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582 that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607 It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613 Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835 and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." [753] 755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[584] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
768 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *hai ot*,[38] or
[587] they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwar* may be roughly translated as "clan" 614 and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwar* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains [182] and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain those traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmentation 613 and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Nevertheless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan [614] are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

[p. 47]

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

613 614

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

601

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

361 484 [102] [678]

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Law Dwong* of office. Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally occupied parts of land (Gwer Nyi Kwong. - Reth/pf.)

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

554 613 621

this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Rak*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhak-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Law Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adal*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognized as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhak Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the oldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

621 622 613 182 554

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182
chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds 613
authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic 621
influences backed by common residence which promote unity and 622
emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct 554
from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. 613
The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit 621
of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances [571]
are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in 614
which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myor*, (*Pl of Pac.*) 613
each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying 621
number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster 361
of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river 621
bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained 166
that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enter- 361
prising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for 621
themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots [591]
(*Nyale Myor*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder. 361
621

361 621 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyoic Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding*'s descendants. Others have 361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pac This* means the little hamlet and *Pawowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as 623 their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 621 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

199 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pawda* = *Fawda* (*Fashoda*).

For this purpose *Podk Yom Dhok-Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok-Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 36 | 62 | 61 | 62 | 36

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names-of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godk*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyom* who founded *Debale*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 61 | 62

Kwar Nyimol are *Orero*,[a] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wadk* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [22] [12]

a. The special status of the Orero is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 125).
[see Mr Pumphrey, His. Fly. Analysis]

[124] [63] 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Dehale*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ovoo* from the *Kwar Rak*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhak*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acep*. *Acep* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amaliah*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Dehale* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acep*. 620 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [618] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 669] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Rak*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acep* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Dehale* and *Acep* are the parent hamlets of two separate 34 lines of segmentation. From *Dehale* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acep*, which was itself founded from *Dehale*, sprang the hamlets in *Yoo* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhak Alel*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Fa Gilker* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Fa Gilker* sprang from *Dehale*. In the case of *Fa Meyuk*, *Okwano* the son is

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3. *Jago Amaliah is now dead.*

18:Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jiago*[p] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasizes that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Rin*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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p. Chief.

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and everyone is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practised by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613
621

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Leek*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common enemy arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do today when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

●613

Lineages of the Fofk Tiew Dak-Abd

of new territorial units. Colonies of the same 613
lineage are found in several settlements, so that in
any settlement several different descent groups are [621]
represented, one of them, as I have already ex-
plained, being always dominant in it and identified
with the settlement politically. Although the dis- [614]
persed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and
sometimes acknowledge their common descent in
other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his
localized lineage, reference being usually to the
ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement.
It is interesting to note a further common feature 613
of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who 611
has settled with his wife's people trace their descent 621
through the wife to the lineage in whose home they
live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic
peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages
are grafted into the genealogical structure of the
dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until
we know more than we do at present about the
distribution of lineages, about their genealogical
structure, and about the part they play in inter-
settlement relations it will not be possible to esti-
mate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common 631
polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [162] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 The phases of the investiture of a new king were
114 excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for
766 some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of, and the mortuary
[767] ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and
[614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred. 643 766 [614]

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Ger, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre, 182 631 643

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have become dominant in powerful settlements in the country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers. 631 649 666

Without the collective participation of the halves of the country the investiture of a king, which takes place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans are responsible for performing various parts of the 182 643 631 [614] [273] [778]

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in 643 775
Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa.

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole 643
Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The king- 644
ship belongs to all the people and not to the royal 614
clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang [173] was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on [174] these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in the second half of the nineteenth century was con-
[631] nected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.

consistently supported rival candidates.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golhak as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tongs, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dishin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tongs were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwo* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the sectional prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwo* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwo*, arising through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwo*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwo* Kako. This agrees well with
Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, house, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sellions, e.g. Golobogo,
corresponding with the *kwo* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
631 *fano*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*ogo*).
A number of *fano*, each with its own grazing ground (*wad*), form a
fado (district), a number of *fado* going to form each of the ten provinces
of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists
of only two clans, the Golobogo and Panatti, both traditionally
attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two
groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds
more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated
Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads,
has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives
and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any
Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages".
Arwadai, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1905 was
said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
Q4 list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a
114 number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwo* Nyadwai, the
descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwo* Nikai,
which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwo* Nyakai, i.e. the family
of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 83-4) who is
"related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families
founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwo* Okogi,
we cannot say, but it may well be so.

789 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
Q35 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
114 any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr
consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
783 example:—
Q36

[1] The ostrich and the crow and Dong were split out of the ground, all three are three-twin children. Dong went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Dong. Akwon (the

[1] Op. cit., 100-30. [2] Op. cit., 131, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mai* for aunt,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here.

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *awa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *ama*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *awa* are his *ma*; from the point of tradition, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *ma*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ewa*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*ayiwa*, *ayimia*, *ayiwa*, or *ayuqja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *ewa* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *ayuqja*. A man calls *ewa* the "parents-in-law" of all his *awa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *awa*. When *ewa* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *awa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ewa*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ewa* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother.

When a woman speaks, the term *ewa* has a much less wide significance. Her *ewa* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the *awa* of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ewa* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Fawa.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *awa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 190.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may usually be regarded [illegible] of the wife's people and so as *ewa*; but it may be found that among some tribes [illegible] people the wife's brother's wife is potentially a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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he that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *awia* and *nyiwia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyiwia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yawa*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relatives—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ova*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogo and Panuiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogo clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Panuiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogo always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayuriel, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayuriel, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Henry.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Dowal, Wol Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Dowal was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used as synonym for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*dawo*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as we will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wol Mac were Nagoje and Kaje respectively.

*539 *Nyiŋ. Ko e kiliŋ kjoo: Shiłłi, ołoł yoo kjoo! Ji ji wi łiłłi bwi! yi ołoł ki rio ki djok. Ko ŋiŋ yo: wuł wuł wuł kjoo. Ko ŋwoł łoł, ko ołoŋ kjło kiło ołj. Ko ŋjok łoł, ołki ŋyoł Nikoł. Ko jol yoł yjo, ko e łoŋo. Ko ŋwoł ołoŋo, ołjo ŋwoł bołjo. Ko ołj e łiŋj ki lio ołjo, lio dwoł, lioo jiŋo. Ko ŋiŋ e łiłi, ołjo łoŋo ŋiŋo ŋyo, ołjo łoŋo ŋiŋo yjo*

*539 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they
GB3 assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for.
[778] They are brought from Akurowar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dak, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the middle of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

173 [According to Hofmayr (Anthropos V, page 111) this girl is always
●614 taken from the clan of the Kwa-ekil: "The Kwa-ekil come from the
GB3 Bahr el Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declared to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, horses, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and cows are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called aya kwar (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] sic: "one day"?
[2] sic: "to hold fast by"?
[3] cf. page 118, n. 4.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F123 Shilluk F123

There are several other clans which have the privilege of performing certain ceremonies in connection with the election of a king. One has the duty of fanning the king with a feather of the king of birds, another has to ensure the dura sticks with which the party of the king defeats the party of the enemies.*]

people of Fyiking, lest they be beaten by the people of Fyiking; for they (the latter) beat all people, and every one who is beaten, is put into a separate place and has to pay a fine to the people of Fyiking. All the people try to run into a house.

Now a cow is brought, the cow is sparred, and the king is brought out. All the people come, all the chiefs, and they place the king outside the door of the great court; the people pray. The king is given these commandments: "Do not do any wicked things! Do not kill people! Govern the country of the chiefs in peace!" And the king rises, and all the people go down, they kneel on the earth, but the wives of the king kneel beside him. And he says: "To Shilluk people all, look at me! This is the country of my father and my grandfathers; you will live a peaceful life through me!" And all the people say: "Our father, our father!" A cow is brought, and is sparred on account of the prosperity (for the good speed) of the king. And cattle are brought, and given to the people of Fyiking. And the man (who was beaten) is released, and goes home. Another cow is sparred, which finishes the matter. And the king is covered with certain clothes, big clothes, royal clothes. Now the people scatter, each one goes to his own country.

17. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

Ko tjeq bâ bj dwier bj lpi, lpi bwier, gpjâ. Ko tjeq e kpâj tjeq, gj ghr, bo jiâ e lâwâj: gieno gjâ gîjg, bwâlâ pâri âwâw, lpi tjeqâ, lpi bwer ciâj, q de tlâ q bwqer, q ebwâj ciâj. E lâwq: gieno gjâ Fiâking, kpâ ne pelpâ gâ, wq bq gîjg bâ bwâjq! E bo: â, bwqer gîjg, wqâ lpi bj dîjâ, q kpr kpâ â gîjo; wjâri dîjâ, bâjâ-dâ-bâwq? Ko dîjâ bâj, bo ebwqq, bo gpâwq bâj, bo dâj, bo dwer e kpâj, bo tlâ dwer kpâ, bo gpjâ wjâ gq ghr, bo tjeq tîjwq, bo jiâ e ebwâq, bo lpi tjeâr, bo gq ebwq tjâjwq, bo jîâwr dwqr, bo lpi gîjâwâ, bo e bo: jîjwâ, bâj wâjâ, bo e bo jîâ âwâw: kpâ wâjâ, âwâ. Ko gq âwâ. Ko gq ewwq âwq, bo gq kpâ, bâjq bq tjqwq; bo jîjwq bo kjwo: wâ? E bo: â, dq ne bâ kpâq gâo? Ko e bqqq gîwâ, bo gîwâ bâj, bo jiâ ebâjâ, bo gq kpâq bo Ebwâbâq. Ko wâj âwâ, bo bo: jiâ â bâ. Kjwo: ewo, wq bâ! Wo kpâj âq? Wq kpâj jwwâ bwer. Kjwo: gj bâ? Kjwo gqâr ebâbqqâ. E bq: dîjâ! Ko wâj e bwq ewq (ewqq) âwqâ, bo wâbâ jiâ, bo wâjâ. Ko jiâ e wîjâ, gj ebâwâj bj gîwâ. Ko gq wâjâq. Kjwo: ewo, bâ wâbj? Kjwo: â, wâjqâ jwqâ! Ko jiâ e kpâq, bo wqâjâ tjqâ, bo gq wîjâ, gj wâjâq.

539*

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3:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the *chief* is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda. 539* 501

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country beginning from south. 635

1. *Thaij*	2. *Nyandij*	3. *Dwij*
4. *Dyr*	5. *Nalimdit*	6. *Wiiio*
7. *Dyil*	8. *Fiaddiii*	9. *Aryiiir*
10. *Ayuujuuji*	11. *Ajiiyij*	12. *Fiddii*
13. *Ohipiiwijiiy*	14. *Ohui-Diiyi*	15. *Ajiijuui*
16. *Fiuiiduii*	17. *Ouijdii*	18. *Tuijrij*
19. *Aaiio*	20. *Dur*	21. *Adijij*
22. *Diir*	23. *Ajiiijii*	24. *Aaiirijuuji*
25. *Kuijyi*	26. *Ohui*	27. *Miiiiii*
28. *Fuuij*	29. *Oyiir*	30. *Wiio*
31. *Fiiiir*	32. *Fiijir*	33. *Biij*
34. *Nuuiij*	35. *Bjil*	36. *Fiiiir*
37. *Biii*	38. *Ajiiij*	39. *Yjir*
40. *Lajl*	41. *Kuijur*	42. *Fiiiiiij*
43. *Ayuijrij*	44. *Nuijir*	45. *Giiiiiij*
46. *Fiijuiii*	47. *Ljuuj*	48. *Kiijii*
49. *Oiiij*	50. *Kuiiiiii*	51. *Aiji*
52. *Ujuuji*	53. *Biiiiji*	54. *Miii*
55. *Aiujuiii*	56. *Oyiir*	57. *Fiiiiiii-Oiiyi*
58. *Nijiiii*	59. *Ayuijuuji*	60. *Tuij*
61. *Tuuij*	62. *Aiiirauii*	63. *Aiiir*
64. *Mjuij*	65. *Muijuij.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal. 614●

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Ogiir, of Dolob Hill*, who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

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●614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people.

The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Dif."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

[Hofmayer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 773 *1. Kwa-Ajal*, was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang from his earlier home. They live at Nyolwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Dif.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. Kwa Mal, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above (*mal*). They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Dif.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. Kwa Lak, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their durra. They quarrelled over a lak; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing durra. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lak they fought over it, so violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lak over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Dif.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

[This last remark is no doubt right, as both *2* and *2a* are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmayer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mal which is identical with that of our kwa Lak. W.]

3. Kwa Omon, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Ogot. — Dif.: was founded by a man named Omon; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Omon was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

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by Nyikang and becomes his servant. They help to build the house of Nyikang at Wau. They live at Ogut. — *Identical with 3?*

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jok, was founded by *Ju*, a half-brother of Nyikang on his father's side. *Ju* built the house for Dak. The Kwa *Ju* build the three houses of Dak in Fiio on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, no ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Maiaan.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by Nyadwai, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at *Apio* and *Adik-dong*. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of Nyadwai was a servant of Abudok.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by Gwar, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mr. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chot-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by Nyikang, a servant of king Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — DIE.: *it was founded by Olam, a servant of Nyikang.* Olam was captured by Nyikang in the river, and brought out. Nyikang settled him in the country. Olam is said to have been a man of remarkable appetite.

9. Nuga, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Nuga*. He was found near Dedeik Hill by king Abudok. The name *Nuga* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Rej (or rij, i. e. king), was founded by Nyikang. They all go to the evening of a king. Their village is Fiio.

11. Kwa Tiki, was founded by a person that Nyikang discovered by the river. They taught the Shilluks to build the tuki (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the tuki the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the tuki, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of Nyikang. They live at Dilinga.

12. Kwa Chowi, was founded by Chowi, who was found in the Shilluk country by Nyikang. They live in *Fiop* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — DIE.: Chowi was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jok Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at *Ojodo*, and help to build the house of Dak. — DIE.: *it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.*

14. Kwa Tugo, was founded by Tugo, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. Nyikang married Tugo's sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Ogiro, was founded by Ogiro, a servant of Nyikang. He taught the [illegible] Shilluk Tugo.

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Shilluks how to prepare the meal for the tuki. They live at *Fuge* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fuge* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okolo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide 11.

16. *Kwo Gitti*, was founded by Gitti, a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. *Kwo Dik*, was founded by Dik, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first down stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owidd. — Diff.: Dik was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Alodok.

18. *Kwo Odullo*, was founded by Odullo, a servant of Odok. They build the houses of Odok, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Odullo was the son of Dik; they build the house of Odullo, and also the king's house.

19. *Kwo Nidjo*, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith (*Nidjo*). He furnishes the canoe for skilled workmen. They live at Nyilwak, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fuge* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried hippo meat.

20. *Kwo Ojiya*, was founded by a man who once sat near Nyikang like a leopard watching for meat. They live at Nyilwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. *Kwo Olipo*, was founded by Olupo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with mold, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Olupo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the mold, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Olupo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fuge* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. *Kwo Opiko*, was founded by Opiko, a servant of Nyikang. They get their name from the fact that they were the bearers of discovered cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. *Kwo Nowand* ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwo Rut. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish hippo meat to the king. — Diff.: it was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peacefully, because the Kwo Dok had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chol. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. *Kwo Ohif*, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help to building the house of Nyikang. [illegible] the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmayer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being dominated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is repeated at each new election. The girl is called *nya Kwar* (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of taxes). Vide also 13.

17. Kwa Lipu, or Ochil, was founded by Ochu, the son of Lobo, a servant of *Abedek*, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of *Abedek*, their residence is in Owichil. — Diff. It was founded by Okoia, the husband of Lobo; they were the parents of Ochu; servants of Nyikang.

18. Kwa Bitio (Bitoj?), was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

19. Kwa Ochoj; are the same as 13 (?) Are found at Tonj.

20. Kwa Dipuj, was founded by *Dipuj*, a servant of Dak; they were found in the Sobat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dokort. They build the house of Dak. Their residence is at Ger.

21. Kwa Nimpiq, was founded by *Nimpiq*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Ger.

22. Kwa Owyo, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owyo means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Fiqo* Nyikang.

23. Kwa Ortiq, was founded by *Ortiq*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Dak. Their residence is in Nigo and Wabo.

24. Kwa Wiu, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind (*ochowo*) from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

25. Kwa Nidiro, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

26. Kwa Nai, was founded by Nai, a servant of Dak. [illegible] the house of Dak that used to be on the mission ground at Dolaib Hill. They are found at Ghai and Akipep.

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35. *Kwo Dwai*, was founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak and are found at *Fupe* Ryikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Ryikang. He was a Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Ryikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Bya Dwai.]

36. *Kwo Ajiddi*, was founded by *Ajiddi*, a servant of Ryikang. He was a foreigner that Ryikang found here. They live in Olowa, and help to build the house of Ryikang. — Diff.: they build the house of Odollo in Dimmg.

37. *Kwo Nijiwi*, was founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Ohai, and build the house of Dak.

38. *Kwo Nikiyo*, was founded by *Nikiyo*, a servant of Ryikang. Ryikang found him in this country. They build the house of Ryikang; their residence is at Dilliga.

39. *Kwo Dwi*, was founded by *Adwi*, a Dinka, who was a servant of *Abudok*. They are found at Owichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Ryikang.

40. *Kwo Okwai*, was founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Ryikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Ryikang. — Diff.: he was a Dinka, and was found by Dowai.

41. *Kwo Jolo*, was founded by Jolo, a servant of Odak. They live at Adidwang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Dowai.

42. *Kwo Ogwai*, was founded by Ogwai, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tungo is their home.

43. *Kwo Owai*, was founded by Owai, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 1, and should not be counted as a separate division.*

44. *Kwo Wai*, was founded by Wai, who crowned Ryikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okoo and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. *Kwo Ojiyo* was founded by Ojiyo, a servant of Ryikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakogo, and help to build the house of Ryikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. *Kwo Dwoji*, was founded by Dwoji, a servant of Dak. They are the chief of the servants of Dak; they live at Pilo.

47. *Kwo Ko*, was founded by Oko, a servant of Ryikang. Ryikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house of Ryikang. [illegible]

48. *Kwo Tiplo*, was founded by *Tiplo*, a servant of Ryikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Ryikang. Their home is in

* They say, however, in a celebration of it, as Fiedl says: "Immediate of Dak."

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Fiyo Nyikang. — Diff: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

46 *Kwo Ołiyi*, was founded by *Ołiyo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Naba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Dotwuk. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

47 *Kwo Mit*, was founded by *Omit*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Ait-dwang.

48 *Kwo Ołjo*, was founded by *Ołjo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyolwal. — Diff.: Ołoo was brought here by Nyikang.

49 *Kwo Chowi* ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chowi, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyolwal.

50 *Kwo Ribio* ("meat"), was founded by *Ribio*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

51 *Kwo Fiyo* ("skin"), was founded by *Ofiyo*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyolwal.

52 *Kwo Wich* ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Jiet-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their homes at Nyolwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

53 *Kwo Ołjo*, ("intestines"), was founded by *Ołjo*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyolwal.

54 *Kwo Ołiyo*, was founded by *Ołiyo*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

55 *Kwo Nyiłjoh*, was founded by *Ołjoh*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obel.

56 *Kwo Ayiłdo*, was founded by *Ayiłdo*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

57 *Kwo Anit*, was founded by *Anit*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Fotoo.

58 *Kwo Nyorig*, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal clan. The king chooses from among them. Their village is Yoyin. Vide 70.

59 *Kwo Dak*, was founded by *Odak*, a Bohn, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

[1] Those and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwo Odjiŋ, was founded by *Odji*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwo Wüŋ, was founded by *Wüŋ*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his dura, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wuho was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwogo.

65. Kwo Nüki, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Diff. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwo Yi, was founded by *Yi*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Otwo. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Ochello.

67. Kwo Gou, was founded by *Ogou*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tonga.

68. Kwo Mwol, was founded by Mwol, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Ogot. Vide *53*.

69. Kwo Kan, was founded by Kan, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fuga* Dwal. — Diff.: he was brought in by Dak, and was his servant.

70. Kwo Obaji, was founded by *Obaji*, a son of Dokot. They help to build the house of Dak. Their home is at *Fuga* Dwal. — Diff.: he was of *Arabic* descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tonga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hoe.

71. Kwo Bol, was founded by Bol, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Mainam. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bol once fought against Mol.

72. Kwo Nyüjü, was founded by *Oyüjü*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells.

73. Kwo Nayüjü, was founded by *Oyüjü*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwo Nitugo, was founded by *Ogugo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; thus he got his name. They are found in *Fabak*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fabak*.

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Doung Adok *(ɗoŋ adak)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kɔlɔ)*; Kola begat Umak Ba or Omaro *(Omorɔ)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maal *(wat mɔ̃l)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dɔ̃ɔ̃l, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dɔ̃ɔ̃l, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakar)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bwere. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Nyáká*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Doi, Ari Unker, and Bun Yung, his brother Umol and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shulla race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.

Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Bosh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

63 Hamo Delalajak Athadwai Detwik Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Detim Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debale Kwan, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golbon, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Hamo and Tonga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

G24 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

565 614 649 This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the Kwareth are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.6.

(c) *Nyireth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Ennyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

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In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement.

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Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Oruru

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The oruru are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the oruru always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the oruru.

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The Bong Reth

The bong *reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shilluk land, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the bong *reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

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The bong *reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the bong *reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer bearer, 'my grand-daughter'.

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The bong *reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become bong

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614 565 644 *nyireth* and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

565 614 The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *bewreth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *bewreth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

643 The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-
[173] first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into
[175] their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

622 The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*,
643 such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally hanging this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

643 The *yal dwong pur* has a status which varies according to whether he is
622 headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

G43 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth's* sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth's* sons from the time of their birth.

G44
G47

The Death of a Reth

G45 The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was sealed up alive in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne ".... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the *reth*.

[14]

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

[17] Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been given - apart from information by Howell - by Howell and Thomson who were in Shillukland at the election of King Fadiel Tur in 1943 and of his successor, King Awer in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree, for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

G46

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.30-5.

from the fact that the yaga, elders of the dyil clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organization. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilized into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organization had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organizing the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

At the ngol ceremony a war leader (kwa) is elected. The kwa has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organizing the mobilization of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his ceremonies. After the ngol ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the cong bul marks the initiation of a youth in the age organization. The cong bul is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the yaga of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the cong bul a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the cong bul he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The cong bul is attended by a boy who he is 16-18 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the yaga, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

At the time of the cong bul the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Both men give their name to me and they take their surnames from these animals. No ox is given to boys until it dies and then a new ox of the same colour is substituted. After the cong bul the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word kwer, meaning "descendants of". All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, S.E.A. 1951, Vol.XXIX, p.39. (2) Ibid., p.40.

having a given number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shilluland, and there are no periodic reunions.

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage and refers most often to the leader of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the leading member of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which grew themselves into the genealogical ancestors of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members.

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.[11] If distributions has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the son of his whom there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding girl brother, either a married son or a married brother. In cases do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the girl to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a girl brother to marry a second wife unless there are sons of his girl still unmarried and requiring cattle. The girl brother is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Usually, in an emergent that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in case of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these rules of inheritance would "be universally condemned but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."[12]

Unallocated land belongs to anyone who arrives on it.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous, a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the lowest may have several wives. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these exceptions it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters.

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of two head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and sequence present between representatives appointed by the suitor's girl [illegible]

[illegible]

[11] Pumphrey, J.M.N. (op. cit. Vol.XXIV), p.24.
[12] Ibid., p.25.

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Linguistically, the Shilluk belong to the Lwo-speaking people, amongst whom are also the Anuak of the Baro and Pibor rivers between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia, the Lango and Acholi of Uganda, the Alur of Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and many scattered groups in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province of the Sudan, of which the Lwo (Jur) are the most important. Some of these claim some slight contact, in comparatively recent times, with the Shilluk kingdom. Amongst the Lwo-speakers the Shilluk are unique in their possession of a single royal dynasty, in relation to which all are members of one Shilluk kingdom, with well-defined territorial and social limits. By this also they are clearly set apart from the other Nilotic negroes, the Nuer and Dinka, with whom they otherwise have much in common in physique, character, and culture. Perhaps more than the other Nilotes, the Shilluk have for long been in intermittently hostile contact with foreign invaders and foreign governments. The traveller Schweinfurth, who visited them in 1869, says that at that time little or nothing remained of the original condition of the Shilluk, who of all Nilotic negroes 'used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government', which, he says, can only be properly appreciated by reference to the registers of the expedition of Mohammed Ali earlier in the century.[1] We cannot now know what the Shilluk were really like at that time, and it is certain that some of their indigenous customs, particularly that concerning the election and deposal of the Shilluk king, has been interfered with to such an extent that the Shilluk themselves are uncertain about some details of the old belief and practice. Nevertheless, until the present day the Shilluk have retained a consciousness of their national identity and integrity, and have been slow to modify their ideas to accord with those of the various strangers in their land. The main features of their social structure remain, and under the present government, versions of their ceremonies for the funeral and installation of the king have been carefully observed and described.[2] Enough of the traditional practice and belief remains, and has been recorded, to make unnecessary too much speculative reconstruction of the Shilluk past; unfortunately the absence of historical records makes it impossible to study the development of the kingship, which might explain some apparent anomalies in accounts of the present situation.

Social Organization

The Shilluk are divided, on the basis of descent traced in the male line, into about ten different descent groups, which have been called both clans and lineages. They are exogamous, and some of them, at least, are totemically affiliated with natural or artificial species of various kinds. Members of these descent groups may be found living in any part of Shilluk country, and the main groups are themselves dispersed in smaller groups throughout Shilluk country. The largest descent groups are without any corporate

[1] G. Schweinfurth, *ubi s. v.*
[2] F. Hofmayr, 1918, and Howell and Thomson, 1948.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1951 F223 Shilluk F223

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the more intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because innovation in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into "provinces", "divisions" (*lel*), and "settlements" (*pull*). There are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a contiguous territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the *river front* (*nei*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*ped*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective—for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own "village". Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of "hamlets" (*ahoo pur*: pl. *ayur*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ar*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwo*, meaning "descendants of") are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] Sudan Notes and Records, vol. xxiv, 1941. Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor

.S:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F223

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of commercial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing conditions of the bride. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon cash payments. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolized by the man offering the woman's *gol*[6] a sheep (*ghol dhol*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *ring weight* (the betrothal of beer) and a wedding dance (*weight dhol*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, entirely correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk [illegible]; Nuer [illegible] (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (Africa, vol. 4).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. [illegible].

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. [illegible].

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F213 Shilluk F213

lover is any too hard. In place of a recognized tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The spirit whom he is living with proceeds as follows: 'Give me a cow or I will sell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the spirit with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the spirit prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.*

I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former reths. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any women of the royal clan should really go to the reth. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of reths and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the reth himself and all he stands for. Moreover female spirits, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense nuns. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the spirit and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female dwerek, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the reth is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the reth himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions.

Conclusions

We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The single third, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *ceer* and the Dinka *thel de thiek*, or any rite in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

* W. H. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1948.

9.Shewell E-5 (1937-1954) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *dwonh*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a distinctive branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous class, though they may intermarry with the *dwonh* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *colo*: the nurse tribes collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (c) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal secondary of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to raise an alt. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were ordered because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically here.

There are no real caste distinctions between *dwonh*, *ororo*, *colo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *dwonh*, however, by reason of their connection with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically conspicuous monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the compulsory campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of [illegible]. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1928 [illegible] it may be assumed that they had lost at least [illegible] of their cattle. A human census, accurate as any one within [illegible] gave a population figure of [illegible]. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between [illegible] and [illegible]. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is [illegible] and the lowest [illegible].

[2] Say: Literally "descendants of", prefixing the name of the clan, "Ion Dhoh"—the descendants of Dhoh—and so on.

[3] Often now considered as the many shrines of Nyikang.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nyo ed dhom*, 'the girl in place of the man';[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or retained as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

682 [603] [173] 583 613 682 [171]

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e wum*). In 1911 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

[171] 682 565 614 644

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

682 [562] [672]

As among other Nilotic peoples, where homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

[171]

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

171 628

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 139-40 (Oxford, 1951).

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born to such circumstances are known as *ohir ed ahir* (literally 'to wait which means literally 'father dead').

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwar* takes the *yang kwiai* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *reth* takes ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he carries at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these styles

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CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[321] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
[683] across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
•614 opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
631 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
182 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
721 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941.
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PUNY).

The word *puth* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than five adult males to others containing less than ten. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wadi*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

545 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Gwen*, *Colle* and *Reng Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Gwen*, are usually treated with a certain outward deference by the *Colle*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Colle* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[m]. The *Reng Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Gwen*, who are so will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country. It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristocracy, physically indistinguishable from its *Colle* neighbours, sometimes 546 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk 649 649 [625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Colle* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Colle*.

Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are 509 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*), 546 *Nyiwoth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyiwoth* 649 (or *Nyicywoth*) for a son of a *Nyiwoth* and *Kwar Nyiwoth* (shifted into 649 *Kwacywoth*) for a grandson of a *Nyiwoth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwacywoth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyiwoth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

m. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the ensuing process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Reth* has many wives,[a] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyiwik*[b] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[c] into the charge of some reputable *Colo* chief[d] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyiwik* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Fa Nyiwik* and will be the village of the *Nyiwik's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyiwik* increase this original *Fa Nyiwik* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Colo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Colo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Colo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

(a) The wife of a *Reth* is known as *kwath*.

(b) It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyiwik* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

(c) *gath* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

(d) The chief concerned will often be the head's brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows but the *Nyiwik's* services but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyiwik*.

or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area. Queen Abudak[47] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kaar Reth* would eat up the *Colo*. This process can certainly be seen occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Dirwek and Atambwi the *Kaar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Colo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kaar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kaar Reth* and others[48] where the *Kaar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Colo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudak is probably unjustified.

The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kaar Reth* is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[49] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE GRAMA.

Grama is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kaar Reth* which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Colo* rank. Such are described by the Shilluk as being "*Kaar Reth* really, but like *Colo*." Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

47. A Fighek who ruled the Shilluk country from Dwelim in about 1850.
48. e.g., Amarijiak.
49. Yak ad Reth.

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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Dwong in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Dowuth, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Dowuth, the sole surviving *Nyiwik*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyiwiks* and made them "as *Colo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Dowuth. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Gwen*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of cutting branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Dowuth on this occasion.[10] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyudwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldly branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Gwen*.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* opened a bell and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[11] which is often used to describe the *Gwen*.

The *Gwen* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chieftaincy of Tonga. For the purposes of

10. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Gwen* are not really all sons of Dowuth but are various lineages on one than or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Gwen* will answer, and which is the particular son of Dowuth from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject completely, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either ignorant or regardless about the ancestry.

11. *Ayang Gwen yi gen.*

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565 the rules of exogamy the *Gwee* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwor Rak* as well as with any *Collo* clan other than their own. The *Rak* always has some *Gwee* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

The Collo.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[28] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[29] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[30] are avowedly aborigines, others[31] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

Kwor Rayu.

565 It has already been described how the *Rakis* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as *Kwor Rak*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Kwor Rak*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Rak's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Kwor Rak*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an *ilim* of certain strange

28. e.g., *Kwor Abuga*, *Kwor Bodi*, *Kwor Nyikang* and *Kwor Ojal*.
29. e.g., *Kwor Jur*, *Kwor Odum* and *Kwor Ojal*.
30. e.g., *Kwor Jang* (who were originally Dinka).
31. e.g., *Kwor Gwan* (of Ogali).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was unnatural) was compelled to become a *Bang Ruh*.

Relations between a *Ruh* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Ruh* to make a village for themselves near *Fukuda*. There they would live until the *Ruh* died. The *Ruh's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the house be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Ruh's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near *Fukuda* and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Ruh Kwaikko*" or "*Bang Ruh Hyakusu*" or as the case might be.

The retainers of a particular *Ruh*, having severed connexion with their own clan, become a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Ruh* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Ruh* would address the daughter of a retainer as *hoara* (my granddaughter) which will indicate the relationship subsisting between them.

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Ruhs* are now deprived of their previous means of wealth, the *Ruh* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Ruh* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Ruhs*. In some cases they have transferred themselves to a new lordship but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Ruh* "A" or *Bang Ruh* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Ruh* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan.

When a *Hyiwah* was planted out the *Ruh* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Hyiwah* and

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who served the *Hyiroth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Kith* served the *Kith*. After the *Hyiroth's* death the *Bang Hyiroth* also continued as a Sections clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Kith* are usually found *Bang Hyiroth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Hyiroth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Kith*.

The *Bang Kith*, whether *Bang Kith* or *Bang Hyiroth*, are by origin *Colo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Colo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this case. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LOAK AND GOR AND THE OLD OBBAK.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Kith* and this has always been the case. Between the *Kith* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Loak in the south and Gor in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Hyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[a]. The hereditary

a. The terms *Gol Hyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard in ceremonial speaking such as the installing of Dhokodo. The origin of the name *Gol Hyikang* is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by *Hyikang* himself, together with the fact that it contains the great shrine at Wolbek. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*", concerning literally the *Gol* of the Gong I can contribute no. C. W. Barnes for the following:-

"On the death of *Kith* Dhokodo the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "quiver" Dhokodo who had previously ruled after the death of Nyikang and had escaped to Gaka way for Dhokodo. Tugo had been living at Achalkong and was with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fashoda just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave his name to Dhokodo. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the choice of Dhokodo. Dhokodo then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled and Dhokodo went northwards. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Dhokodo and the deputation is said to bring or control the north, that is from the Kyidh boundary at "*Gol Dhiang*", the gol of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled the relations to which were Colo, and the chief of Gaka he made responsible for the north and as head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwal* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[p]. Formerly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong.

It is not perhaps too hateful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of hardship, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally condemned but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal.

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute.

p. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

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gestures to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Self-glorification and obstinacy are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a superfluous silence and apparent complete disbelief implying that "diplomatic relations have ever been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as sentrees and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general bearing is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word *ŋwo* used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kin ŋwo* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, *Nyikang*) or *Kwaŋjuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwor Reth* the word is *Kwiyo*, for the *Gwoc* it is *Nyagal* and for some reason for the *Jwog* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwor Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made in normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kwiyo* means "silent boy," *Nyagal* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
825 moved always by God. Thus *yi kel ʃuak* (you have been brought
● 64 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
693 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about chil-
849 dbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
976 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[834] wedlock there is no stigma. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yuci nam*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[859 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, or also prostitution, is
848] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

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THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwor* may be roughly translated as "clan" and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwor* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognized clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain these traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of fission segmentation and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Nevertheless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor.

Cp. 97]

603 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localized lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwor* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer
613 to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family
●614 discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests.
61 In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Pull*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognized rules of behaviour to one another.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due
[illegible] to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has
[illegible] been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the south, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Maanin. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fusion of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Ryel*. They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fusion of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Ryel* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wuth* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Ryel*. It must be emphasized here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Ryel* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Fagu* is usually the chosen representative of the *Ryel* lineage and holds the *Low Dwong* of office. Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that [illegible] are the descendants of the people who originally occupied specially the land. (Cpt. Wylde.) - Ed.]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 F223 Shilluk F223

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and continued security, and patterns of behaviour also entirely distinct from those which characterize the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observances of company and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations conjured by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members.

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Kiyer*, (Pl of *Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Wipale Kiyer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birthplace of their founder.

The Age-Set System.

The age-grade[1] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group, or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[2] This would not be surprising, for the organization of a group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakonian Shasta kingdoms or certain other Shasta tribes, it is more developed than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of

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1. The distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by S. F. Nadel in *The Nuba: Anthropological Notes on the Nuba of Kordofan* (1947) 296. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "age-set" systems rather than "age-grade" systems and does this is a more accurate description for terminology is followed below.

2. Sidnayer (William Sidnayer, "*The Shilluk, Constitution, Religion and Laws*, *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1931) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and circumcision he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and thereby always under arms. Every Shilluk who has successfully shared in a raid or long or he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Reny* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and rally forth under the leadership of the oldest *Reny* against their powerful enemies. The *Reny* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the elders of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many ranks."

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jiger* and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Rin*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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9. Chief.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pasturage during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gore and Lauk. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilised by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kindred group is the village or *bar*.[2]

The Shilluk people are divided into four main clansmen or groups of clans.

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[2] is chosen.

(ii) The Geno, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

1. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement", S.N.R. XXIV, 1941.
2. The word reth has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk word throughout.

For Notes see pp. 15 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
F323 Shilluk F323

they perform in connection with the rich. They are a distinct class. 565 614 649

(iii) The Cobo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (kot), of which there are a large number — some dozens patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this.

(iv) The Dang Reth, the personal attendants of the rich, his wives or wives of the past rich, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the rich by reason of their protection by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide. 565 567 614

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Cobo. However the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the rich's daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous richs are treated with special respect. 565 614 649 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk—to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about two miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [127] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [128] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event—at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement—soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

123 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear :-

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

182 766 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

[64] 766 The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorised persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 776 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return [64] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 766 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new reth, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lord-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 683 666 [179]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Cole, Orero, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Cole together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Orero and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the reth, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "clan" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *ryiireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Cole are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [64 69]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Faloje about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organisation became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Cole. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

173 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two courses to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbaiey a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Arapejar just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbaiey of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the reth they may have acted as messengers of the reth, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the reth the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix 1. Of the eleven Cebo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbaiey, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government or the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1944
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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Cole chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each reik appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected reik—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are remarkable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the reikship are descended directly from the sons of reik Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1913 and 1927 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of reik Fadiri was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

19: Hawaii & Thumsen K, C-9 (1943-1944)1945
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to Bik. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each nok, and on the death of a nok the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Gowa messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way.

On the 28th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Ilwa, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thaw" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan, who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the impalaiba or predator. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various allowance for which Nyikang penalises people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a leaping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

19: Howell & Thomson E.G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move far. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal. The argument arose over the privilege of sewing cowry shells in the *reth's* path on his journey to Fashoda. Kwa Mal maintained that it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yoloker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *ryiwith* Nyawolo, the oldest son of the late *reth*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sewing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went. Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of *Nyikang*, which should be carried before the *reth* (*Nyin ne*), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *reth*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojol on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *reth's* messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *reth* himself :—

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1946)1946
F.23 Shilluk F.23

The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reik* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojal went ahead, followed by Kwa Okolo, and the *reik* and the main body of the people behind. 695

On reaching the outskirts of Akwalwi about half a mile from Dehain, the first messenger of the *reik* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reik's* approach. The *reik's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan. In fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [694 695]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reik* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reik* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ocuro and Kwarath once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arwejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Dehain, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reik* must step before crossing Arwejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reik* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reik* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 8A]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-3 (1943-1944)1944
F223 Shilluk F223

and the reth himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first 643
onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwum, cut 774
off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards
Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the
shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black
ostrich feathers screening his face.

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief "*wey awan*,"
"the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

The Reth carried off to the Shrine of Nyikang.

The party with Nyikang and the reth in their midst then turned 643
towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared
space which marks the pool of Cerlue (Note 13). The drums of Nyikang,
of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from
Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared
space called Cerlue and halted. In the middle were a group of people 644
clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in
wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When
this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while
Nyikang, with the reth immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hang down from the head of the
effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and 774
drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa
Okelo opened the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which
immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred
relics.

The Enthronement and Substitution.

After the opening of the heifer, the reth, still closely led by Nyikang, 643
advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, 774
which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-3 (1943-1944)1946
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6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Their wigs and leather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *ratu*, and by *Ivea* *ratu* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Grey antelope and *ratu* by those to whom they had been presented by Fulili. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*ivea*), commerbund, and *ratu*, and the Scottish International Rugby cup which had been presented to Fulili by Mr F. Moore. The cup had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *ratu* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies.

NOTES TO PART 3

7. The *ratu* could not start without *vyakuor*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Ghai was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl.

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *ratu* or attendants of Nyikang were the skins of female Mrs. Grey antelope. The *ratu* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gai Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Grey. He soon changed to a female skin.

9. The *ratu* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue.

10. The *ratu's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang. The Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They

[illegible] are not a clan name, and are messengers chosen ad hoc, as far as we could judge. Fuor is the word used for the *reth's* messengers.

[illegible] 10. These messages connected to a burgeoning shoot have many cows the reth should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the reth, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "hollowness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

[illegible] 11. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

[illegible] 12. Our impression of these ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in excellent awe.

[illegible] 13. Cotlur, and Kol wi Jang. Cotlur is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kol wi Jang, or Ujang, is two yards N.E. of Cotlur.

[illegible] 14. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

[illegible] 17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funj" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

[illegible] 18. *P. Munro*, "The installation of the reth of the Chol", *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

[illegible] 19. This remark shows that the property of the reth is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okalo belonged to Fadil, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
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APPENDIX III.

(W.F.G.T.)

LIST OF CLAN FUNCTIONARIES IN THE INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

References are made to the list of Shilluk clans in Westermann, *The Shilluk People* pp. 128-134. 619 or 695

Kwa Mal. The clan which claims the privilege of sewing cowrie shells in the path of the *ooik* on his journey from Debale to Ampejur. Westermann lists them as 1 and 24, but assigns to them the functions which we believe are performed by Kwa Nyikwom.

Kwa Nyikang. The clan which provides the ceremonial blacksmiths for the royal spears. Westermann lists them as No. 8, but assigns to them a different function. The duties of Westermann's No. 60, Kwa Anut, seem similar (the making of fire by friction).

Kwa Ghale. The clan charged with producing the small girl, *ajulwor*, for the ceremonial marriage. Westermann lists them as No. 14, not No. 13.

Kwa Nyikir. The clan responsible for the management of the funeral dance; called by Westermann Kwa Nyikni and listed as No. 65.

Kwa Nyikwom. The high priests of Nyikang at Akurwa, who carry Nyikang to Fashoda, and tend his shrine. They drive off intruders with whips on the way to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann, though his No. 1, "Kwa Lak" has similar functions.

Kwa Ojal. The clan which produces the heifer for the journey from Debale to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann.

Kwa Wang. The clan responsible for beating the drum which applauds approved speeches on the last day of the installation ceremonies. Westermann lists Kwa Wan as No. 44.

Note. We find that this list of clans given by Westermann betrays marks of haste. He assigns one name for each clan. While the clans are generally to be found in the places he mentions, several other lineages of the same clan are frequently found elsewhere. [114]

[493] was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fadiouth were not much in evidence.

The method of announcing the new *roth* was interesting. Dak like other *wasa* of Fadiet was not far away, and the *chief of Gol* Nyikang sent his *wa* by night to get him. Whether or not there is a much fight between the selected candidate and the *wamangara* I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking of the *roth* (J.I. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 46) — [495] "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *roth*, we want to instal you in Fadiouth."

It was said that the installation of *roth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *roth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *roth* [493] became more and more worried as the installation approached. There [494] were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *wyiath* had declared his intention of assassinating the *roth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *roth's* party in their march to Fadiouth on that day, confirmed the *roth's* nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *roth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1946. [493] It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take [494] place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

[494] On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adado Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1946, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

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ceremony on the which, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Now, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. D. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred on another duty a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarize the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk rulers of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and some elaborations in detail.

Cod Nyikang of Nyikang

We have already seen that when the rule of Nyikang has finally left the person of the last rulers, he appears in village at Nyapaw. This village, together with that of Dak, are of Nyikang, made of bamboo and thatched ceremonies by huge pieces of cattle leather, sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a ruler, normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but by the manner his personality is concentrated in this village. To the Shilluk the village is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the village and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable. Throughout the ceremonies the villages are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread, mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Nyapaw and into the kraals of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by men of the two Nyikangs and surrounded by a background of the men who guard with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march south-north to Fashoda.

The Rule of the rule to Dakah

As soon as the rule leaves that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the crowd and comes to the village of Dakah a few miles south of Kaka, the [illegible] which is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Cod Dhang (the north) and Cod Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The rule is always supported in the ceremonial functions which belong by the occupants of Cod Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Nyapaw to Fashoda is supported by Cod Dhang, and literally "hemmed," and a word used to describe the southern domain of Shilluk society, being merely means "hem" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is doubtful and the name dissentions have no direct connection with the ceremonial opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Cor and Lak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[1]. At Dakah, the rule remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the division of Cod Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and more carefully decorated in the royal manner as mentioned here, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

[1] See Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[2] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 75 (E).

The consul of the senior and the junior kanis

After these rights in relation to Dakuto, during which the followers are separating from the souls, the cult is challenged by Kalibwa to come forth to fight and investigate [illegible] are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by Kalibwa,[1] the god of the community, who plays an important part in subsequent events, he visits elders of Kalibwa, for the senior and junior kanis, and the priests, the cult members on the outlook, crowding [illegible] the men, and usually the elders of Kalibwa for their shares up you, men of Dakuto. In this hands for a gathering, represent to Kalibwa and carried off to the house of Kalibwa (Gabai) usually.

The initiation on the second road

In front of this during the second road of Dakuto kings, the house, is set decorated from the souls for a consent of white cloth. Kalibwa is placed upon this, but after a time is [illegible] away and the cult takes his place. This act of substitution and [illegible], perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the cult is possessed by the spirit of Kalibwa.

The consistency camp

Shortly after this the cult is carried to a consistency camp (Ahal), where, after a [illegible], he is washed and purified. The consists there in entire seclusion, guarded by the [illegible].

The cult in Ahaura

On the new crossing, he reveals into *Ahaura*,[1] the [illegible] consent which [illegible] the capital and on which are four individuals known. It is said that he is carried down for a consent of the [illegible], having Gadbear Ahaura, Kaipuna and [illegible]. After this rights, cult is brought to [illegible] that Kalibwa has [illegible] for on the grounds that he has been separated with spirit from the cult land. Here are his, Kalibwa's property, the [illegible] of a man who has not yet been confirmed to the protocol [illegible].

The final struggle with Kalibwa

Challenged, the cult comes down from the consent with his followers, while Kalibwa [illegible] forward to regain his right to the [illegible] of Dakuto. In a furious battle which follows, the cult succumbs to wounding Gadbear from Kalibwa and [illegible] from Ahaura and there. Shortly afterwards, Kalibwa [illegible] the consent and [illegible] the [illegible] with the cult and then follows a ceremonial [illegible] of the [illegible] of the capital and there are [illegible] on these chiefs who have not fulfilled their obligation to regain them. The cult has now been accepted by Kalibwa where official and [illegible] functions are over. Later he returns again to Ahaura.

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the company assemble before the consent and the cult, accompanied by his drummer and [illegible], comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the cult and, after declaring his allegiance, collect him to an [illegible] and to wear his people [illegible]. The cult is then conducted again round the houses of Dakuto and which he now has complete control.

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the occasions of each *Fabi* in 1937, each *Kaei* in 1944 and each *Dak* in 1948, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a cult is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of each *Kar* and *Fabi* which follows, it will be

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[1] Variously spelt: *Ahawa*, *Ahaiawa*, *Ahawai*.

purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shillah imagined that he would remain there for a few days rather before proceeding to Pishwala and were therefore too late to avoid the ceremonies.

I reached Kwam, near Dilbala, on the morning of the 6th February. As this early hour there was little activity, though many of the rell's followers [p.1] seem to be now clustered round Dilbala. There followed the usual delay while they filch, the due return duty is to provide a leader which is left backwards in front of the rell as he leaves for Dilbala. [p.2] Now still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward, four Chiefs who provide Nyahuro, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the rell and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyihang was on the move, and after stopping over the hill and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the rell and his company set out for Dilbala. I watched the procession depart and so far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the chief was the same as in 1944, though I guess that too orderly in the initial stages of the journey. [p.3] Since Mr. J. C. H. Thomas (who had attended the installation of rell Amel and of rell Dali) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the rell's party and to move northwards to follow the party of Nyihang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the rell's march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyihang. The rell appeared wearing a blue Grey envelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including Nyahuro, his baggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyihang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet lava, the rell on his own initiative had arranged that the new [p.4] Government police, stationed at Dilbala for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bell was effectively rung for the rell to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshment at the merchant's shop at Kwam which had been bamboozed by rell Amel on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the River Kempine was reached did the cavalcade, displayed in crowded line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyihang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyihang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the rell must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyihang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by chasing its captors and running away down River Kempine, from which it was only recovered with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the rell's forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyihang."

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his followers immediately put to flight the Rat's Army with whips, and the Rat is captured by Ryokung. The Rat is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Ryokung's company. Fukii could now be seen holding Ryokung by its cylindrical body, so that the outside feathers fanned on his head.

After a pause Ryokung and the Rat, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fukuoka. Here the white hall of Kwa Ohdi is again seen. It has been unwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Ryokung, the Rat, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Rat is lifted up and carried at full length by the Gwaro[1] in company with Ryokung which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the hall and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as souvenirs. Ryokung and the Rat are then carried to the Shrine of Ryokung and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a square stool with four square legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white damaser with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Ryokung should permanently prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Ryokung is then placed on the stool, and the Rat is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Rat, the small girl of Kwa Ohdi, and the man holding Ryokung.

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[1] Gwaro. This class seems full of mystery: cf. Watarumono, p. 109 et seq., 8 ce, 03, and 07. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they come was *Kwanto*. According to Fukii, they were the men of Ohdi son of Ryokung: a fight occurred between them and the Hodsu. All the older men were killed by the Hodsu, but some of the children were left. At this time Dowei should have become Rat, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Hohdsu. Finally Dowei came to his own, and he then took from those where the right of rear according to the Ritship. Since Dowei's time no man has become an Gwaro although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Rat; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Rat they make the shroud. The Rat on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Gwaro.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 565 term applies only to the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 644 [567] The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the king. This group is made up of the king's personal attendants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who [567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by [581] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 582 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In 644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside 565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one 582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth clan may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same clan, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, [326] ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of [301] bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species [237] of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced [326] with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 796 778 When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and [614] start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each
793 other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river,
182 the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the cere-
173 monies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

631 Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose
●616 confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 75. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 422.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been
[114] very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the smaller units which they comprise. Such a logical model would be misleading for the interpretation of the significance of the moieties, Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. These seem to function primarily, if not exclusively, in the election of the Shilluk kings, successors to Nyikang. In the election of 1943–4, of which we have a full description,[1] the two leaders of the religious moieties had first to reach agreement upon the successor of the dead king, and their choice was confirmed by a representative of the king's clan, which is not identified with either moiety. An electoral college, representing various settlements of Shilluk-land, then confirmed the choice, which, according to Shilluk custom, had to be one of the princes whose father had already been king. In this case the choice was very limited, and the electoral college at once accepted the proposal made by the leaders of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. Disagreement between these over the choice of the king is said to have led to fighting between the moieties in the past, and thus to civil war in Shilluk-land.

The division of the kingdom into Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang thus becomes effective at the election of the king, and the preliminaries to the installation of the new king do indeed create the division which Nyikang, the king's ancestor, is said to have created in the past.[2] When the leaders of the moieties have reached agreement, there is still a ceremonial opposition between them until the king has actually been installed, when the moieties are again put together in a single kingdom, the kingdom which Nyikang originally united under himself. The Shilluk kings conceive their country as a unity by dividing it into moieties, which separate and then unite, over the election of the king. The theme of the resolution of duality and separateness, perhaps an idea paralleled by that of crossing from one bank to another of the river, in order to make a unity consciously recognized by the Shilluk, may also be seen in other features of the installation ceremonies of 1943. The Shilluk king must be possessed by, or identified with, Nyikang, so that some writers say that he 'incarnates' Nyikang. At the installation ceremonies an effigy of Nyikang is brought from northern Shilluk-land, where Nyikang is said to have disappeared during a dance.[3] There is a mock fight between this effigy, accompanied by the effigies of Dak and Cal, and the king-elect. In this fight the king first retreats from the effigy, is then captured by it, and finally must seize from it a small girl, who plays an important part in the ceremonies. She appears to represent the wife of the king's office and, since the king is to take the place of Nyikang, who represents that office, he must also take the wife. Hostility between the king-

[1] The election may have been considerably modified by European and earlier rule, and the element of election by vote may have been stressed at the expense of a rather different principle, described below (p. 157).

[2] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 30. Pumphrey (1941) quotes a story in which the existence of Gol Dhiang, which may well be of later foundation than Gol Nyikang, is attributed to a later Shilluk king, but it is still a king who made it. This seems to refer to an earlier stage in the evolution of the kingship. Here we speak of the kingdom as it was at the election of 1943.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
686] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern
643 divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes
616 clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called Arepejur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepejur symbolises the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasised at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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reth is ceremonially impressed upon the minds of all his people. It is 616
the occasion when the *reth* is formally recognized by the Shilluk as a 631
whole. The public nature of the ceremony must be emphasized be- 643
cause prior to it, only limited sections of society—Kwareth, Ororo and the Colo chiefs—have been concerned.

The ceremonies which are enacted on this day are divided into 643
four distinct phases with a variety of ritual observance in each :-

1. The simultaneous march of the opposing armies to the high ground immediately south-west of Fashoda, and the mock battle which follows.

2. The capture of the *reth* by Nyikang, and the procession to the shrine of Nyikang in Fashoda.

3. The enthronement of the effigy of Nyikang on the sacred stool, the substitution of the *reth* for Nyikang on the stool, and the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang.

4. The retirement of the *reth* into the temporary camp, which is specially built for the occasion on the open ground immediately facing the shrine.

5. The ritual lighting of new fire by the Ororo and Kwareth just before sundown.

The first two phases are public and concern the tribe as a whole. The third phase, which retains a degree of mystery, is witnessed by limited sections of the population from outside and is screened even from them by a canopy. The *reth's* retirement into the temporary camp concerns him and certain traditional functionaries alone, and the rites which follow are carried out in strict secrecy. The fire-making ceremony concerns chiefly the inhabitants of Fashoda and the *reth's* immediate followers.

The main events of each phase are described from the records of all the observers who attended. We have deliberately avoided an over-detailed description of the events and behaviour of the participants,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Invertigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24 p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*. [114]

segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous settlements to combine for war against other settlements or under the leadership of an outstanding personality, but such combinations were not permanent, or even consistent enough for us to speak of them as political groups. The Turkish Administration tried to give greater consistency to them so that they could be used as administrative units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has done the same and calls them divisions and appoints a chief for each. Previously they appear to have been little more than districts or localities, and the only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of settlements were those of Ger, northern Shillukland, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than an administrative character, and those of Muomo and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern and southern marches of Shillukland, whose functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly, Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

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Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. mn.	C.I. mx.	N.I. mn.	N.I. mx.	S mn.	S mx.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			175.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	86.7	85.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	50.4	181.1		+				31						
	71.5	87.9			179.2												
D 3	70.2	85.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder R= right upper arm and shoulder B= Back A= Abdomen

mn= minimum mx= maximum

Tribal Marks.

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The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Nuer and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or brown beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is exempted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum , as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

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The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower incisors. Seligmann wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk the royal family alone keep their tooth intact." (17) From the results I have obtained and illustrated in table."C" we can make two observations:

a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,

b) that some royal members practice it.

The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
191] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
● 621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

621 ●
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [[162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a popula- 631]]
tion of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

•621 form a separate social community with its own
613 corporate life. This lineage is generally dominant
609 in numbers as well as in virtue of the prestige derived from its traditional association with the
[622] settlement site. The chief of the settlement is chosen from it and by its members, though the stranger lineages have some say in the election, which must be confirmed by the king (*reth*) of the Shilluk. Even when a stranger lineage, sometimes a branch of the royal clan (*kwareth*), becomes more numerous in a settlement than its dominant lineage and dispossesses its members of the chieftainship they still retain some prestige as owners of the soil. Unity in a settlement and the authority of its chief are said to depend on its integration around a powerful dominant lineage. I must, therefore, say something here about Shilluk lineages.

613 There has been, and still is, some obscurity about Shilluk descent groups. There are said to be in Shillukland about 100 groups designated by the word *kwa* (descendants) followed by the name of the ancestor of the group. These are often described in the literature as exogamous clans but many of them might perhaps be better spoken of as lineages. They have a typical lineage structure with its characteristic branching off in response to the formation

of new territorial units. Colonies of the same 613
lineage are found in several settlements, so that in
any settlement several different descent groups are [621]
represented, one of them, as I have already ex-
plained, being always dominant in it and identified
with the settlement politically. Although the dis- [614]
persed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and
sometimes acknowledge their common descent in
other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his
localized lineage, reference being usually to the
ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement.
It is interesting to note a further common feature 613
of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who 611
has settled with his wife's people trace their descent 621
through the wife to the lineage in whose home they
live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic
peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages
are grafted into the genealogical structure of the
dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until
we know more than we do at present about the
distribution of lineages, about their genealogical
structure, and about the part they play in inter-
settlement relations it will not be possible to esti-
mate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common 631
polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been
644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line-
[613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang*
565 *nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince
644 during his lifetime, and after his death their de-
613 scendants continued to live near the prince's
621 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general
[101] category of commoners, *colo*, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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631 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbañ as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
●621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
631 *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
114 list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

784 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
825 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—
825

"The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

136 ichneumon (mangeuste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of durra-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60000 souls,[1] who live in a little more than 1200 villages, and 10000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high; the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the [672] cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

36 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [882] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous ● 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.
[613]

The Settlement (poth)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [36] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang,
621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin-
ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the
[773] grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[622] The chief of the settlement, the *jago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jago* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage. 613 621 [182]

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pan dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pan dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pan dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyole myer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2) [611]

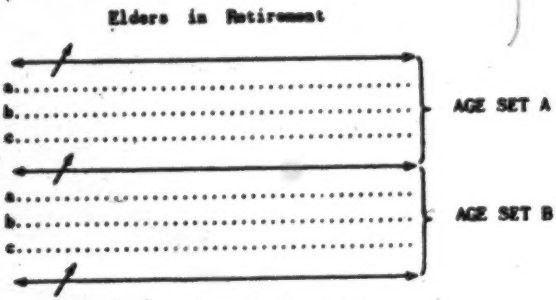
The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3) [631]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 'head', 'neck' and 'middle'. 561



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the *ngol* or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each sits in a special place and sings its own song. [764 574]

Age sets emphasise the solidarity of the settlement by organising the generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear 182 561 621

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(bun)* is elected. The *bun* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [621]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 592 [425] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol. 583 [584]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

existence. The smallest unit of Shilluk social structure is the family (*gol*) living in a homestead of one or two huts. From one to fifty or more such homesteads built together form a hamlet, the members of which keep their cattle together, and are gathered round a headman; a group of hamlets forms a settlement, of which there are about a hundred in Shilluk-land. The settlement is composed of branches of different descent groups, one of which is dominant within the settlement and forms a nucleus around which the others form themselves into a distinct community. This dominant descent group or lineage provides the leader or chief of the settlement. Settlements are politically opposed to each other, though there have been in the past loose confederations of settlements, which have been used, and sharpened in outline, for administrative purposes. The whole of Shilluk land is divided into two provinces, Ger in the north and Luak in the south. All the Shilluk recognize a common head of their whole land, the *reth*, who is here called the king; the king always comes from the royal clan, the *kwareth*, founded by the first Shilluk king, Nyikang; it is the largest clan in Shilluk land, and may have representatives in any settlement. There is now a royal capital at Fashoda. In Shilluk tradition the earliest Shilluk kings had no fixed capital, but reigned from their natal homes. Now, although the capital at Fashoda has been long established, the wives of the king are sent away from Fashoda to various parts of Shilluk land to bear their children, and the children of the king (*nyireth*) are brought up away from the capital. Only those princes whose fathers have been installed as kings of the Shilluk can themselves claim to be installed and, in theory at least, princes who are thus eligible may at any time advance their claims by killing the reigning king. Besides the royal clan, and the lineages of 'commoner' clans, known collectively as the *colo*, there is a distinct clan called *ororo*, originally a branch of the royal house, but said to have been disinherited and cut off by an early Shilluk king. Members of this clan have special duties to perform in connexion with the king, but do not have royal status. In addition, there are the *bang reth*, servants of the king, composed of wives of previous kings, descendants of personal attendants of the king, people possessed by the spirit of Nyikang or of some other king, and others who in one way or another have become retainers dependent on the royal house. From these come the guardians and priests of the shrines of Nyikang, of which there are several in various parts of Shilluk country, and the shrines and graves of other Shilluk kings. Offerings are made at these graves and shrines as part of the religious cult of Nyikang and the royal house, which is the main cult of the Shilluk, though offerings are made to their own ancestors also by the heads of the commoner lineages. Their totemic observances seem to amount to little more than not eating the totemic species, and both totemism and the cult of ancestors of commoner descent groups are said to figure less largely in Shilluk religion than the cult of Nyikang and the kings. Shilluk totemism may in fact be of Dinka origin. Besides the priests of the Nyikang cult, and operating apart from them,

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Lande als verschwunden betrachten." (20). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that the LAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It stands unique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1923. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Khalesa. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [855] [177] [177] [177] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jagoe's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this Respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming, Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) Those institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.; Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligmann, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "n"
(15) see above , table "C", card No B 3, he was the son of king Ior, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[17] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence
787] of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 30
(26) Ibid, p 30
[171] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Fung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*podh*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pac*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *puc*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

localized lineage within one settlement is certainly exogamous and there is also a bar to marriage into the maternal lineage. The clan, widely distributed in minor branches throughout Shilluk country, does not function as a corporate unit except at times of national festivals and then only in the sphere of ceremonial and ritual.

Marriage and Marriage Laws

As with the Nuer and Dinka, marriage among the Shilluk is achieved by the performance of recognized social procedures and the payment of bridewealth in the form of cattle, sheep, and goats. Nowadays, cash may be paid in addition to or in lieu of cattle, but not frequently and not in large sums.[1] It must be emphasized from the start that the Shilluk do not possess anything like the number of cattle owned by the Nuer and Dinka,[2] and for this reason alone the number of beasts paid as bridewealth is lower. Among the Nuer and Dinka the average ranges from fifteen to forty head of cattle according to the prevailing condition of the herds. Among the Shilluk the number is fixed at ten head, and although there have been times when few Shilluk were able to pay this number, it has been retained rigidly for several generations despite attempts by the Administration to reduce it. With sheep and goats, which are paid in addition but do not have the same significance, there is no such rigidity. The number of these seems to vary according to the attractions of the bride, though prevailing economic conditions doubtless play their part.

There is much to be found on the subject of marriage in the writings of Hofmayr, Westermann, and Seligman,[3] though many statements are misleading. This summary account of Shilluk marriage laws is based largely on the writings, both published and unpublished, of M. E. C. Pumphrey[4] who not only took into account previous literature but, as an administrator in Shilluk country for several years, had better opportunities to investigate the legal aspect of the subject. These are supplemented by my own direct observations.[5]

The Social Processes and Legality of Marriage

Pumphrey says:

> The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier (such as known consanguinity between the parties . . .) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering the woman's *got*[6] a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete.[7]

This transaction, which is limited to the immediate family of the parties to the marriage, is followed by *tieng mogho* (the brewing of beer) and a wedding dance (*mogho thiek*) to which many persons are invited and which therefore serves to make the union widely known. It is not, however, strictly correct to say that the marriage is,

[1] The tendency to use cash in lieu of cattle is apparently increasing.

[2] Ratio of human to cattle population: Shilluk 1:0·25; Nuer 1:2·5 (highest recorded).

[3] See Bibliography of the Shilluk, given in a previous article (*Africa*, xxii. 2).

[4] Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N.R.*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[5] Based on field work carried out in 1937 and on an investigation and analysis of the marriages of one Shilluk lineage carried out in 1948. The results are to be published later.

[6] Family group and legal guardians.

[7] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 25.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology. London School of Economics. 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realised when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *podh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [139 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyireth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

684 same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness
835 (*dwalo*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen farther
[621] removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation
[178] of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

684 The following court case illustrates the procedure.
69

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yac nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bride-
[848] wealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *okeijo*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogeng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yac cie dhano*)

Dogeng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil,
[851] but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is con-
[848] sidered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogeng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yac nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says:

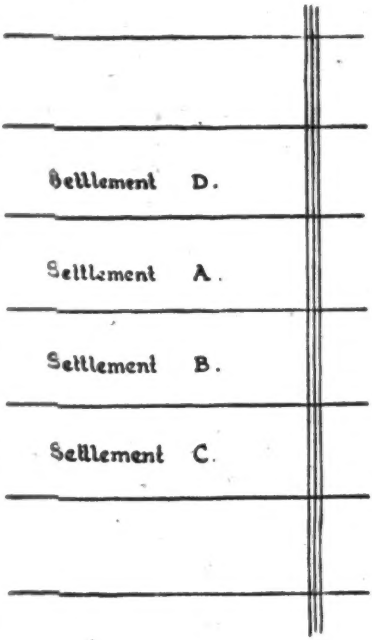
> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *bang*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947:

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 57.
[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.
[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

Other examples are recorded in the Shilluk District records.[1] Another important factor is the nature of Shilluk territorial organization. Settlements can, in a sense, actively continue a feud only with their immediate neighbours on either side. Thus, if a man of settlement *A* (see fig.) kills a man of settlement *B*, this may be the beginning of a feud which, though sometimes dormant, frequently breaks out again, because both sides are easily mobilized against each other; also it may lead to serious clashes in which the casualties may be considerable. At the same time, the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively greater. A feud between settlement *A* and settlement *C*, and even more between settlements *D* and *C*, is less easily sustained, though the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively less effective owing to territorial distance. Moreover, owing to kinship links which stretch across the boundaries of the settlements, there may be a tendency for intervening settlements to oppose further strife, or sometimes, on the other hand, to take sides in the affray, in which case internal warfare on a much wider scale may result. Demographic factors are here important and more easily discernible owing to the peculiar nature of Shilluk country and the way in which it is segmented in a continuous line from north to south, the boundaries being more or less at right angles to the Nile.



This form of sustained blood-feud between settlements in Shilluk society[2] is characteristic and endemic, and there are many instances both during the régime of the present Government and also during the previous Turkish administration, of which no official records are extant, but concerning which references may be found in the literature of early European travellers. Other forms of internal strife are either on a greater scale—widespread clashes often connected with subversive movements against the ruling *reth*—or minor hostilities within a settlement which concern the component lineages; from the evidence available, these appear to have been less prolonged than feuds between settlements. The first type of hostilities cannot really be

[1] The authorities were much exercised over the problem of feuds and homicide—at any rate up to 1935—and the incidence of homicide was until then very high indeed.

[2] I do not here attempt to correlate the Shilluk 'settlement' with similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. If one called the four main provinces 'primary segments', the divisions (*lak*) would be 'secondary segments' and settlements would be 'tertiary segments' as described among the Nuer. The use of similar terms, however, presupposes a similarity of structure which does not exist, for segmentation among the Nuer is based on the analogy of a lineage, but this is not so among the Shilluk. Furthermore, can the Shilluk 'nation' (sometimes called tribe) be compared directly to a Nuer 'tribe'? Similar difficulties arise when we attempt to compare political or social units among the Dinka, although

669 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly
621 composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence
[631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds
[628 between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are
643] to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on
[626] the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth'*s Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle,
692 but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Ngork Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within*
[621] a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jago* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor-car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwa* Oman lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwa* Oman are set in Ogod *Bata* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Welcome Report, 1911.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER II.
SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in propor-
tion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[221] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary
[883] cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
614 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates
631 in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer
grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk
and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth
of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, super-
imposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the
clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively
simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly
clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the
sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic
habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
182 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
721 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name
of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar*
Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor
is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the
tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and
although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has
ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (POOH).

The word *pooh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [63] [36]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
361 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
613 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong*
621 (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
613 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
621 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
622 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

THE HAMLET AND THE HOMESTEAD.

[613] Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *lau* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pan when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.

Its plural is *myor*.

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*lusk*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gen*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the paterfamilias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 614 644 554

With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

565 614 644

The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

644 591

The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

565 591 621 644 [361]

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE OROROO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tieh mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

631

Shilluk tribe ..	.. *Reth.*
Luak and Ger ..	.. Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang*.
Division (*luak*) ..	.. Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*)	.. Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*) ..	.. *Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	.. *Jal Gol.*

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

613 614

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

621

The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

361 484 [182] [678]

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Lau Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] [Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Analyst]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Reth*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

621 622 613 182 554

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

361 621 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] 103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have 361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. 621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yom Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as [613] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and 621 development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacada* = *Facada* (*Fachoda*).

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok- Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok- Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 361 621 613 621 361

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debolo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 613 621

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,[2] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [622] [124]

2. The special status of the *Ororo* is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).
[see MPumphrey, this File. -Analyst]

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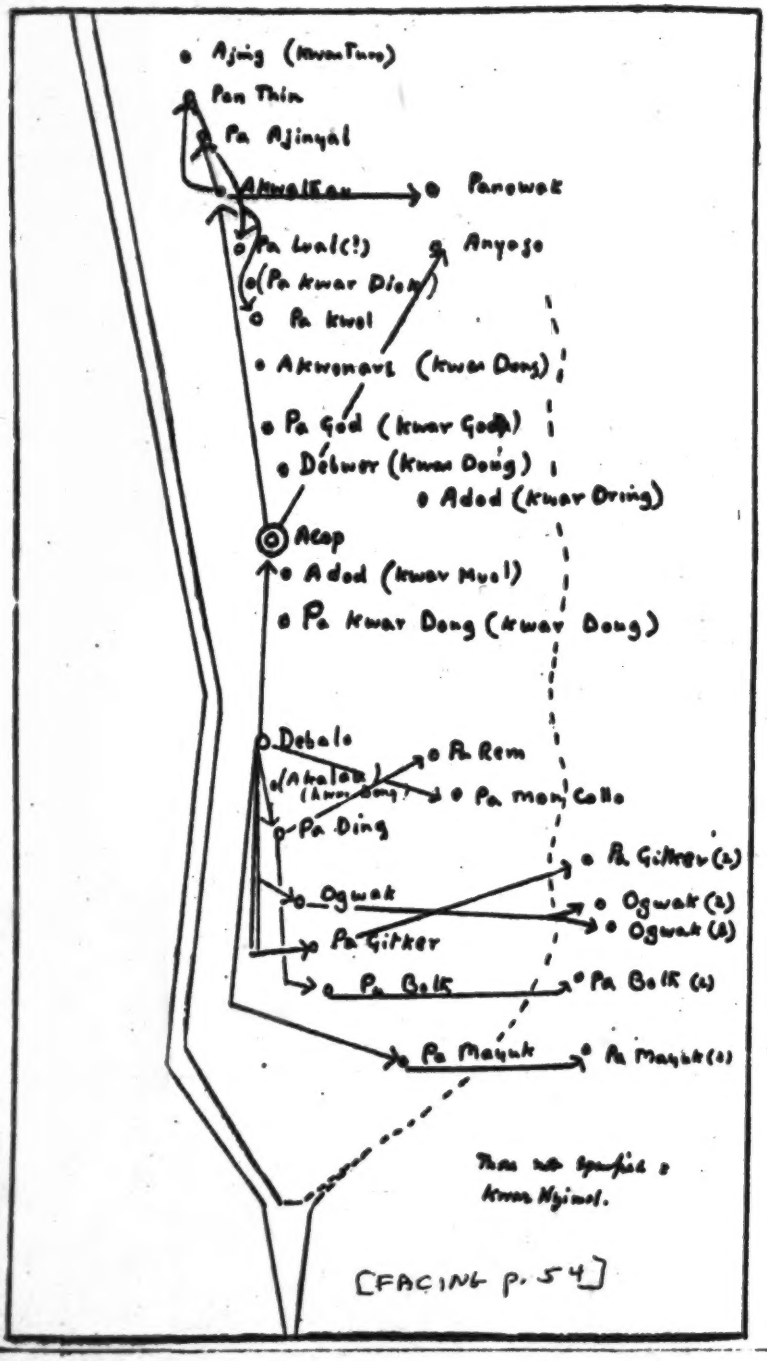

[FACING p. 54]

[124] 613 621 [173 565] recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameileh*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [428] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameileh* is now dead.

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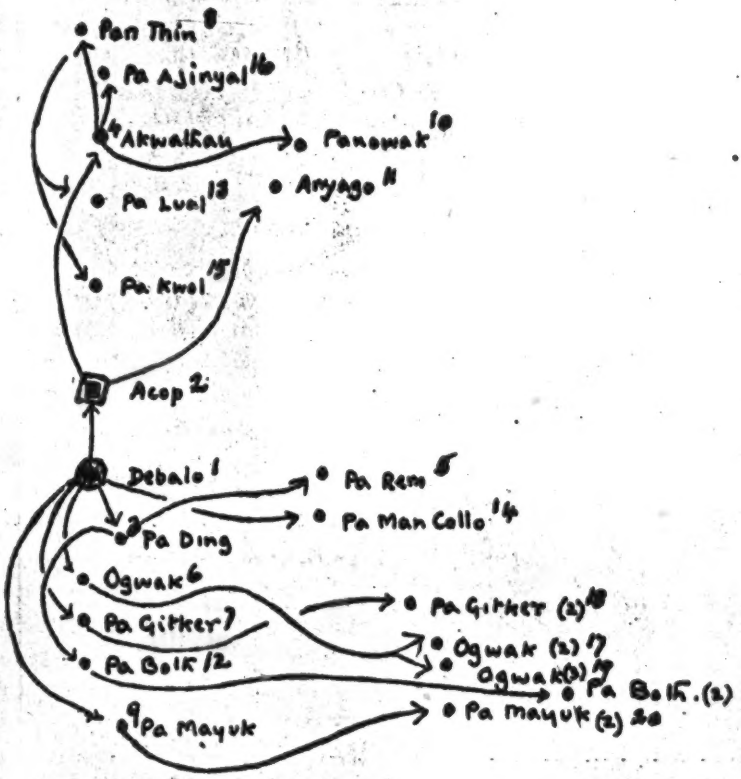

[FACING p. 55]

Ameyku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Man Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultung*. The daughter of *Kukwi* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 693 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [171] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes.*" 1923) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

> "Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority 182
is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual 561
obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which 614
unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The 622
Jago[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representa- 613
tives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the 643
settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*. 614

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and 561
prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial 613
proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male 621
members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but 182
does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in [701]
warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of 561
puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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7. Chief.

476 to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561 At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476 to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561 enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574 to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264] of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561 by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571 and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578 mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554 but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613 621

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Leak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do today when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into 631 further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of many villages. [614] Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is [621] the village or *bac*.[2]

615 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups 614 of clans.

644 (i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement": *S.N.R.* XXIV, 1941.
3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.
For Notes see pp. 73 ff.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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312 Aguno I stopped to watch a couple of men stretching and
[281] scraping a cow hide. One of them called to a girl in the village, his wife or sister, to bring him some water to soften the skin. With great reluctance she brought a large bowlful and stood by, while with lavish hand the man splashed the precious water on skin and ground indiscriminately. He then demanded more and I thought, and hoped, that she would refuse; that she would remind him that she had walked eleven burning miles to bring the water that he threw away so thoughtlessly. After a moment's hesitation, however, she picked up the bowl he had thrown at her feet and turned slowly towards the hut, but as she did so I saw two tears overflow from her brimming eyes and roll down her cheeks. Such
[562] drudgery is forced on these womenfolk by circumstance and custom, and we can only wish that things were in some way bettered.

361 But now let us proceed and see what a Shilluk village is
[487] like. We enter it along a little path which leads from the main road and passes through the dried up, yellow stubble of last season's millet plantation.

Passing through the space between the fences of two
[367] neighbouring homesteads, we come upon a large level circle of bare ground which is the playground of the village
[535] and its dancing floor. Sometimes it boasts a tree, green and leafy in contrast to its dun, dusty surroundings, under the refreshing shade of which the village elders gather to discuss
[521] the affairs of their little world: the price of cattle, the failure of the harvest, the prospect of the fishing. Under the tree, too, or at the further side of the dancing floor, are two large
[534] forked stakes driven into the ground to hold the drums. Around this circular central space the family dwellings are grouped.

[621] Villages vary in size, from the small hamlet consisting of two or three homesteads to a large settlement of sixty or seventy. An average-sized village contains about thirty families. All, however, are set up on the same plan, and the houses are built according to the same pattern. Each house-
351 hold consists of two houses set facing one another in a small

361 settlements on the east bank and along the lower
[161 reaches of the Sobat. Their country is treeless savan-
191] nah but, unlike their cousins the Nuer and Dinka,
[101 they are predominantly agricultural and sedentary,
137 for their long river frontage gives them adequate
233 water and grazing in the dry season for the com-
241] paratively few cattle (about 25,000) they possess.[1] The brief account I give of their social structure is mostly derived from articles in *Sudan Notes and Records* by Mr Pumphrey and Mr Howell.[2]

361 The hamlets (*myer*, sing. *pac*), built from 100
621 yards to a mile or so apart on high ground parallel to the river, vary in size from one to fifty home-
[592] steads; a homestead (*gol*), the residence of a family (*gol*), consisting usually of two huts encircled by a fence. Each hamlet is occupied by members of an extended family, or small lineage, with their wives, and the homesteads of this group are arranged in a rough horseshoe shape around a common cattle-byre, which shelters the animals in the rains and is used as a club at all seasons, and
621 a common kraal. The headman of a hamlet (*jal*
622 *dwong pac*) who is also the head of a lineage in

[115] [1] I am indebted to Mr John Donald of the Sudan Political Service for the most recent figures of human and bovine population.
[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 'The Shilluk Tribe', *S.N. and R.* (1941); P. P. Howell, 'The Shilluk Settlement', *ibid.* (1941).

621
the settlement of which it forms part represents the 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *podh*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [[162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a population of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult 631]]
males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

621 form a separate social community with its own
613 corporate life. This lineage is generally dominant
609 in numbers as well as in virtue of the prestige derived from its traditional association with the
[622] settlement site. The chief of the settlement is chosen from it and by its members, though the stranger lineages have some say in the election, which must be confirmed by the king (*reth*) of the Shilluk. Even when a stranger lineage, sometimes a branch of the royal clan (*kwareth*), becomes more numerous in a settlement than its dominant lineage and dispossesses its members of the chieftainship they still retain some prestige as owners of the soil. Unity in a settlement and the authority of its chief are said to depend on its integration around a powerful dominant lineage. I must, therefore, say something here about Shilluk lineages.

613 There has been, and still is, some obscurity about Shilluk descent groups. There are said to be in Shillukland about 100 groups designated by the word *kwa* (descendants) followed by the name of the ancestor of the group. These are often described in the literature as exogamous clans but many of them might perhaps be better spoken of as lineages. They have a typical lineage structure with its characteristic branching off in response to the formation

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
565 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single [162] clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief-[173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

He[1] makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 793
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [780]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 622
and their association with lineages is, as we have [773]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622 •
778

1 [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

182
622
631 particular, ceremonial services at the king's investi-
778 ture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is
both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang,
and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and
182 those of past kings. These shrines are widely dis-
778 tributed throughout the country so that every
[794] section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang,
who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-
divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king
at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines
of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his
cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-
shrines of dead kings and they have the same
ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in
the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and
182 in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion
643 and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with
the political system through the identification of
Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the
centre of Shilluk moral values.

775 We can only understand the place of the kingship
771 in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the
776 individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dē Jǫk Buin Dānyimǫ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayīk, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayīk with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwǭrǫ (which was the village of Ayīk) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayīk) were caught, and Ayīk was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kgí mak nam, ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ kɛ̄ḍǫ[1], *ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ nīnị gat, ka bǫ́i mɛ̄n peń, ka rech e bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka bǫi mūgo kị rech, ka jɛ̄ ʈūḍǫ, ka jɛ̄ chāmǫ. Ka wǫu rū, ka mays bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ mūgǫ, ka ńań ka kḷ́l, ka e makǫ kị ḍāp. Ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ rɛ́ńa wǫk, ka tyɛ́ń ʈ̄ɛ̄k e dɛ̄ńǫ, ka ḍāp ʈūć gɛ wǫk, ka nań nɛ́kɛ́. Ka tɛ̄rǫ kā wǫk, ka jāke bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka gɛ pɛ̄chǫ: ńań a gwɛ̄k edi? Kịne: e nɛ̄k! Kịne: dɛ ɛ ya kɛ́ń? Kịne: nut. Yech! Ka yech. Ka e ko: ńǫ́ld, bā gik lūgǫ. Ka kịte pach lūgǫ, ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄ŋǫ chɛ̄, ka ńań ʈ̄ḷ́l yị jāgǫ, ńańe lūgǫ. Ka e chwǫtǫ jɛ̄, ka jāk dwai, ka e chām; ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ ko: ū, ńań an dɛ̄ch. Ḍukị mɛ̄kǫ ka ńań mɛ̄kǫ kwáń, ka chām yị ʈ̄ɛ̄re yau.* 539*

Ka jūgǫ e chwɛ̄tǫ, ka ʈ̄ɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka e pɛ̄chǫ kịne: wuna yik jā̄k, ya peńa gịche mɛ̄kǫ, gnd kwāńu kị yey nam ká; kịne: ā gin ńńò? Ya peńa kwǫ́l. Kịne: ɛ́, kúchè wǫ́n! Kịne: ɛ́, fate ńań a chām kị pay ńate? Kịne: ɛ́, e chāmǫ, ńwǫle ńań ʈǫpǫ. Kịne: ɛ́, chōlá! Ka e kygdǫ, kịne: ya ba chudǫ. Kịne: ɛ́, wa kā Bachōdǫ. Kịne: ɛ́, wa kɛ̄ḍǫ.

Ka gɛ kɛ̄ḍǫ, ka gɛ wịta Bachōdǫ, ká gɛ̀ gḍ́ńò, kịne: wuo (wuę), yá ḍálè yị kwǫ́p kwǫfe ńate; kwǫ́l a chámè ɛ́n, kwǫl lūgǫ. Kịne: ḷ́, yị chama ńǫ, ńate? Kịne: wuo, kúchè yán. Rịt e ko: grɛ, (γɛ́dɛ́), kɛ̄t chōl kị ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, kị ḍāp! Ka e bɛ̄ŋǫ, ka e chudǫ ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, kị ḍāp; ka gɛ kḷ́l kōle rịt, y ʈ̄ɛ̄re lịne[2], *ka gɛ rūmǫ.*

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was 539* 526 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

*539 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate."
● 622 So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came;
687 the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ka jāk ríŋ Túgò, jāk a párí, chwǫla Ńewājǫ. Ka wǫŋ ka gɛ ńí bīnǫ, gɛ bīr[2] ga wǫŋe chót, ka gɛ ńí gwǫtǫ wiy pach kí chāńǫ. Ka ríŋ ɛ kōbǫ kíne: bǫ́h, gɛ rɛ ru wǫŋ, a réi gìn gwǭtǫ? Kíne: tygre pān gní. A gīr pān gní, a Pachōdǫ; a dɛgɛ Tugǫ yǫ́ɛ, a kōbí Tugǫ kíne: fān gní y chǭk á pà rīnɛ́! A bāńe ńí rīnɛ́ ūdǫ yǫ́ɛ. A rām á jàgò, a kōbí kíne: ka wǫda y rīnɛ́, a rīnɛ́.*

*539 King Tugǫ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyewājǫ.
643 And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen
173 without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Pachōdǫ. Tugǫ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief. [2] From bǭdǫ "to be".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 *ka ʈom kɨ̱l wɔ̱k, ka Chɔ́lɔ̀ (Chɔllɔ) bɛ̱nɔ̱ bɛ̱ne bɛ̱ne, ká tɛ̱rɔ̀ chɛ̱ɲɔ̀, ka wɛ̈ni kɨ wɔ̱r, ka tɛ̱rɔ̱ chɛ̱ɲɔ̱, ka rɨ̱ɟ a kwɔch:*

Ya kwache kɨ mátɛ̱ɲɔ́, má kɛ̱la ɖɔ̱ga. Pɛ́ɲ e rɛ̱ɲ́ júr, Lɛ́ɲ-dárɔ́ chɛ dɛ wɛ̱lɔ.
Yá kɛ̱ɲá yi máyɛ́ banda ɲa Ńjidwai, Akolɔ, ɲaɲ Ńikɛ̱ɲɔ.

*539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they
782 come and besmear the temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make
796 stripes on the temple with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lenydaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyidwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

● 622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the
789 people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
233 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Dure", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 789 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lén kgn é châgí, ajwɔgɔ ní de dwâi, ká ḍɔ̀k gɔ̀ń, ka e bɛ̀nɔ, ka dyɛ̀k gwâch, ka tɔ̀ń gwách, ka yai bɛ̀nɔ, ká àkɛ̀t kɛ̀t. Ka tɔ̀ń mɛ̀n pén, ka tɔ̀ń akyɛ̀l mɛ̀n pén; ka akɛ̀t twóchè rɛ́. Ka yai e bɛ̀nɔ, ka kɛ̀la ʈá àkɛ̀t; akɛ̀te ya màl, e twojɔ bwɔ́l tɔ̀ń. Ñànɔ̀ mák yí akɛ̀t, ka ńi chip wɔ̀i, ka ńāne a ńi mak ńi chip wāi. Ka jɛ̄ chɔ̄ʈɔ kí dɔ̄ch. Ka tin, ka yai kɔ́fí: fɛ̀ke fén. Ka ońwɔk kwɔ̀ń, ka tɔ́yè fén, ka yɛjɛ kâk, ka wíjɛ ńɔ̀l, ka wɔ̀i kɔ̄l wɔ̀k, ka ńi lɛ̀ń kɛ̀le jɔ̀. Ka wich ańwɔk ka kwáń yi ajwɔ̄gɔ́, ka ńi lɛ̀ń fɔ̄ɲ gní ki ńím yāi. U̱[1] yik wiche ońwɔk y nɛ̄nɔ kundo foɲ gni, ka yé kine: foɲ gní de chyɛ̀ʈò, kwɔf ajwɔ̄gɔ. U̱ yik wiche ońwɔk y nɛ̄nó kun adi lén, ye kine: leń rach! Ka ajwɔ̄gɔ e ʈɛ̀ʈò kɛ̀ʈé, ka yech kɔ̄l, ka kɔ̀t, ka mɛ̀kɔ chíki kɔ̀tò, ka ajwɔ̄gɔ kɛ̀ɡò, ka ońwɔ́ń mɛ̀kɔ kɔ̄l, ka nɛ̄k, ka wijɛ chíki (chɛ̀ki) wɔ̀tò, ká lɛ̀ʈ yi ajwɔ́ń gní, ka e ko: dɔ̄ch! Dwai ʈɛ̀rɔ bɛ̀nɔ! Ka ʈɛ̀rɔ bɛ̀nɔ. Ka wāi kwɔ̀ń́é, ka gɔ̀ ʈɛ̀ń́é rɛ́ ʈɛ̀rò. Ka e kɛ̀ɡɔ. Ka wich ońywɔk ka y kwɔ̄ń́í fen. Ka pi ʈɔ̄ɲ, ká gò ʈɛ̀ń́é rɛ ʈɛ̀rɔ. 539*

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are loosened (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539* 721 787

[1] ɡ.

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the [678] cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

364 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [882] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.
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The Settlement (pouh)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [364] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-
613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *wedh*. It is said that Nyikang,
621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin-
[173] ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *wedh*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *wedh* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *wedh* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[629] The chief of the settlement, the *jago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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[173]
[175]

The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwong pac* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs. 613 622

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.) 592

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Lusk & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
·····Division *(Lusk)*·····	·····Division or Court Chief·····
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal dwong pac*
Homestead *(Gol)*	*Jal Gol*

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(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.) [648]

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful. 643 114

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials. 631 643

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.39.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [173]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2) 775

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp. 16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too 425
much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the 431
old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his [622] ●
master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, 425
nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When 484
a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not 593
allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not [843]
permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked 425
upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a 556
financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for 535
the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. 476
When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it 462
out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often 241
the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. 735
They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general 241
statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over 614
the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been [613]
termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note.

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic 621
"dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or [192]
a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure.

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in [63]
size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines [36]
approximately at right angles to the river.

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative 613
difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first 621
to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dis- [182]
sident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan.

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It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. 554
The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered 613
the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from 621
subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally 622
the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil*

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554 lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to dispossess the *dyil* lineage of the chieftainship[10] of the settlement. Nevertheless the *dyil* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftainship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three lineages in turn (*e.g.*, Odong Fanyikang).

Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*pan*
361 *dwong*)[11] subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
613 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *pan dwong*
621 (*i.e.*, the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
613 submerged in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
621 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
622 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration of the settlement suffers accordingly.

The Hamlet and the Homestead.

[613] Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*pac*) is a homogeneous unit
621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage. Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

10. The *las* (meaning sheepskin) is the insignia of chieftaincy. The name has been transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief receives, usually from the *Reth*, on his appointment.

11. *Pac* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:
pas when followed by a qualifying adjective.
pa when followed by a genitive.

Its plural is *myer*.

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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Ororo*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Ororo*, are usually treated with a certain outward defence by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[18]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Ororo*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
566 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristoc-
614 racy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes
644 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk
[625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are
554 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*),
566 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyireth*
614 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (slided into
644 *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

18. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

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who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

The settlement has already been described as the basic element in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyibol. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abodok who had previously ruled after the death of Bum and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Alhakong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abodhok. Abodhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abodhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abodhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Collo, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Rath* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

681

Shilluk tribe	.. ..	*Rath.*
Luak and Ger	.. ..	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang*.
Division (*luak*)	.. ..	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*)	..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	.. ..	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	.. .. ..	*Jal Gol.*

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

554 613 621 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage of the *Kwar Rak*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhok-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Dwong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adol*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhok Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through long association with the territory, or acquires the position through numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

621 622 613 182 554

chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group.

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac*,) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by enterprising young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place fo their founder.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok- Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok- Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants. 361 621 613 621 361

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period. 613 621

Kwar Nyimol are *Orovo*,[8] but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol* [622] [124]

8. The special status of the Orovo is explained by Mr. Pumphrey (page 12).
[see M'Pumphrey, His Fib. Analysis]

[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Orore* from the *Kwar Rak*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Amsilak*[1] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [128] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 619] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Rak*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gilker* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gilker* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayak*, *Okwano* the son fo

1. *Jago Amsilak* is now dead.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jago*[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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7. *Chief.*

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set.

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631
government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, 643
"if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang 666
and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" 669
—presumably to prepare for war.

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, 631
and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the 643
chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; 666
no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying."

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election 643
of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an 669
awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists.

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as 643
follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who 669
fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the 622
chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos-

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of
669 warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for
only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that
[623] Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home,
as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies
with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—
there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of
itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the
electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would
be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause,
as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolise his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

631 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts
643 to receive the homage, unofficially and without ceremony, of the chiefs
of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for
a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross
643 discourtesy. The *reth*'s brothers too all come, or should come, to
644 pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal dueng*,' he says, '*Yi sis*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi sat*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ban)* is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says:

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *bany* or *bang*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947:

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 33.
[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.
[3] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

701 have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself
578 is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is
appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot
624 on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature,
the *bany*, like the *nyireth*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the
578 matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their
701 *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive
manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in
Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing
[643] singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up
on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend
themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok
(*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed
a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia
(where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk
section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants
of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this
was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda
might have led to anything.[2]

578 I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action
against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that
643 the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital,
in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is
typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for
long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

175 There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from
Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many
628 men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered
and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away
and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight
in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the
river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price
of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are
accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and
1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during
this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and
larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace cere-
[643] mony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been
628 mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of
feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, " Who brought this rek ? " His wife replies, " The women brought it." He asks, " What do they want ? " His wife replies, " An ox." His wife says " They will return." He says, " They will find nothing." His wife replies, " So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

484 562 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village 624 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by 484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on 626 her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For 593] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill- [753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come 755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, [788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when 556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to 431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about [533] his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 425 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. 431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might 578
have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly 628
after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent [797] a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another [625] to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner 578
chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortu- 628
nate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple 648
of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not 634
merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment 578
and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The 628
rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even 731
648

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important
606 from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's
603 parents *ewa*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kwara*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated
602 in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ewa*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wu* and the *awu*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so
583 long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship
[581] can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own
[593] sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour.
● 620 The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle
583 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately
586 distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable.
607 Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The *dak saw* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*awia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *awa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *awa* who are her clansmen. 583

The *jaw saw* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jaw saw* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *makdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *rek* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 584

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his *awa*, and the *ajuego* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 196). [842]

when a man dies, and he has children, his property
114 is taken by the eldest

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk
about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your
elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it
all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted
or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay
all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the
younger one gets his part. *After* that they again hold a big palaver, and they
make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The
eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the
younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid,
the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother
marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the
house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the
children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Ŋɛ̄ŋ ʌ́ɲà, ɣwɔ́dɔ́, ɛ́ bɔ́ŋ wɔ́k, ka ʌ́ɲʌ́l, ka cʌ́ɲʌ́ɲ ʌ́ɲʌ́ɲ, ka ɔ́ɔn gwí ɔ́ ɛ́ɲɔ́ɲ, ka bíŋ ʌ́ŋ kwʌ́p: yɔ́ ɛ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ŋ ɔ́ ɛ́ŋɔ́!* Ká bʌ́ɲ ɡɔ́ɔ́k, ka ʌ́ɲɔ́ bíŋ wɔ́ɔ́, ka ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɛ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ŋ yʌ́ɲɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́m, ɡɛ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́. Ká ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ʌ́ɲɔ́ rʌ́ŋ; ka ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́k yʌ́ɲ, ɡɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲ, ka ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́l. Ká ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́l ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́. Ká ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ rʌ́ŋ, ʌ́ɲɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́. Ká ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ rʌ́ŋ, ka rʌ́ŋ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́, ʌ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́: ʌ́ɲɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́! Ká ʌ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́, ka ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́, ɡɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́. Ká ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ wʌ́ɲ, ka ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, ka bíŋ yí jʌ́ɲɔ́, *ʌ́ɲɔ́: kwʌ́p ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́!* *Ʌ́ɲɔ́: kwʌ́f ɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́.* Ká ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́l, ka ɡɛ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́, ka ɡɛ́ wʌ́ɲɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɡɔ́k, *wɔ́ɲɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ rʌ́ŋ.* Ká ɡɔ́ɔ́ rʌ́ŋ yʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́, *ʌ́ɲɔ́: ɡʌ́ɲ ɔ́ɔ́k!* Ká ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ wʌ́ɲɔ́, ka ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ʌ́ŋ́l, ka ɡɔ́ɔ́ rʌ́ŋ ɔ́ ʌ́ɲɔ́, *ʌ́ɲɔ́ Fɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ʌ́ ʌ́ŋ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲ, ɡɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k.* Ká rʌ́ŋ ʌ́ɲɔ́ɔ́ ɡʌ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́k, *wɔ́ɲ ɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́l ɡʌ́ɲ.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer)
runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man
last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions. 613 [614]

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members. [591]

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding gol leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the gol to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a gol leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his gol still unmarried and requiring cattle. The gol leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognized that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2) 428 428 572 [625] [626]

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it. 423.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the fourth may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of dor's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters. 582 [595 554]

Bridewealth.

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments ground between representatives appointed by the suitor's gol and by the girl's gol. 583 [624]

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) Ibid., p.23.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds between adjacent settlements often formally sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the role of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth's Role in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds

On this subject the Seligmans say:

> As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Nyok Dinka as any rule are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 19.

[2] Lineage hostility between kinship groups within a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently dined with the *faqir* of Ogwal Pur (now his home is the centre north of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the five Omam lineage living just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these five Omam are not in Ogwal but which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogwal Pur. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 48. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law . . . .' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Wellcome Report, 1911.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very 78
fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil 79
eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 80

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it 55
be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it 6 72
for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry 751
when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the 754
child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is effected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones 7 54
that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do 8 26
not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, 626
they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the 757
man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear 431
someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going 735
to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has 7 51
the evil eye. 754
626

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

626 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front, for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.

When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [536 543] oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 755] will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush [533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 426 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. 431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been 788 given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman 735 takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles 241 it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as 425 it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is 556 often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[30]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 592 614

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [581] [627]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613] [614] [612]

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
F J23 Shilluk F J23

APPENDIX V.

The Character of the Shilluk and some of their Conventions.

177 The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which
186 most other features of their character spring. Their intense conservatism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Reik's* chief policeman, an intelligent
[62] man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When
153 a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear sewed garments like the children of the town people. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more *intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the* Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwenyirak* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Murle. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

daughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set.

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Coug Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Coug Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Coug Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears.

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together; but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Coug* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no older brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time of the early-maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth* elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over quickly: maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a desire to grill the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the *reth* had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty cut down as far as possible.

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an interesting gage, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of *reth* Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but public opinion required that those who could, should help according to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived further away.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18s.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634 solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment
that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of
the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the
missing money and to be held in custody until he did so.
This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box,
since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the
rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that
we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed.
Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the
boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the
money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that
although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his com-
panion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come
forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for
the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for
confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry
was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very
strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a
sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626 finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
789 sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the
courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear
thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the
river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a
sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it
taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its
left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents
are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left
but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet
doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disas-
ter. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. 692 The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the *gol* leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

643 682 [676] [677] Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, [680] the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

608 645 692 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is [711] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.187.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.191.
(4) Oyler, S.N.R. 1930, Vol.XIII, No.3, pp.356-99.

'9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *ruth* or Ghost - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghosts - a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.*, xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajuogo*, magicians, *jal yat*, sorcerer, *yuak*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

683 When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
754 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

578 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
754 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish
683 that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

693 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
694 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

693 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
[692] to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[65] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the gnu antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
693 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Holmayr, quoting Father Bachelot, describes the investiture of
577 a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his overall ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clapping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but he just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 111. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ugo*.

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the "army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the dura is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Jal wijkp, jal Mwyang, jal wdiljah, ka wjhè yi rij Yo. Ka typi pin i yuijéi. Ka ji ni lui yi fiip bunt, ka yy ni mudg, ka yy chpi wgt, ka ji e lipi pyur ahi-bytl, ka wpho ffp, ka yy dwgl; ka yy rwng dwgl, ka yy typi; ka yy rumo typi, ka bil lipl wgh, ka ffip lifl, ka wjh, wgn yyy bil; ka bil tjii wgt hi lipr, ka bil tjii wgt, ka ffipy lifl, ka wjh; ka yuyyr yuph, ka pyur ahi kyyl lifl wjh, ka yy wjh. (lpa) ffip a wjhè yi rij. K'à gui anun, ka Chpl a lugyy lipa.

A certain man, a man of Mwyang, a very good man, was killed by king Yo. His relatives mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), those were caught by the relatives of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were Abyssinians. The Abyssinians came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks ran away to their villages. 173 539*

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Amaro have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

47. Tribal War.

Kal ołyył ɔ łɛɲɔ bɛɛ yɔł, ka kal ołyył ɔ łɛɲɔ, ka lɔt łɛł. Ka ɣłɛ ɔ łɛł, ka ɣłɛ ɔł ɣłɛł, ka ɣłɛ ɔɲłɛ ɔł ołłł łłł, łɛr (łɛłɛ) ɲi ɣɔ ɣɛr, ka lɔr ɔɲłɛ, ka ɲi ɔłł ołył, ɣłɛ ołłp. Łɔt ɣłł, łɛɲi ɔ ɔɲɔ bɛɛ łɛ ɣɔɲ ɣłɛ, ka ɣɔ ɣɔɲ ɲɔch. Łɛ ɣłɛ ɔɲɔ łɛłɛ ɔɲɔ ɔł łɛłɛ ɔɲł łł ɔɲr. Jɔ ɔł bɛɛ łɛ łłł łł ɔɲr. Jɔ'ɔł łłɔłɔ ɔɲł łł ɣɔɲ łɔɲł. 539*

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the warriors scatter. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time. 539* 628

(After a war) the people come to Ɛo in wait during the night.[1] — The people are accustomed to urinate in the house, in a gourd.[2] [514]

48. The War of Nyokɔr.

Jal ɔłłɛ ołɔɲłł Ńołłr, ɔɲłł Dɔr, łłł, łłł, ka ɔ łɔłłɔ, ka ɔɲɔɔ Tɔłɔɲɔ łɛ ɔɲłɔ. Ka Tɔłɔɲɔ ɔłłł, ka ɣɔ ɔłłł. Ka łɔɲɔ ɲi Yołłt, ka ɔ łłłɔ łł łɔt, ka ɔɲłɔɔ Dłłłł, ka łɔt ołył ɲi Dłłłł; ka łɔt ɣłołł ɔɲɔ, ka łɔt ɔɲł; ka bɛɛ ɲɔch, ka ɔ ɣɔɲ. 539*

Some man whose name was Nyokɔr, the son of Dor, was very, very brave. He went and turned towards Tonguro (in the Dinka country) to capture. He destroyed Tonguro and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was imitated by Yodit, he too raised an army and marched against Dingjol, but his army was chased by Dingjol, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. Yodit went home and repeated what he had done. 173 539*

49. The War of Deng.

Jal ɔłłɛ ołɔɲłł Dɛł, ka ɣłɛɲ ɔ łɛłł łł Dɔɲɔł; ka Yołłłt. Ka łɛɔ ołł, ołł Yɛł, ka łɔt ɔ łɛłɛ, ka ɲi ɔłł ɔɲ ɣɔłɛɲ. Ka Ołłłɛ ɔłłł, ka ɔ łɔr: łɔt ɔ ɔł łɛłɔ ɔɲɔł, łł ɔɲɔł ołł. Ka, ɔ ɔłłłɛ, ka ɔ łɔłɛ łł ɣł, ka ɲi łłł ɔłł, ka łɛɲɔ 539*

[1] This is blood revenge; if one tribe has more dead than the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.
[2] for fear of being killed when going out.

LEGAL PROCEDURE

According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headmen is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the reth. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the reth's judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the reth's peace, disputing the reth's judgement, breaking the reth's and Nyikang's laws.

Information suggests that in practice in the past the reth's judicial authority was by no means unlimited. Hofmayr maintains that no order or judgement of the reth's court was executed by the reth's bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to Seligman and Hofmayr, the reth kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political power.

Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the reth supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the reth's intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the reth is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the reth is comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chief.

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.127.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.127.
(4) Oyler, S.N.R. 1926, Vol.III, No.2, pp.296-99.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F32

have no value in defence.[1] The *kwoy* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *kwoy* himself is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mummy on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *kwoy*, like the *quwak*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *kwoy* and the Chief failed to report the matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *kwoy* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was repeated in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *kwoy*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (circa 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awiu, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to deposed him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been further removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been continued for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1907–17) Hodmayr says:

There was a great fight between Owaci and Tweem. Bardsley relates: 'A man from Owaci had been bewitched in Tweem and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and enclosed by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tweem people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tweem people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hodmayr in 1907, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Tweem and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Tweem, have been mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. F. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hodmayr, op. cit.

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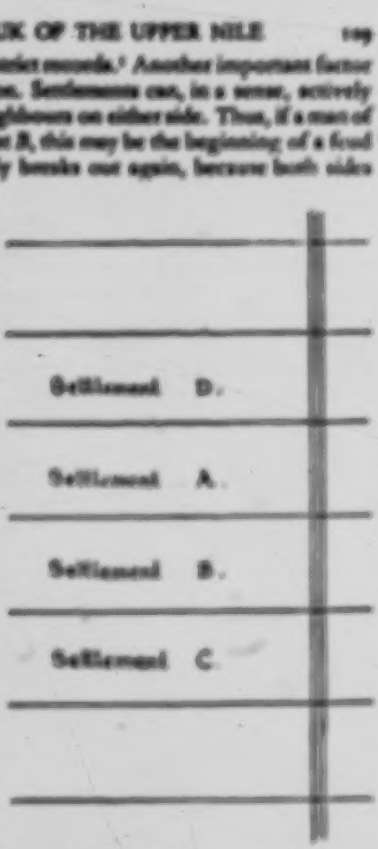
Other examples are recorded in the Shilluk District records.[1] Another important factor is the nature of Shilluk territorial organization. Settlements can, in a sense, actively continue a feud only with their immediate neighbours on either side. Thus, if a man of settlement *A* (see fig.) kills a man of settlement *B*, this may be the beginning of a feud which, through sometimes dormant, frequently breaks out again, between both sides are easily mobilized against each other; also it may lead to serious clashes in which the casualties may be considerable. At the same time, the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively greater. A feud between settlement *A* and settlement *C*, and even more between settlements *D* and *C*, is less easily sustained, though the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively less effective owing to territorial distance. Moreover, owing to kinship links which stretch across the boundaries of the settlements, there may be a tendency for intervening settlements to oppose further units, or sometimes, on the other hand, to take sides in the affray, in which case internal warfare on a much wider scale may result. Demographical factors are here important and more easily discernible owing to the peculiar nature of Shilluk country and the way in which it is segmented in a continuous line from north to south, the boundaries being more or less at right angles to the Nile.



This form of sustained blood-feud between settlements in Shilluk society[2] is characteristic and endemic, and there are many instances both during the regime of the present Government and also during the previous Turkish administration, of which no official records are extant, but concerning which references may be found in the literature of early European travellers. Other forms of internal strife are either on a greater scale—widespread clashes often connected with subversive movements against the ruling rule—or minor hostilities within a settlement which contravene the component lineages; from the evidence available, these appear to have been less prolonged than feuds between settlements. The first type of hostilities cannot really be

[1] The authorities were much exercised over the problem of feuds and homicide—or any one up to 1939—and the incidence of homicide was until then very high indeed.

[2] I do not here attempt to correlate the Shilluk "settlement" with similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. If one called the four main provinces "primary segments", the divisions (fall) would be "secondary segments" and settlements would be "tertiary segments" as described among the Nuer. The use of similar terms, however, presupposes a similarity of structure which does not exist. Or any correlation among the Nuer is based on the ordinary of a lineage, but this is not so among the Shilluk. Furthermore, can the Shilluk "section" (sometimes called tribe) be compared directly to a Nuer "tribe"? Further difficulties arise when we attempt to compare political or social units among the Dinka, although

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669 681 [631] described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly compound that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the feuds is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the lesser form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized force.

[628] 693 In the case of civil war over the succession of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was also *ciro ciro*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the role of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth's Role in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 692 *As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.*[3]

the Nyarik Dinka or any one are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 19.

[2] Local hostility between kinship groups within a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jaga* of Ojwal *Fur* from his home in the western south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the Jur Gimma lineage living just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these Jur Gimma are not in Ojwal Fur which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ojwal *Fur*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 48. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligmann supported the view that the king had absolute power. "In the old days his word was law."

The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk, Wellcome Report, 1911.

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There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes:

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance. 643 642 682

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Palour, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Palour and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the ornaments and cattle away from the village, even the clothes of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that: [114]

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ryo ered* ('man of crime') or *ednw* ['slaves' of the Royal Household]. [567]

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances. 114

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Owaci and Thworo already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows: 643 628

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the settlers of Owaci and Thworo on their traditional battle-ground on 1-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and 2nd. He then went to Thworo where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Thworo companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a much sweat and very excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit. [2] Westermann, The Shilluk People, 1912, p. 160.

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● 678 643 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly waiting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[678] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will immediately be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

[782] The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed in the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud. [787] Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Fashoda and Panyidwai in 1926.[3]

[678] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth's* executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organisation of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S. [69] Cyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimum, Fakoi, Farwum, and Fair[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Tiberington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawar*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Tiberington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that such meat contaminated should with the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ngol*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic culture for the establishment of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Tiberington, at Malakal, dated 1.4.26.

[4] Cyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

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tional guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak.'

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice' is mixed with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, unlyrical of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[9] Later we hear that 'he (*the reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added more seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' Then, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were petted with the stomach contents.

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a troublesome or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. He did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or villages to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the village and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkiia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was nothing incompatible in it with methods of those days.'[10]

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1903, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.'

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition

[9] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wal Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[10] 'A note on Customary Law', dat. [illegible] (unpublished). The italics are mine.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of cattle, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Tiberington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and kindly admonished them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hodmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1931) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1909–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fadiet when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara Alawa: Lebt, whereby several tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Tiberington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1909) too.

9.Howell E-5 (1937-1950) - 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhum*, "the replacement of a man". Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of "ghost-marriage",[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with "blood-cattle" is called *ayo ed dhum*, "the girl in place of the man";[2] and although she is not married specifically "to the name of the dead man", as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken on marriage or assigned as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hodgson says: "To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a nam*). In 1922 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village)."

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, where homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the penetrating negotiations described, the ritual acts and conventional procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the "Leopard-Skin Chief" among the Nuer, and the "Chief of the Spear" among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion of the "blood-cattle" in return for their services,

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109-10. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ahiy ed dhum* (pronounced by ear which means literally "father dead".

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer first take the pay forest in return for his services only on in the negotiations for peace, the *mak-nyar* ('half calf of blood') and pay fine ('one of the leopards skin'), besides two cows which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these rights

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though expressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwego*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhat*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

Accidental killing (*ajwey*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

equivalent to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwego*: Hofmayr reports no specialists. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer fatemakers, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwego* is a derivative of *fwat*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Parricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuic ji kipe ruac*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sanctions by the present Government.

[1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to a compensation for honor wrongs) the sum is not wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 19.

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UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

After an outbreak the manor and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Maiaam, faction, which included Maiaam, Fakui and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Fallo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Fallo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He worked only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 643 The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

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having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respected distance. Akol called the Maiom faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Fulo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace ceremony. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will come for me to house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it entrap you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremony. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear on the preliminary days though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that to colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F723 Shilluk F723

that its ancestors had also been owned by Duk, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Duk.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Maiwum faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the man pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Every there a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not, want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Maiwum faction said the decision was now to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost now to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

14: Oyler M-S (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the individuals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok. 628 783

To conclude the ceremony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which factions the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy. 628

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men. After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction. 643

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small." He added that was also true of beautiful men. 628 643

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1946)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building: it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth*'s own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *ákor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *ákors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *ákor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pathe mayo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Abwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcass is floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, 695
but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it 698
will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of 681
one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth [683]
out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried [684]
girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to [685]
pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the 682
case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is 628
demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, temperes rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive 628
from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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628 raided in turn, his father speared to death and his brother so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards in Malakal hospital. The fact that one of the dead was the chief minister of the king did not deter the attackers from taking his life in retribution for the outrage they considered done to their family. In Detwok, over thirty miles away, we felt the repercussions of this awful tragedy. One of the teachers was a relative of the first aggressor, and he went in fear of his life for weeks after the unhappy event, and despite my assurances that no one would dare raid the mission, he insisted on carrying his spears around with him, even to the schoolroom and the chapel. The affair took place during the school holidays, and the boys from Lul who attended the Central or Teachers' Training Schools at Detwok did not return for some weeks after the new term had started, refusing, until the culprits on both sides had been arrested and security had been restored, to leave the safety of their villages, lest they be ambushed on the road and killed.

628 578 Sometimes a feud develops between two villages originating perhaps in some trivial incident now completely forgotten in the passage of time, but the principle is always the same: some injustice, real or imaginary, was suffered by one individual at the hands of another and such a thing can never be permitted to go unrequited. Reprisals follow from one side and the other, and a bitter rivalry springs up between the respective villages of the original antagonists, trouble breaks out periodically resulting in a little bloodletting and a few cracked skulls on both sides, police are [689] called in to restore order and to whisk the offenders off to prison, the village responsible for the breach of the peace is fined a number of cattle and both sides settle down to an uneasy truce until the next outbreak.

Such an antagonism exists between Detwok and its neighbour Pabin. The quarrel originated over half a century ago when one village or the other—I could never discover which—destroyed or damaged or in some way desecrated the war drum of the other. The bitterness between the two villages grew with the passage of the years and there were

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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphori-
cally tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would
triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

Z9:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Fabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Fabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Fabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all. 578 623

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Fabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out. 578 628 535 302 301

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that 578 628

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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578 he had better restrain his young men before something
628 happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Fabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

578 Poor Detwok! Poor Fabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only
628 wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice',
648 as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

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person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with [765] the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [201]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a [527] dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [628] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [226] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances: There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

the settlement of which it forms part represents the 621 622
hamlet on the council of the settlement and receives in consequence a robe of honour from the king or from the chief of the settlement. If his hamlet is only a subsidiary seat of a lineage in the settlement he is regarded merely as its senior member.

The settlement to which I have just referred is 621
called *pouk*, a word which has a number of meanings but generally designates a group of hamlets, occupied by different lineages, which, though there may be much competition between them, unite for defence, for the ritual of age-sets (an institution otherwise of little political importance), and in intersettlement and national affairs, and have a common chief. There are about a hundred of these [162
settlements in Shillukland, each having a population of from less than 100 to more than 600 adult 631]
males. They are structurally distinct groups of a political kind though the distance that divides [361]
a settlement from adjacent settlements may be no greater than that which separates a hamlet from its nearest neighbours in the same settlement.

In every settlement there is a dominant lineage, 621
the *dyil*, the owners of the soil, with whom the 613
various stranger and immigrant accretions (*wedh*) 609
identify themselves politically and with whom they

of new territorial units. Colonies of the same 613
lineage are found in several settlements, so that in
any settlement several different descent groups are [621]
represented, one of them, as I have already explained, being always dominant in it and identified with the settlement politically. Although the dispersed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and [614]
sometimes acknowledge their common descent in other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage, reference being usually to the ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement. It is interesting to note a further common feature 613
of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who 611
has settled with his wife's people trace their descent 621
through the wife to the lineage in whose home they live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages are grafted into the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until we know more than we do at present about the distribution of lineages, about their genealogical structure, and about the part they play in inter-settlement relations it will not be possible to estimate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common 631 ●
polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [34]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [175]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

1 [i.e., the King. - Analysis]

particular, ceremonial services at the king's investiture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and those of past kings. These shrines are widely distributed throughout the country so that every section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

We can only understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred.

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Ger, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre,

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in
[631] the second half of the nineteenth century was connected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.

consistently supported rival candidates.

1 Evans-Pritchard E-4 (no date) 1948
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consistently supported rival candidates. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the practice of the present day, by which it is more or less understood that the surviving lines of kings take it in turn to provide the king,[1] is new. A collateral royal line does not to-day contest an election on the understanding that they have next turn. The custom is for the reigning king to take under his wing a scion of a rival line and by so doing to indicate him as his successor, though he cannot nominate him and his choice may not be followed by the people. When this prince becomes king he takes under his wing a son of his protector. The reigning king insures by this convention against both rebellion by a rival line and his own line being excluded from the kingship in the future.

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There can be no doubt that in recent times there has been an alternation on the throne of branches of the royal house, nor that the alternation is related to the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We are told that if the ceremonial chiefs of the north and south fail to reach agreement in the election of a new king the chiefs of the northern settlements follow their representative and the

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[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. xlvi; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 145; Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 27.

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
649 representative and the issue is fought out. It would seem probable that when there is disagreement it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
174 about the merits of the candidates but of local
631 loyalties in which different members of the royal
643 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
644 land. Whether disputed succession in the past was a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact that in earlier times the king ruled from the settlement in which he was brought up or moved from one settlement to another and did not have a fixed residence at the central and neutral point of Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the association of princes with settlements and districts is clearly related to the custom by which they are brought up away from the capital. It is probable that the backing given by north and south to candidates for the kingship in past times arose from the fact that some princes were brought up in the north and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

[224]

224 Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of
234 which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the constricting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

32 The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal
[316] dwelling and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain
[317] portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are
501 necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleb* palm (*Borassus*
[37] *flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

• 631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

2.Seligman & Seligman E-9 (1909-1910) 1932
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●63 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbali as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Didin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dibwok, Dimoth, Nom, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 592 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jaro*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

There are numerous observances connected with animals, including some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following example:—

"The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

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[692]

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa rig* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chōlo* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *yago* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage. 613 621 [182]

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pan dwong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pan dwong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet *(pan dwong)* in the same settlement are called *nyole myer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2) [611]

The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3) [631]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

631 Muomo Dalalajak Athodwoi Datwok Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Datim Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golban, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southern-
[644] most regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Muomo and Tonga.(1) Fashoda,
the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of
[182] the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

614 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

565 This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others,
614 is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their des-
644 cent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs. 613 622

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.) 592

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Luak & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
.....Division *(Luak)*.....	Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal dwong pac*
Homestead *(Gol)*	*Jal Gol*

631

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.) [648]

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful. 643 114

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials. 631 643

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.39.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [173]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2) 775

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp. 16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 19.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Cerr and Luak, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Dak. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Dak may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Duk are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Debele settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
649 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
171 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

561 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
[881] organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

existence. The smallest unit of Shilluk social structure is the family (*gol*) [592] living in a homestead of one or two huts. From one to fifty or more such 621 homesteads built together form a hamlet, the members of which keep their 631 cattle together, and are gathered round a headman; a group of hamlets 105 forms a settlement, of which there are about a hundred in Shilluk-land. The settlement is composed of branches of different descent groups, one of which is dominant within the settlement and forms a nucleus around which the others form themselves into a distinct community. This dominant descent group or lineage provides the leader or chief of the settlement. Settlements are politically opposed to each other, though there have been in the past loose confederations of settlements, which have been used, and sharpened in outline, for administrative purposes. The whole of Shilluk land is divided into two provinces, Ger in the north and Luak in the south. All the Shilluk recognize a common head of their whole land, the *reth*, who 643 is here called the king; the king always comes from the royal clan, the 105 *kwareth*, founded by the first Shilluk king, Nyikang; it is the largest clan in Shilluk land, and may have representatives in any settlement. There is now a royal capital at Fashoda. In Shilluk tradition the earliest Shilluk kings had no fixed capital, but reigned from their natal homes. Now, although the capital at Fashoda has been long established, the wives of the king are sent away from Fashoda to various parts of Shilluk land to bear their children, and the children of the king (*nyireth*) are brought up away from the capital. Only those princes whose fathers have been installed as kings of the Shilluk can themselves claim to be installed and, in theory at least, princes who are thus eligible may at any time advance their claims by killing the reigning king. Besides the royal clan, and the lineages of 105 'commoner' clans, known collectively as the *colo*, there is a distinct clan called *ororo*, originally a branch of the royal house, but said to have been disinherited and cut off by an early Shilluk king. Members of this clan have special duties to perform in connexion with the king, but do not have royal status. In addition, there are the *bang reth*, servants of the king, composed of wives of previous kings, descendants of personal attendants of the king, people possessed by the spirit of Nyikang or of some other king, and others who in one way or another have become retainers dependent on the royal house. From these come the guardians and priests of the shrines of Nyikang, of which there are several in various parts of Shilluk country, and the shrines and graves of other Shilluk kings. Offerings are made at these graves and shrines as part of the religious cult of Nyikang and the royal house, which is the main cult of the Shilluk, though offerings are made to their own ancestors also by the heads of the commoner lineages. Their totemic observances seem to amount to little more than not eating the totemic species, and both totemism and the cult of ancestors of commoner descent groups are said to figure less largely in Shilluk religion than the cult of Nyikang and the kings. Shilluk totemism may in fact be of Dinka origin. Besides the priests of the Nyikang cult, and operating apart from them,

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river, the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the ceremonies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 75. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 402.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the smaller units which they comprise. Such a logical model would be misleading for the interpretation of the significance of the moieties, Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. These seem to function primarily, if not exclusively, in the election of the Shilluk kings, successors to Nyikang. In the election of 1943–4, of which we have a full description,[1] the two leaders of the religious moieties had first to reach agreement upon the successor of the dead king, and their choice was confirmed by a representative of the king's clan, which is not identified with either moiety. An electoral college, representing various settlements of Shilluk-land, then confirmed the choice, which, according to Shilluk custom, had to be one of the princes whose father had already been king. In this case the choice was very limited, and the electoral college at once accepted the proposal made by the leaders of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. Disagreement between these over the choice of the king is said to have led to fighting between the moieties in the past, and thus to civil war in Shilluk-land.

The division of the kingdom into Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang thus becomes effective at the election of the king, and the preliminaries to the installation of the new king do indeed create the division which Nyikang, the king's ancestor, is said to have created in the past.[2] When the leaders of the moieties have reached agreement, there is still a ceremonial opposition between them until the king has actually been installed, when the moieties are again put together in a single kingdom, the kingdom which Nyikang originally united under himself. The Shilluk kings conceive their country as a unity by dividing it into moieties, which separate and then unite, over the election of the king. The theme of the resolution of duality and separateness, perhaps an idea paralleled by that of crossing from one bank to another of the river, in order to make a unity consciously recognized by the Shilluk, may also be seen in other features of the installation ceremonies of 1943. The Shilluk king must be possessed by, or identified with, Nyikang, so that some writers say that he 'incarnates' Nyikang. At the installation ceremonies an effigy of Nyikang is brought from northern Shilluk-land, where Nyikang is said to have disappeared during a dance.[3] There is a mock fight between this effigy, accompanied by the effigies of Dak and Cal, and the king-elect. In this fight the king first retreats from the effigy, is then captured by it, and finally must seize from it a small girl, who plays an important part in the ceremonies. She appears to represent the wife of the king's office and, since the king is to take the place of Nyikang, who represents that office, he must also take the wife. Hostility between the king-

[1] The election may have been considerably modified by European and earlier rule, and the element of election by vote may have been stressed at the expense of a rather different principle, described below (p. 157).

[2] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 30. Pumphrey (1941) quotes a story in which the existence of Gol Dhiang, which may well be of later foundation than Gol Nyikang, is attributed to a later Shilluk king, but it is still a king who made it. This seems to refer to an earlier stage in the evolution of the kingship. Here we speak of the kingdom as it was at the election of 1943.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 50 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 50 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodok to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [311] till the Nuba-hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 228] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodok. Again there is another khor called khor Arepejar which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shillukland is 631] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with Savannah grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dolob(Borrassus aethiopum) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations:-

Fangak	(9°3'N)	1187 mm
Malakal	(9°32')	737 mm
Kodok	(9°55')	682 mm
Renk	(11°45')	506 mm

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*podh*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*toic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pac*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pac*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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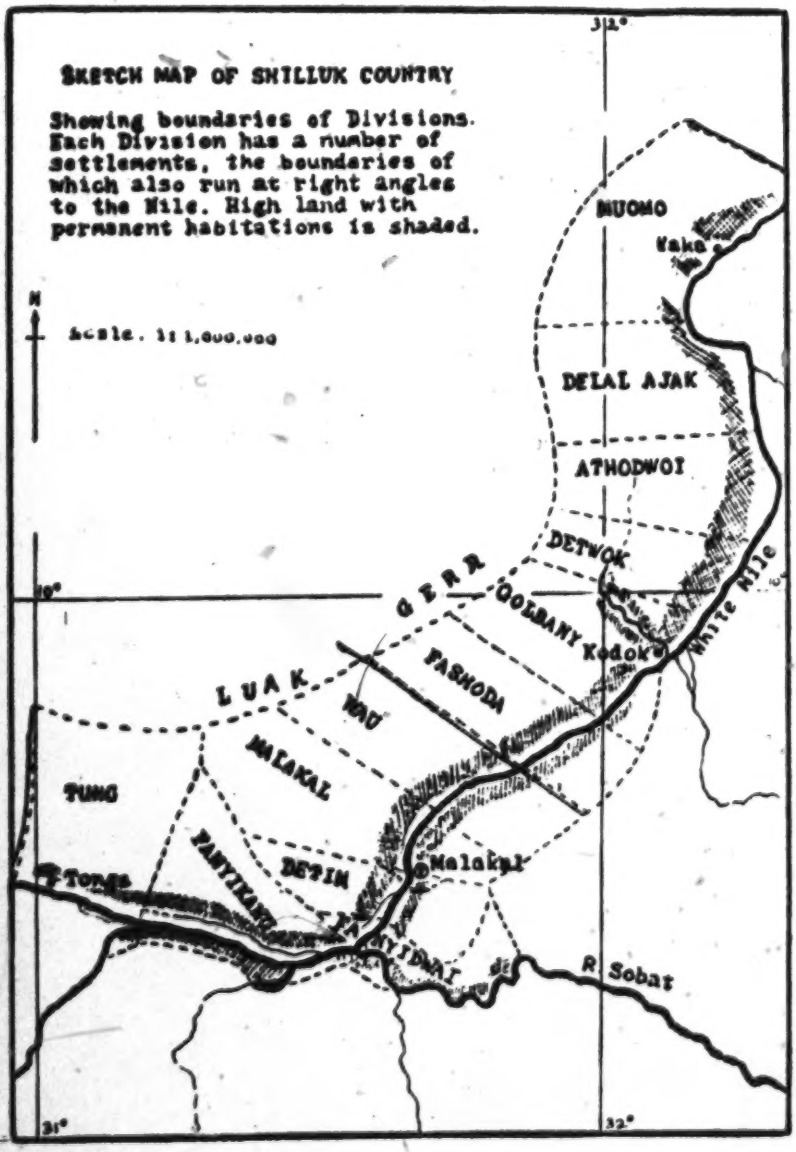

that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *pedh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *pedh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realized when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *pedh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *pedh reth*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *pedh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyoreth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 640 693

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoc, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti. 175 643 648

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1932. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the 175 631 648 [669]

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
● 631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kasgar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the [631] country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is 643 not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, [692] such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of 631 administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the 692 village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would 642 tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *law*.[2] Our present [197] 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *law* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *law* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at 643 Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. 682 The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy 692 would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tick*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he [114] thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

It is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they 631 were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the 642 kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.
[2] *law*, robe of office given by the *reth*.
[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

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nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.[1]

My own opinion is in accordance with these views. At any rate, if such terms are used, it should be made clear that they are qualified by the considerations already mentioned. In comparison with modern conceptions of an organized State system, or with such highly developed political institutions as are found in some African kingdoms, such as that of the Baganda, the Shilluk system cannot be said to have reached, without external influences, a high degree of rigidity or efficiency. When compared, however, with the acephalous systems of their Nuer and Dinka neighbours, it is apparent that the Shilluk had, even in early times, advanced much farther along the road towards 'politically organized society'.

Homicide and Blood-feuds: The *Reth*'s Rôle as Peacemaker

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682

A study of the laws of homicide is likely to reveal, not only the nature of the legal system and whether or not a system of public law was in existence in the past, but also whether such law was in fact enforced by the *reth* or his representatives. In an acephalous society like that of the Nuer, and probably among the Dinka as well, we know that homicide was, until the advent of the present Government, treated purely as a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions. Thus an act of homicide would instantly lead to a blood-feud between the two segments of society concerned. A feud could be composed either by retaliation against the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen—which might lead to yet further hostilities—or by payment of an indemnity in cattle equivalent to the life of a man, to restore the equilibrium. We know too that a special functionary existed, the *kwar kwar* or 'leopard-skin chief' of the Nuer and the *bany de ring* or 'Chief of the Spear' of the Dinka. These experts were invited by the participants to intervene and mediate between them and to supervise both the secular and ritual processes of composition and peacemaking according to accepted and conventional patterns. In no sense did they have the authority to impose their demands for peace on the people or forcefully to intervene between them. They were called upon to do so only when the will to come to terms was already there, largely determined by expediency.

We know that among the Shilluk acts of homicide were followed by feuds, often more bloody and lasting than any likely to occur among the Dinka and Nuer. We know too that blood-feuds could be composed by the payment of compensation and the performance of the ritual which accompanies such payments. But here there is a difference. While in Dinka and Nuer society there were many recognized hereditary mediators, among the Shilluk there was only one, the *reth* himself. The functions of the *reth* in the processes of peacemaking are therefore relevant. Was he, like the *kwar kwar* and the *bany de ring*, simply a mediator and ritual expert competent to conduct the negotiations only on the demand of the people themselves, or was he able to intervene between them with an independent and neutral force behind him? In collecting the accepted indemnity, did he hand it over to the injured party as compensa-

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

669 621 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence [631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds [628] between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this 643 level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably [626] sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth'*s Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for 692 homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Ngork Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[621] [2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within* a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jago* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor-car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwa* Oman lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwa* Oman are set in Ogod *Bata* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Diriu Kings of the Shilluk*, Welcome Report, 1911.

628 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight hundred strong, also in four companies.

643 There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[631] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

[782] The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth*'s had been by persons with an active interest in the feud.

[787] Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Faalo and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

[648] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.

[114] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, I'atworo, and I'alo[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mamur*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ŋgel*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the restoration of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.32.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

643 the ceremonial killing of the kings. Some authors have discarded this practice 19), and alluded some killing of kings to family quarrels and competition over the throne. It is true that some brothers killed each other, but this is still one of the attributes of divine kingship.

According to the information I gathered in Malakal, King Dak, who died in 1951 at the Malakal hospital, was well guarded by the police during his treatment in the hospital, and no Shilluk was allowed to visit him lest he may be killed in the same traditional way as his ancestors. 20) My informants were sorry for the natural death of Dak, but they seemed to have accepted it as they were helpless against the troops of the central government. Just how far the Shilluk nation as a whole accepted it, I could not tell.

[648]

The political administration of the Shilluk country and its components may be summarized as follows: 21)

631

a) The Hamlet:

This is the smallest political unit with a chief at its head. The hamlet is formed by a lineage group of homesteads.

b) The Settlement:

This is a group of hamlets, i.e. a group of lineages gathered into a large area. At the head is a chief, called the Jago.

c) The District:

The Shilluk country is divided into eleven districts; each district is a combination of many settlements. These districts, though said to be organized by Nyikang, are not a permanent political factor. Its importance may have been felt in exceptional periods such as warfare, or to meet a common danger. The Egyptian government, and after it the Anglo-Egyptian government, used such divisions as administrative units. The important districts from the Shilluk point of view were Muomo and Tung, that is, the northern and southern marches of the land.

[648]

d) The Provinces:

There are two provinces in the Shillukland. These are important political divisions, and their importance has been shown clearly above. The chief of Debale Kwom, and the chief of Golbany are the two chiefs of the southern and the northern provinces.

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19) "Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings (among the Shilluk) is probably a fiction ..." Butt, p. 54.
20) See also Howell, (2) p. 157.
21) Butt, pp. 46-48.

e) The Capital: 631

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but these messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, NyiLang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

> "Le Bahr el Abiod (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, & divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (Le fleuve) ..." 22)

22) Bruce, 440.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in propor-
[221] tion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[883] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
614 opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
631 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

621 The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
182 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
721 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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possesses no chief as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. 614 [613]

THE SETTLEMENT (PODH).

The word *podh* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It can describe the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. 621 [192]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from Kodok which contains more than 600 adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [631] [361]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative difficulties of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, welded together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. 613 621 [182]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wedh*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [173] 554 613 621 622

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lau thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

● 681

Shilluk tribe	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	Chiefs of *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang.*
Division (*luak*)	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*) ..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	*Jal Gol.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDIA AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

103
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631
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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
Muomo	Thworokit	117	Muomo
	Manam	90	
	Muomo	243	
	Aguoro	99	
	Thor	100	
	Abuor	64	
	Akurwa	94	
Delal	Nun	139	Delal
	Arumboth....	88	
	Delal Ajak	138	
	Nyirudo	88	
	Arueth	57	
Atodnoi	Thuro	197	Athodnoi
	Dimoth	66	
	Athodnoi	310	
	Nyilec	144	Abiangyai
	Fanyikang	50	
	Ogod	101	
Detwok	Abiangyai	174	Oticogo
	Mai	82	
	Burbuk	52	
	Fabiu	162	
	Oticogo	77	
	Detwok	140	
	Aiel	97	
	Kwocung	73	
	Acago	77	
	Ataro	62	
Golbaß	Golo	377	Golbaß
	Kodok	550	
	Lemo	143	
	Fadiang	284	
	Golbaß	226	
	Nyigir	466	

OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GEZ AND LUAR.

Fashoda	Wadman	170	Kwom
	Aguoro	112	
	Kwom	191	
	Lul....	250	
	Yoß	173	
	Thuolong	220	
	Biu....	62	
	Fabur	86	
	Bol....	115	
	Nyingar	85	
	Both	65	

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAR.			
Ogod	Fathau	75	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogod Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
	Ogod Famadh	128	
Malakal	Malakal Fathuoro	189	Malakal
	Malakal Acop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobuenyo	71	
	Obwa	357	
	Awarajuok	269	Awarajuok
	Athokong	129	
Dettim	Adodo	141	Dettim
	Dur	232	
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	
	Obai Abujop	161	Fanyidwai
	Obai Dego	101	
	Fakang	214	Fakang
Fanyidwai	Falo	216	Fanyidwai
	Fathuoro	95	
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
	Faju	267	
	Abujop	210	
	Odwar	63	
Nyijok	Nyijok	226	non existent
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Oduojo	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
	Nyilwak	279	
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
Tonga	Diñ	96	Nyibang
	Nyijwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	
	Atigo	145	Tonga (Tung)
	Nyibodo	122	
	Ayadhaje	108	
	Fafunjo	105	

103
161
175
177
631

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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103
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631
131

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into 631 further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of [614] many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is [621] the village or *bac*.[2]

565 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups 614 of clans.

644

(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement": *S.N.R.* XXIV. 1941.

3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.

For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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182 766 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

[614] 766 The duties of organizing the dance and of beating the drums fall to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorized persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 776 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host. [644]

631 766 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :--

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only.

The late *reth*'s mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all.

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth*'s burial. This

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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [174]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [614 644]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first *reth*.

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173 the traditional Shilluk polity, the two nearest to Fashoda were the greatest in the land in all constitutional and ceremonial matters, and 631 in the prestige deriving from their office. These two were the chief of Kwom, the section immediately south of Fashoda, and the chief of Golbainy a section five miles to the north.

Nyikang divided the country into two halves separated by the Khor Arepejur just south of Fashoda. All the country to the south was called Gol Nyikang, and all to the north, Gol Dhiang. The chief of Kwom was in theoretical charge of the counties of Gol Nyikang, and the chief of Golbainy of those of Gol Dhiang. How far the writ of these two viceroys ran in executive matters within their provinces is not clear. Judicially they almost certainly had no say, and in executing commands of the *reth* they may have acted as messengers of the *reth*, but can scarcely have had authority of their own. In all matters concerning the election of the *reth* the deference shown them was a feature of the various meetings.

178 Details of these various officers are given in Appendix I. Of 631 the eleven Celo chiefs, a number are still in fact the chiefs of government "divisions," which correspond in most cases with Nyikang's divisions, but others, whose lineage and following have shrunk, no longer have the support to press their claim to what is still regarded by all Shilluk as their office as of right. Though tradition counts for much and ancestry as well, these sanctions alone will not support the legitimate claim of a chief unless he has an imposing number of warriors prepared to back him. The present chief of Golbainy, for instance, has impeccable ancestry and traditional backing, but his [614] lineage is now small in numbers and his position as chief much weakened on that account and by agitation from other stronger lineages to be granted the chieftainship. Another interesting example of this tendency is that in recent years Kwareth lineages which are generally strong, are pressing to be given the chance to fill these chieftainships from their numbers, against all traditional usage. The traditional great chiefs who are now "impoverished" are always called in on ceremonial occasions, but have been superseded by government or the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Colo chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each *reth* appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected *reth*—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are venerable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the *reth*ship are descended directly from the sons of *reth* Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1903 and 1917 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of *reth* Fafiti was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "canvassing" of one of the sons of *reth* Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

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government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, "if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" —presumably to prepare for war. 631 643 666 669

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying." 631 643 666

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists. 643 669

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos- 643 669 622

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643 sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of
669 warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for
only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that
[627] Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolize his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

● 631 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts
643 to receive the homage, unoffically and without ceremony, of the chiefs of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross
643 discourtesy. The *reth's* brothers too all come, or should come, to
644 pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear

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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
686] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes
643 clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepejur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepejur symbolizes the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

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reth is ceremonially impressed upon the minds of all his people. It is the occasion when the *reth* is formally recognized by the Shilluk as a whole. The public nature of the ceremony must be emphasized because prior to it, only limited sections of society—Kwareth, Ororo and the Colo chiefs—have been concerned. 616 631 643

The ceremonies which are enacted on this day are divided into four distinct phases with a variety of ritual observance in each :- 643

1. The simultaneous march of the opposing armies to the high ground immediately south-west of Fashoda, and the mock battle which follows.

2. The capture of the *reth* by Nyikang, and the procession to the shrine of Nyikang in Fashoda.

3. The enthronement of the effigy of Nyikang on the sacred stool, the substitution of the *reth* for Nyikang on the stool, and the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang.

4. The retirement of the *reth* into the temporary camp, which is specially built for the occasion on the open ground immediately facing the shrine.

5. The ritual lighting of new fire by the Ororo and Kwareth just before sundown.

The first two phases are public and concern the tribe as a whole. The third phase, which retains a degree of mystery, is witnessed by limited sections of the population from outside and is screened even from them by a canopy. The *reth's* retirement into the temporary camp concerns him and certain traditional functionaries alone, and the rites which follow are carried out in strict secrecy. The fire-making ceremony concerns chiefly the inhabitants of Fashoda and the *reth's* immediate followers.

The main events of each phase are described from the records of all the observers who attended. We have deliberately avoided an over-detailed description of the events and behaviour of the participants,

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who held his left, walked across the open space in front of the shrine. 643
Here another ox, this time a black and white one, also swathed in white cloth and covered over the back with a leopard-skin decorated at the edges with cowrie shells, was tethered. Beside it stood two men of Kwa Ojul, one holding a crude straight-bladed sword, the other holding a spear. These were said to be yet further weapons of Nyikang, [778 782]
and each in turn was handed to the *reth*, who stood at the tail end of the ox, and with each he made three passes in the air over the back of the ox, which was then led off to be sacrificed.

The Temporary Camp.

After this ceremony, the *reth*, still accompanied by the chief of Kwa Nyikwom and by the small girl *nyakwer*, entered the screen, which surrounded the temporary huts, and he himself entered the larger of them. These huts were built under the personal supervision [631]
of Jago Yor Leiker and Jago Tabo, the chiefs of the south and north. The huts were built of grass, and similar to those built in Shilluk cattle camps. The larger was considered the *reth's* temporary residence, the smaller the kitchen, where his food should be prepared and where the water was heated for the ritual bathing. The bull mentioned above was stripped of its coverings, which were again torn to pieces [782]
by the crowd, and the leopard skin was taken into the shrine of Nyikang. The bull was speared and fell to the ground immediately in front of the *reth's* temporary camp. After this the public part of the first day's ceremonies was over. The *reth* had retired into seclusion, and those Shilluk who had remained to watch the ceremony of the stool soon dispersed and went off to rest in the shade around Fashoda. Only the Ororo, Kwareth and Kwa Nyikwom, the immediate attendants of the *reth*, remained to guard him and minister to his wants.

The effigies of Nyikang and Dak had already been carried into the shrine. The drums were also put away, and the sacred stool, which had been carelessly left with the canopy draped over it, was carried off, the canopy held around it so that no one could see it go,

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SPEECH DAY.

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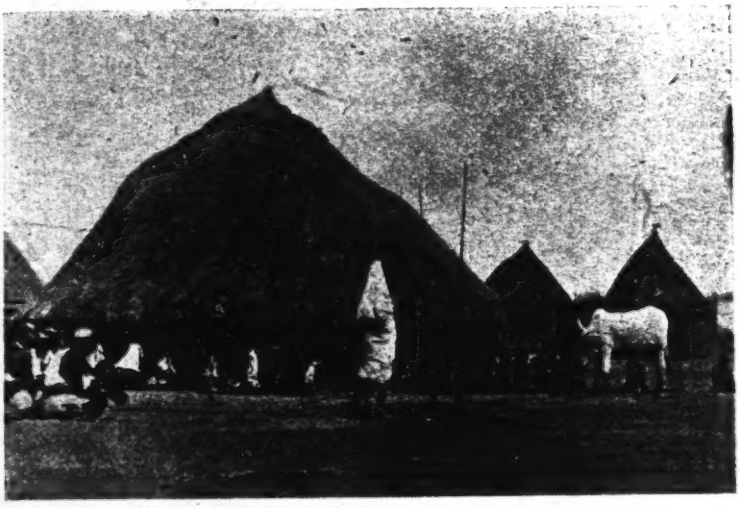
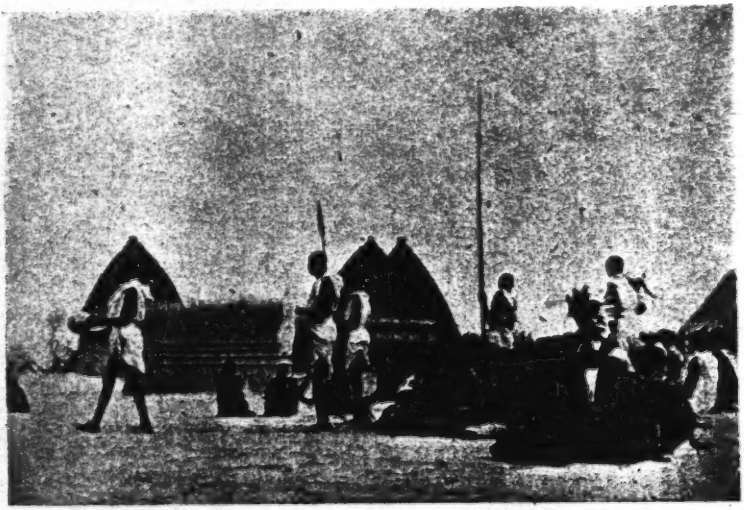


1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the *reth* as a sign of homage.



2.—The *reth's* party below Aturwic, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [293]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyiliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognize you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

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537 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government
631 needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the
643 Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reth* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reth* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reth*. Then the *reth* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reth*. "I have become your *reth*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 The assembly then arose, and the *reth* moved over to where the
782 white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

After this came the final ceremony. The *reth*, accompanied
643 by a few chosen followers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda
644 by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reth* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reth* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourite house of his father *reth* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reth* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24 p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). [114] The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*.

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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

63/ The following chiefs composed the electoral college in 1943:-

643 1. Chief of Debalo Kwom (chief of Gol Nyikang).
2. " " Golbainy " " " Dhiang).
666 3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tonga.
5. " " Delal Ajak.
6. " " Bur Nyiliec (Athodwoi division).
7. " " Othecogo (Detwok division).
8. " " Fadit (Wau division).
9. " " Owaliny Obwa (Malakal division).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fanyikang.
12. " " Acago (Detwok division).
13. " " Fadiang (Golbainy division).
14. " " Yoiny (Fashoda division).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

[173] Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lan dwong* or "high robe of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lan dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lan dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lan dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lan dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 12, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. (only seven names are given). 631 643 666

The Electoral College of 1917 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwoi, in place of the chief Bur Nyiliec (6), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abienyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyiliec, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abienyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1917 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy and the Kwareth chiefs of Fadiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed. [662]

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long. 643 778

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 maiden was sealed up alive in the hut along with the corpse, which is also said to be traditional.

Fafiti Yor died in September 1943, and his funeral dance was held in November. Anei Kur died in November 1945, and his funeral dance was not held until October 1946. This longer interval was also more [643] in accord with Shilluk custom, which holds that there should be an interval of about a year between the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor. The installation ceremonies should follow quickly upon the funeral dance for the deceased, and should take place after the harvest is ripe.

Two days before the dance, the remains of *reth* Anei were brought secretly, and by night, from Fadwol to Golbainy where his private village had been, and were buried in his house. The remains were brought by Ororo under the supervision of Gol Nyidhok, the descendants of Nyidhok, the grand father of Anei. The dance took place there and only occupied two days. It was less well attended, and the contingents not so well marshalled as in 1943, but the essential characteristics were the same, and there were the same arguments about how long it should last. The ceremonies were in the hands of the eldest son of the deceased, and of Kwanyireth Bol Acien, the chief of Lul, who had taken a large part in 1943. The chief of the Kwareth, who was senile in 1943, had died in the meantime, but his successor in office, a young man, took no part. The *reth* remained purposely in Fashoda, and did not come to Golbainy at all. It was noticed that, as bulls were slaughtered, the horns and tails were hung on to the palisade surrounding the house where *reth* Anei lay buried, and his cattle bells and other ornaments were displayed by *bangreth* in front of the tomb, spread out upon a bull skin.

The election of Reth Dak Fadiet.

643 On the death of *reth* Anei the electoral college were summoned, as in 1943, by Jago Tabo of Golbainy for Gol Dhiang and Jago 66 Yorleiker of Kwom for Gol Nyikang, the two great ceremonial divisions 631 of the Shilluk kingdom. The composition of the college was the same as in 1943, except that the chiefs of Bur Nyiliec and Owaliny Obwa could not attend owing to illness. It was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. I doubt whether even the chief of the Kwareth has any influence: he and the other members of the college have only to listen to the decision.

643 *Reth* Anei had not lived long enough to adopt a *nyireth*, as *reth*

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

beating the bounds of Shilluk land at Moro, north of Kaka. The details of their progress were similar to that of 1944. 643

The only observed difference between the preliminaries for Nyikang's journey was the embassy to Fanyikang to get *dom* fibre for the ceremonial ropes. This year it was performed by 'Anongo,' one of the uncrowned sons of Nyikang, and not by Dak as in 1944. The embassy this year only went to the *dom* palm forest at Obai Dego, which is 15 miles downstream of Fanyikang.

On 28.12.46 the *reth* was still at Fashoda, and not yet fled to Debalo Kwom. It was expected that he would go before dawn on 29.12.46. Fashoda was full of his personal supporters from the southern Shilluk. I noticed that the *reth* had apparently made friends with the *nyireth* whom he had recently suspected of trying to ambush him.

The *reth* started for Debalo secretly at about 3.00 a.m. on 29.12.46. After resting half way, he entered Debalo, after the village had ceremonially resisted him three times. He stepped over a black sheep, held by Ororo. When he entered, his supporters all broke into one of the songs of Nyikang. This was a mistake, as the whole proceeding should have been secret. The *reth* stayed at the same broken down house as in 1944, and the same royal house was prepared, and left empty.

Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was in charge of the ceremonies. All the fires had been put out before the *reth's* arrival, and preparations had been made to light new fire by the ceremonial method of *pic mac*. This method is later used at Fashoda and is described in our previous article (op. cit. p. 65). A bull was brought by Jago Yorleiker, which was to be speared when the *reth* came out of seclusion to be greeted by the assembled chiefs of Gol Nyikang in the evening. The chiefs of Gol Dhiang had no business in Debalo, and if they came, they would come as observers. Some sheep were brought by self-confessed adulterers. The *reth* insisted that only adulterers whose cases had not previously been opened could avail themselves of this privilege of amnesty, but in the event a few men tried to avoid a judgment debt by paying a sheep. There is some confusion about the ownership of these sheep. It seems clear that they belong to the *reth*, but are presented by him to the chief of Debalo Kwom (himself the chief of Gol Nyikang) as a recognition for his services in sheltering the *reth* in Debalo. In 1944 the chief of Gol Nyikang appropriated the sheep without permission.

That evening the drums of Nyikang were heard from Nyigir, and the *reth's* drums from Debalo. The procession carrying the sacred beads *Ocoro* from Lul arrived at about 8.00 p.m.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here,
643 with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rôle of Nyikang

643 We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person
776 of the late *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak,
778 son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and ambatch surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers[a], sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable.
[78] Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by
[64] men of the *kiru* Nyikwom and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth to Debalo

As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and
643 retreats to the village of Debalo a few miles south of Arepejur, the watercourse which
[63] is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang; *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Luak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[b]. At Debalo, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

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[a] See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 139.

[b] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Athurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Athurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Athurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

[1] Variously spelt: *Aturwic*, *Athudowic*, *Athurwic*.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Onger where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,[1] was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *laus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyukwer*.[2] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyukwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Athurwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Athurwic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyukwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Athurwic* surrounded by the *ororo* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of [411] precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all 184 carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the [576] Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to [631] speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears [428] had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.*

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial 643 sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which 782 had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears [578] presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, not as a teacher, or an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has vested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile. 797*

Sickness and death do not study the convenience of the missionary either as to time or place, so he must be prepared to go at any time to any place that it is humanly possible to reach, whatever be the risk or inconvenience to himself; and although not usually fraught with peril, sick calls do have the habit of coming in at the most awkward times and from the most inaccessible of places. It may happen that the priest is alone in the mission and is perhaps in the middle of morning school when the summons comes from a village maybe ten or fifteen miles away. A catechist has come across a man, baptized many years ago in Detwok, but long since drifted from the district, who is sick and dying in a remote village on the other side of Kodok, and now sends in a messenger to inform the priest. Or, as often happens, the mission hears of it only because the pagan relatives of the dying man have sent in, not to summon assistance, but merely to beg a cloth to use as a shroud for his burial. Whatever way the news has come in, the priest acts promptly; he hurriedly hands over his class to the Sister next door, or gives it sufficient work to keep it busy—if not happy—for the remainder of the morning. From the house he picks up his sick-call case, hurries to the chapel for the Blessed Sacrament and, if the state of the roads permits, is away on his bicycle in a matter of minutes. If the rains are on and cycling is impossible, he changes his shoes and stockings for a pair of rubber pumps and sets out across the fields and through the swamps in the general direction of the main road and Kodok. 963 797* 797*

He arrives at that important administrative and commercial centre (the Assistant District Commissioner's residence and office, a prison, a dispensary and half a dozen Arab- [632] [648]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
● [632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of the Golobogu clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Buru owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Buru, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would provide the bull.

[634]

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[643]

At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

the next morning they come near and enter the village. The people of the stones (those who brought the stones) come and turn to a certain village, and a cow is sacrificed; they go into the next village, and a cow is sacrificed (in each village which they pass, a cow is sacrificed). So they come to Fashoda. On arriving there, the great chief asks them: "Who has been elected by the flint stone?" They answer: "This or that prince" (calling the name of the elected one). 539* 643

That is all, and then the chiefs are brought (are sent for); they all are brought, from Mwǫmǫ to Tūngǫ (the chief from each district, from the extreme north [Mwǫmǫ] to the south end [Tūngǫ] of the Shilluk country is sent for). And they all come, that is, all chiefs come, and they talk about the matter. Then the people go to the village (of the newly elected king), they surround his village all around; after that they pass the night in the bush. Early next morning they go into the village again. Their spears are taken from their hands. They go into the enclosure (where the new king lives). The women cry. The king remains in the hut. The chiefs, the descendants of the kings, are called, *they too go into the* enclosure. The door-stick (of the hut) is cut off with a spear. They rush into the hut, and take the prince (the new king) out. He gives them a cow, the cow is killed by the chiefs, and they eat the meat. Then they take the new king to Tabālǫ, and they adorn him with beads, with dancing beads of the king. And they hold a long palaver. 539* 634 ● 643

26. A second report on the Election of a King.

Jāk dwai; ka ʋ̄rǫ bʋ̄nǫ, ka gɛ ehykǫ, ka kwǫp kɔ́mɩ̀. Ka rɩ́ɩ́ mák, dwai fūrɩ̀, ka kʋ̄l fūn dugń, ka rɔ́ń ɖǫk kʋ̄l, ka kɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ gǫl Ńikań, gǫl dugń. Ka ʋ̄rǫ lāmɩ̀, ka jwǫk ɩ̄ɩ̄m, ka Ńikań ɩ̄ɩ̄m; rɩ́ɩ́ de mɩ̄ɩ̀. Ka rūmɩ́, ka pi lɛ̄ń rɛ yi ʋ̄rǫ bʋ̄n, ka kɩ́ɩ́ kal, ka kwǫk yi bāńe rɩ́ɩ́. Ka e rūm, ka rɛ kɩ́ɩ́ lāu, lāne jūgǫ, ka tɔ́ń jūgǫ ká wɛ̄kɩ́, ka kʋ̄ɛ mal yach aɩ̀ɩ̀ɩ̀-wish; kʋ̄ɛ mal, ka e rūɩ̀. Ru wǫu ʋ̄r dwai, ka tyǫń Ńielań ka gɛ dwai Akuruwar, fay Ńikań. Ka gɛ bʋ̄n, gɛ kʋ̄la Ńikāńǫ kɩ́ Dāk, ɛ́ gwɔ̄gɩ̀ kɩ́ ehuǫu wudǫ gɛ gir; gɛ twojǫ ryɛ ɩ̀hɩ̄ɩ̀, gɛ kʋ̄l. Tʋ̄rǫ ko: Ńikāń a bi. Ka ɖǫk kʋ̄l, ka jal mʋ̄kǫ yʋ̄p, ka kʋ̄l, ka lāu lóń wɔ̀k, ka twɔ́ch, ka chíp feń kɩ́ yǫ. Ka ʋ̄rǫ bʋ̄nǫ bʋ̄ne bʋ̄ne, rɩ́ɩ́ ya dir, ka ʋ̄rǫ kɩ̄ɩ́ kwǫu jal gni, ɛ́ dɛ̀ kʋ̄ɩ̀. Ka rūmɩ́, ka tyǫń Ńikań bʋ̄nǫ, gɛ́ kʋ̄lǫ ɔ́ɩ́wʋ̄rǫ. ka ʋ̄rǫ rɛń, rɩ́ɩ́ ɛ mɩ̄ɩ̄ǫ kɩ́ ńan a dāchǫ, gɛ rɩ́ńǫ kɩ́fa tyǫń Ńikań, kɩ́fa gɛ ʋ yɔ́ɔ̀t yi tyǫń Ńikań, fwōtɩ́ ʋ̄rǫ bʋ̄ne; ńān a gɔ́ch, ká chíp wāɩ́, ka ńāne ɛ́ɩ́ gɔ́ch ka chíp wāi. Ka rɩ́ɩ́ chygɩ̄ɩ̀. Ka gɛ rǫńa wǫɛ, ka ɖǫań kʋ̄l, ka ɖǫań chwɔ̄p, ka rɩ́ɩ́ kʋ̄l wɔ̀k, ka ʋ̄rǫ e bʋ̄nǫ bʋ̄ne bʋ̄ne bʋ̄ne, jūgǫ bʋ̄ne; ka chíp ɖǫk gǫl dugń, ka ʋ̄rǫ lām. Ka chyɩ̄k: yi kʋ gɔ́k kɩ́ gɩ́ rùch! Yi kɩ́ nʋ̀k kɩ́ jɔ̀! Ńāch feń jūgǫ wɔ̄ɩ̄! Ka rɩ́ɩ́ ɖwoǫa mal, ka ʋ̄rǫ fʋ̄ka feń, rɛ bʋ̄ɩ̄ɩ̄ bʋ̄nɩ̀; dɛ bāń rɩ́ɩ́ ya 539*

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [797] After an outbreak the mamur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Mainam, faction, which included Mainam, Fakol and Fatwa, recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [648] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble. 628 634

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again." [643]

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony. [789]

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and 537 628 643 776 [648]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

177 ● 637 [648] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[26] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

26. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 ●634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] [613] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] [561] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. [648] Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
[681] restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[634] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might 578
have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly 628
after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent 797
a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another 625
to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner 578
chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortu- 628
nate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple 648
of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not 634
merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment 578
and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The 628
rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even 731
648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

● 635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ago*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the chief is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda. 539* 501

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country beginning from south. 635

1. *Tlŭiḷ*	2. *Ñŋjuhdḷ*	3. *Dòtḷ*
4. *Dgr*	5. *Ñelbudk*	6. *Wébb*
7. *Dyḷl*	8. *Fetélhń*	9. *Aryḷkḷr*
10. *Agunjuŋḷ*	11. *Ajḷgḷ*	12. *Fèhhń*
13. *Obùyèbwijḷp*	14. *Obuí-Dḷgḷ*	15. *Aḷiḷauń*
16. *Fetidwdí*	17. *Ouḷehl*	18. *Ṯwḷrḷ*
19. *Awdu*	20. *Dur*	21. *Adḷḷl*
22. *Dḷḷ*	23. *Aḷḷkḷń*	24. *Awbrḷjwḷk*
25. *Kwḷgḷ*	26. *Obwń*	27. *Mélèhél*
28. *Fumḷt*	29. *Oyḷt*	30. *Wàu*
31. *Fèlht*	32. *Fèḷḷu*	33. *Bòḷ*
34. *Ñèhdrḷ*	35. *Bḷl*	36. *Fèbár*
37. *Blé*	38. *Agḷḷḷ*	39. *Yḷń*
40. *Lwl*	41. *Kwḷm*	42. *Fùrhèḷḷ*
43. *Agwḷrḷ*	44. *Ñḷghr*	45. *Gèlhèḷ*
46. *Fhḷehń*	47. *Lḷmg*	48. *Kèḷḷk*
49. *Gḷḷḷ*	50. *Kwbehèń*	51. *Alḷl*
52. *Dḷḷwḷk*	53. *Bùrbḷk*	54. *Mèl*
55. *Abyḷéhí*	56. *Oyḷn*	57. *Fetélhń-Odḷgḷ*
58. *Ñélyḷeh*	59. *Aḷwḷḷwḷí*	60. *Ṯùrḷ*
61 *Ṯḷmḷt*	62. *Ahùruudr*	63. *Abár*
64. *Mḷḷḷ*	65. *Mwḷmḷ.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal. 614

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill,* who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

B) The SHILLUK :

The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe that occupies 131 mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 300 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 50 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negros. Anthropometric results indicate 144 that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher stature and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king 173 of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and whom we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, yielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced to the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 The racial differences between north and south within the 685 Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Rind, pp. 71-76

9) Rind, pp. 71-76

10) Rind, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 49.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king. 144 635

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang stem, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when? 144 174

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Duk, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 18) It follows then that my effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland around the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic borders, again around this Nilotic enclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory: 174

A) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in those parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and so a sign of authority". 19) [171]

B) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement. 173 174

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18) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rasaiqat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

19) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

565 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under
644 which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the
Bang Nyireth also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently
[614] beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by
[554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Divisions and Organisation.

The Provinces of Luak and Ger and the Old Order.

•635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element
[622] in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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173 26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Bunc and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Atheikang and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdahok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Collook, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbafi, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

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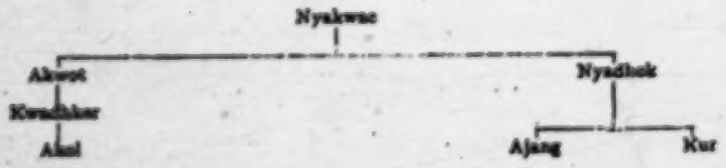
27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles:

[173]



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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177
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This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

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635
[648]

As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[28] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

28. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

304 [565]

is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] TRIBAL MARKS

The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattoeings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 SHAVING

The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 HAIR-DRESSINGS

The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occasion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

[352 513] [237] [B01]

The development of the Shilluk kingship has 565
thus produced, though not in a very pronounced 644
or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin).

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in 643
Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts 114
to define it in terms of judicial and administrative 642
functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says: [631] 643 [692]

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tick*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3] 631 692 642 [197] 643 682 692

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head. [114]

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

It is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not 631 642

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.
[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.
[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is,
● 642 I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.[1]

My own opinion is in accordance with these views. At any rate, if such terms are used, it should be made clear that they are qualified by the considerations already mentioned. In comparison with modern conceptions of an organized State system, or with such highly developed political institutions as are found in some African kingdoms, such as that of the Baganda, the Shilluk system cannot be said to have reached, without external influences, a high degree of rigidity or efficiency. When compared, however, with the acephalous systems of their Nuer and Dinka neighbours, it is apparent that the Shilluk had, even in early times, advanced much farther along the road towards 'politically organized society'.

Homicide and Blood-feuds: The *Reth*'s Rôle as Peacemaker

171 A study of the laws of homicide is likely to reveal, not only the nature of the legal
682 system and whether or not a system of public law was in existence in the past, but also whether such law was in fact enforced by the *reth* or his representatives. In an acephalous society like that of the Nuer, and probably among the Dinka as well, we know that homicide was, until the advent of the present Government, treated purely as a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions. Thus an act of homicide would instantly lead to a blood-feud between the two segments of society concerned. A feud could be composed either by retaliation against the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen—which might lead to yet further hostilities—or by payment of an indemnity in cattle equivalent to the life of a man, to restore the equilibrium. We know too that a special functionary existed, the *kwar kwac* or 'leopard-skin chief' of the Nuer and the *bany de ring* or 'Chief of the Spear' of the Dinka. These experts were invited by the participants to intervene and mediate between them and to supervise both the secular and ritual processes of composition and peacemaking according to accepted and conventional patterns. In no sense did they have the authority to impose their demands for peace on the people or forcefully to intervene between them. They were called upon to do so only when the will to come to terms was already there, largely determined by expediency.

We know that among the Shilluk acts of homicide were followed by feuds, often more bloody and lasting than any likely to occur among the Dinka and Nuer. We know too that blood-feuds could be composed by the payment of compensation and the performance of the ritual which accompanies such payments. But here there is a difference. While in Dinka and Nuer society there were many recognized hereditary mediators, among the Shilluk there was only one, the *reth* himself. The functions of the *reth* in the processes of peacemaking are therefore relevant. Was he, like the *kwar kwac* and the *bany de ring*, simply a mediator and ritual expert competent to conduct the negotiations only on the demand of the people themselves, or was he able to intervene between them with an independent and neutral force behind him? In collecting the accepted indemnity, did he hand it over to the injured party as compensa-

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

e) The Capital:

631
[692]

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself.

The meaning of such a political organisation is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but those messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, Nyikang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

"Le Bahar el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, & divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il form autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, & ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent & descendent (Le fleuve) ... " 22)

22] Bruce, 440.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

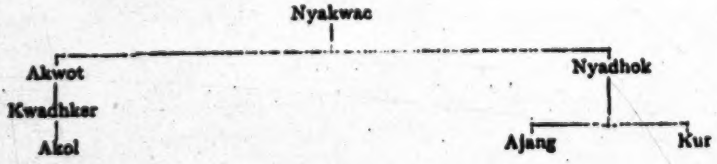
ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbafi, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmán of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles: [173]



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VI

SHILLUK GOVERNMENT

643 Such is the relation of the Shilluk land to the lands of neighbouring peoples and to the great countries and powers of the modern world. Yet of these latter the Shilluk thinks very little. To him, his country is the world, and its government is all-important to his well-being. That government, and indeed all concept of authority, is centred in the person of the Shilluk king.

[642]

'*L'état, c'est moi!*' No French monarch ever uttered that dictum with more assurance than a Shilluk king might have done had he ever heard of it, and thought it worth while to put into words what to him and all the Shilluk was a self-evident truth. Indeed, if a Shilluk were to enunciate his concept of the royal dignity, he would go much further than merely to say that the king is the state, in the sense that he is an absolute monarch who rules his people according to his own dictates, who heeds not, indeed does not need, the advice of counsellors; who merely has to state his wishes for those wishes immediately to have the effect of law. He would indeed claim such despotic power on behalf of his king, though, lest some myrmidon of the Government was within hearing, he would hasten to add that it was no longer exercised and that no modern Shilluk monarch would in fact rule his country in so arbitrary a manner, yet would further aver that the king of the Shilluk is the state, in a way, and to a degree, that no European Monarch ever was; that to say that he ruled by the 'divine right of kings' would be something of an understatement; that he was king, not merely by divine authority and approbation, but that he was a divine king. For every Shilluk king has been and must be a descendant of Nyikang, the great deified hero-king of the Shilluk.

[642]

[186]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, 643
when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that 666
the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A [787]
number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs 643
goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this pre- [669]
caution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since 643
with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an 669
armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as [178]
many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installa- 643
tion of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land 642
is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its [775]
habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late [535]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 642 [535] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [326] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

[237] [326]

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

[237]

643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members [illegible] clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of
the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone.
That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution
of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643 ●
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in
the national polity that this lecture is particularly
concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the
present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang,
the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who
led them into their present homeland, conquering
it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the
lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we
would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be
in every king and to have passed from king to king
down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus
a mythological personification of the timeless king-
ship which itself symbolizes the national structure,
a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king
can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
614

The development of the Shilluk kingship has thus produced, though not in a very pronounced or rigid form, a social hierarchy of royal house, nobility (other members of the royal clan), and commoners (including persons of client origin). 565 644

THE KINGSHIP

If we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context. In 1903 Father Tappi wrote that the authority of the king is 'absolute'.[1] Professor and Mrs Seligman have described the king as 'absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy',[2] and Professor Westermann has also written of the power of the king as 'absolute'.[3] Father Hofmayr says that 'Mit dem Regierungsantritt ist der König Herr des Landes, das er nach Belieben vergeben 643 114 642

[1] P. C. Tappi, 'Notes Ethnologiques sur les Chillouks', *Bull. Soc. Khediv. de Géog.* (1903), p. 122.
[2] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932), p. 39.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. xlvii.

643 kann, und Herr sogar des Eigentums seiner Unter-
114 tanen'.[1] These statements would seem to require
642 some modification. As Mr Pumphrey has pointed
[177] out, it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments.[2] Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.

643 It is true that the more recent authorities imply
114 rather than explicitly state what in their opinion
692 is the position of the king. Mr Howell and Mr Thomson speak of 'the theoretical omnipotence' of the king and of a 'theoretically omnipotent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 150–1.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 18–19.

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old 643 ●
days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale 114
fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, 692
feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We 643
are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifi- 114
able' war on another or refused persistently to 721
listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from 701
the adjacent settlements and with this force and his 692
own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage 114
resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, there- 643
fore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes 692
backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

114 paid to the king alone.[1] A different picture of the
●643 king's part in the settlement of disputes is painted
692 by Mr Oyler of the American Mission, who witnessed the settlement of a feud, which had been going on in a district for more than three years, by the joint intervention of the king and the Government. From his account it is evident that the king could not have imposed a settlement had the disputants not been ready to accept one, that the part played in it by the king was that of peacemaker and not of judge, and that his participation can better be described as sacerdotal than as governmental.[2] The king of the Shilluk reigns but does not govern.

643 The king's sacerdotal role in the settlement of
793 feuds gives us a clue to what is confirmed by a great weight of further evidence: his sacral position in Shilluk society. Our authorities, indeed, speak of the king as the 'Hoherpriester des Landes',[3] of 'the royal and priestly line' and of its 'priestly function',[4] and of the king as 'the high priest of the tribal religion'.[5] Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on

op. cit. p. 192.

[2] 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N. and A* (1920), pp. 296–9.

[3] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 152.

[4] Banholzer and Giffen, *op. cit.* p. 197.

[5] Pumphrey, *op. cit.* p. 19.

He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations. 643 793 [782] [173]

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original in- 182 613 631 [773]

yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 182 631 622 778

[i.e., the King. - Analyst]

particular, ceremonial services at the king's investiture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and those of past kings. These shrines are widely distributed throughout the country so that every section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

We can only understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

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Nyikang who is the medium between man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way to participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyikang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The participation of Nyikang in the king raises the kingship to a plane above all sectional interests, whether local or of descent. All the Shilluk share in the kingship, [185] however their loyalties may pull them apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common to all the people: success in war against foreigners and the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, and of those wild beasts which are of service to man. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thomson tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*piny bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shilluks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the investiture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk nation would cease.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* p. xliii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

643 783 Because of the mystical values associated with the kingship and centred in the person of the king he must keep himself in a state of ritual purity, by performing certain actions and observing certain prescriptions, and in a state of physical perfection. Our authorities say that the Shilluk believe that should the king become physically weak the whole people might suffer, and, further, that if a king becomes sick or senile he should be killed to avoid some grave national misfortune, such as defeat in war, epidemic, or famine. The king must be killed to save the kingship and with it the whole Shilluk people.

643 783 114 [766] This would seem to be the reasoning behind Shilluk statements that the king may be strangled, or suffocated, or walled up in a hut and left to die there, if he fails to satisfy his wives or shows signs of illness or senility. In view of the great importance Sir James Frazer and others have attached to these statements I must confess that I consider them of interest more as an indication of the mystical nature of the kingship than as evidence that the or for the reasons given. It is true that Professor and Mrs Seligman state categorically that 'there is not the least doubt that kings of the Shilluk were killed with due ceremony when they began to show

signs of old age or ill health',[1] but I have failed to find convincing evidence that any Shilluk king was put to death in either circumstance, although some of the kings must have qualified long before they died for execution on the grounds alleged; and I am persuaded that the story of kings being walled up in a hut is a confusion arising from the usual walling up of the remains of a dead king, the bones being buried after decomposition of the flesh. In the absence of other than traditional evidence of royal executions in Shilluk history and in view of the contradictory accounts cited I conclude that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction. It possibly arises from the dual personality of the king, who is both himself and Nyikang, both an individual and an institution, which accounts also for the linguistic convention that a king does not die but disappears just as Nyikang is said not to have died but to have disappeared, in his case in a storm. I will return to this question of regicide after I have reviewed the procedures of election shed on the nature of the kingship.

643 783 114 [766] [761]

[1] *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 221; also *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–2. Howell and Thomson say (*op. cit.* p. 19) that ceremonial strangulation is traditional for all members of the royal clan.

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 114 The phases of the investiture of a new king were excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 766 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of and the mortuary ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and [614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred. 643 766 [614]

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Ger, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre, 182 631 643

182 631 643 Fashoda, which is almost where the halves meet and is the focal point in the ceremonies of investiture.

631 643 666 I wish to emphasize that the procedure of election ensures that the prince selected to be king must have the backing of the whole country. Mr Thomson tells us that 'the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang'[1] and cannot take place unless they agree, and it is clear that agreement does not depend on the personal feelings of the two men but that they are spokesmen for the halves of the country they represent. The other members of what Mr Howell and Mr Thomson call the 'electoral college' and which they say 'is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe'[2] have 'only to listen to the decision'[3] of these two men. The other members are the two influential chiefs of the northern and southern marches, Muomo and Tonga, nine chiefs of settlements who are de-

Nyikang divided Shillukland when he conquered and settled his followers in it, and three important

[1] W. P. G. Thomson, 'Further Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk, 1945' (manuscript).
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 29.
[3] Thomson, *op. cit.*

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have 631
become dominant in powerful settlements in the 643
country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all 666
parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

182
Without the collective participation of the halves 643
of the country the investiture of a king, which takes 631
place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, [614]
the commoner clans, especially the [illegible] ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans [293] [778]
are responsible for performing various parts of the

182 ceremonial and for providing the various objects
631 required in its enactment: silver and cloth from the
• 643 Arabs of the north (presumably obtained by raiding
[293] in the old days), ostrich feathers for the effigies of
[778] Nyikang and his son, skins of the rare Mrs Gray antelope from Fanyikang island for the ceremonial robes of the king and the other more important participants in the ceremony, sacred spears, royal drums, fibre of the dom palm for ceremonial robes, cowrie shells, new huts, beasts for sacrifice, and so forth.

643 I will recount briefly the chief phases by which
778 the kingship envelops the king-elect. The effigy of Nyikang, which is kept in the principal of his provincial shrines, at Akurwa in the most northerly district of Shillukland, is brought out by his priests, to whom the king-elect has to make considerable gifts for their service in this matter, and together with the effigy of his son Dak is taken to beat the northern bounds of the kingdom and then southwards, supported by an army of the north, to fight the king-elect for possession of the capital. As the effigies pass through each district the people gather to pay their respects to Nyikang and to escort him to the next district, for it appears that during the interregnum the effigy is believed to contain the

spirit of Nyikang, to be Nyikang in fact. Nyikang's 643 ●
army of the north meets in mock combat an army 778
of the south, supporting the king-elect, at the Arepejur watercourse just outside the royal capital. In the words of Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, this meeting in battle of the two armies on the Arepejur, the boundary between north and south, 'symbolizes the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points.'[1] The army of the king-elect is defeated and he is captured by Nyikang and taken by him to the capital. The kingship captures the king. There Nyikang is placed on the royal stool. After a while he is taken off it and the king- [775]
elect sits on it in his stead and the spirit of Nyikang enters into him, causing him to tremble, and he becomes king, that is he becomes possessed by Nyikang. The concluding ritual acts follow. The new king has married a girl, traditionally provided by a certain clan, and this girl has an important role in the ceremonies of investiture. After the king's enthronement Nyikang seizes the girl and refuses to surrender her to the king on the ground that she was married with cattle from the royal herd, which is Nyikang's herd, and is therefore Nyikang's wife.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 48.

643 778 On this issue Nyikang and the king summon their supporters to a second mock battle, in which the king captures the girl. Nyikang thereupon pays the king a visit to make his peace with him. On the following morning the king receives the homage and exhortations of the chiefs and undertakes to be a good king. Nyikang does not again contest the king's authority and some weeks later the effigies are sent back to the shrine at Akurwa.

643 775 Even so brief a sketch as I have given enables us to perceive the basic symbolism of the events of investiture. Nyikang is always king of the Shilluk and when a king dies his spirit is conceived of as departing in some manner from the king's body to take up its abode in the new effigy specially made for its accommodation at the shrine of Akurwa. By entering anew into the body of a prince Nyikang once again rules in his capital. The most adequate interpretation of the succession of rites of investiture would therefore seem to be that when the effigy and the king fight for possession of the capital the army of the effigy is victorious because Nyikang is in the effigy, but when they fight again over the king's bride the army of the king is victorious because Nyikang is now in the king. Power has passed from the Nyikang of the

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in 643 775
Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa.

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole 643
Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The king- 644
ship belongs to all the people and not to the royal 614
clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang [173]
was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on [174]
these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an

614 enactment of this central dogma, that it is not an
643 individual who belongs to a particular clan or to
644 a particular part of the country who is king, but Nyikang in whom are the continuity and welfare of the whole Shilluk people.

ROYAL SUCCESSION AND REGICIDE

643 We may now examine, in the light of what we have
114 learnt about the position of the kingship in Shilluk society and particularly about the polarity so clearly expressed in the ceremonies I have reviewed, the mode of succession to royal office and the tradition of regicide which is so closely connected with it. Although Professor and Mrs Seligman say, 'We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn',[1] the early *Sudan Intelligence Reports* make it clear that this was the case in recent decades and also that rivalry between claimants to the kingship in the second half of the nineteenth century was con-
[631] nected with the balanced opposition between north and south, for the halves of the kingdom fairly

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 44–5.
Consistently supported rival candidates.

consistently supported rival candidates. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the practice of the present day, by which it is more or less understood that the surviving lines of kings take it in turn to provide the king,[1] is new. A collateral royal line does not to-day contest an election on the understanding that they have next turn. The custom is for the reigning king to take under his wing a scion of a rival line and by so doing to indicate him as his successor, though he cannot nominate him and his choice may not be followed by the people. When this prince becomes king he takes under his wing a son of his protector. The reigning king insures by this convention against both rebellion by a rival line and his own line being excluded from the kingship in the future. 643 114

There can be no doubt that in recent times there has been an alternation on the throne of branches of the royal house, nor that the alternation is related to the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We are told that if the ceremonial chiefs of the north and south fail to reach agreement in the election of a new king the chiefs of the northern settlements follow their representative and the 643 631 669

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. xlvi; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 145; Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 27.

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
669 representative and the issue is fought out. It would seem probable that when there is disagreement it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
174 about the merits of the candidates but of local
631 loyalties in which different members of the royal
643 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
644 land. Whether disputed succession in the past was a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact that in earlier times the king ruled from the settlement in which he was brought up or moved from one settlement to another and did not have a fixed residence at the central and neutral point of Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the association of princes with settlements and districts is clearly related to the custom by which they are brought up away from the capital. It is probable that the backing given by north and south to candidates for the kingship in past times arose from the fact that some princes were brought up in the north and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The
643 belief that a king may legitimately be assassin-
669 ated by a personal rival is not substantiated by
173 recent Shilluk history any more than the belief that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own
[114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

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[114]

has been suggested,[1] but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it. This is the conclusion I have drawn from Father Hofmayr's involved chronicle of the Shilluk kings.[2] It must here be remarked that Shilluk rebellions have not been made against the kingship. On the contrary, they were made to preserve the values embodied in the kingship which were being weakened, or it was believed so, by the individual who held office. They were not revolutions but rebellions against the king in the name of the kingship.

CONCLUSION

The divine kingship, to one, perhaps the best 121
known, of the examples of which I have devoted 693
this lecture, has been extensively written about by ethnologists, particularly in reference to its occur-

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 64; Prof. and Mrs Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90-1. Howell and Thomson (*op. cit.* p. 11 *et passim*) are more reserved.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 59-136.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paslo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paslo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paslo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

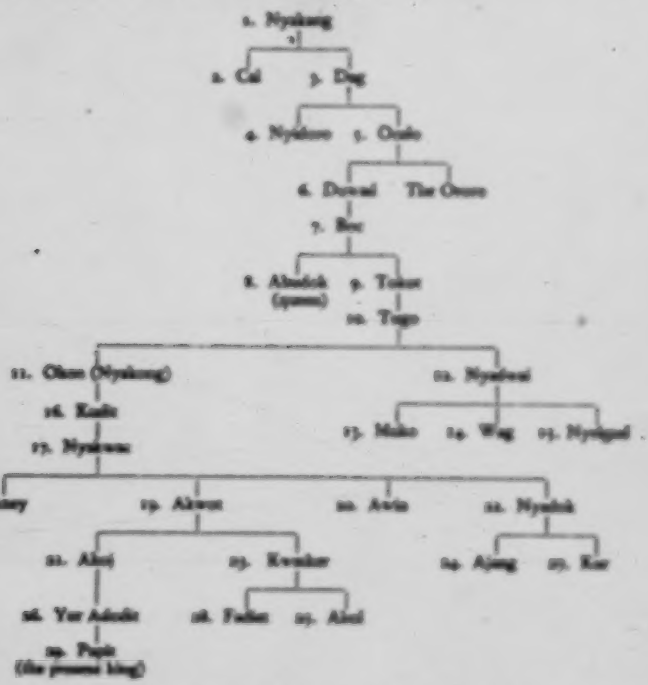
Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 155.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 114 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[113] 1. "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. a, Khartoum, 1911.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang dung*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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●643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[643] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the goat antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Bambolner, describes the investiture of
a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clapping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are ugo.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*arwyi Juak*) and *fa* incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*ryel kwom*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reak* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Beeholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tanga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reak* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyidwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyidwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Waloiok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Anurwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heany writes that unless the king takes a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to
643 mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
594] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Henry informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were so unusually attractive
586] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
646 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582 are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting
583] for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireh*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[834 Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children.
Mr. Henry informs us that they may select whom they will, *Amarawit*

[1] Mr. Henry considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is antagonistic to his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they remained in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated
with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

● 643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
566 *nyinyireth*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Mauny as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Rut of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become ororo after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only ororo are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. xlv–xl). Mr. Mauny confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the ororo. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a raid Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Dowad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowad to say that the sacrilege to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigal instead of their previous appellation Kwareth. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jagu*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", *i.e.* probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*akon*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is clear, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagajo and Kajo respectively.

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778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[774] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ladi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
782 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[808] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *adabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[843] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *kawak* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *kawak*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

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782 796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should [643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. P.s, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *kawak* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kingo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the [793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *kawak Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately [787] fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it [831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
796 *kawit Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

●643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly
782 consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *kawit*.

785 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest
782 shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December,
796 1911, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete:—

[184] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1911, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *yaghareh*.

[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony in

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performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of the Golobogo clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Burc owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Burc, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would provide the bull.

[634]

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At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are called *kango*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
764 word is *rero*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kango Nyakang*,
[793] viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] The kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

[98 643]

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643 778 764 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 643 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyówéth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his [644] friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was supposed to passing the night in constant

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watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or 643
standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is [173]
no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been 643
assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the 565
fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well- [173]
informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health [886]
of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this [173]
there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt 173
that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or 643
possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

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who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ocwa*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1911, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 176.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. A, Khartoum, 1911; F. Munro, "Installation of the Fun Chief (King of the Shilluk)": *S.N. & R.*, 1, 1918, 141-151; Hofmayr, op. cit., 141-151. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Fuph, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a few dealing with the installation of the king, but this is extremely short and incomplete.

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this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

[662] 643 787 643 796

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears to a dream to one of the herdsmen of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., pp. 1 sqq.

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643 796 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *orore* and *kwarek* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *orore* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwarek* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is "to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *orore*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *orore* and *kwarek*. [787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with "Nyakang" near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *orore* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2]

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At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *orwo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *orwo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *orwo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwar*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *orwo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *orwo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously some connexion in connexion with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Also informed us that the victim would be lying underneath when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great cows"—including certainly the *jang dwong*—assembled near the shrine and took upon him a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place. [782]

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwar*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she is now there was taken to wife by the king and in any way remembered she did for all the Asholi is a matter for further investigation. [649]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it
796 with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nyo kwar*, enters the homestead, where he should remain
[715] some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Atorwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For
[771] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it
[772] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Pagiu, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Moore by an Egyptian officer—one apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Moore's article (see Appendix) already quoted.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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769 Mr. Henry, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
718 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's house to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

712 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally crowded with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal wounding underfoot of an old man (p. 91), by the kingship and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
712 woman (p. 91). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
718 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
713 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[714] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

[519]

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the son. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep screams]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the mulberry, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be eaten until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup to a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Have help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of serving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard person." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

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the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be 789
presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done 643
by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps [826]
with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* 754
—literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, 756
who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyar*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyar* is a monorchid, though 754
men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands [826]
tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition [847]
is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyar* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyar*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyar*. The magic of the *daiyar* is associated [826]
with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyar* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuep*) is associated with the *jalyar*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other 755
most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ojango* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 170. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for seven, weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost invariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals.
[411] Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 105; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will pursue it for
[672] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by private only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry
[177] on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

others are against the sun and his sons; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and steadily maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dak*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kpt rij* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurwar, Wau,[2] Fanyikang, Nyikodo (*Nyikdo*), *Ogola*, *Nyakwal*, *Ookiny*, *Ofiyy*, *Dhilyy*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of relicts are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant corn, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonkiin and Kodok.

3:Westermann E-5 (9910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

OWRASHO OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Nikang ekyi!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Nikang ewan!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Nikang a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Nikang a Kakwal*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ajuja* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

NOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the form of certain animals, as lobsters, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, never fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox as propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 782

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked besides that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the sacrificial descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *ric*, which is the plural of *rig* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*ric*". 643 [778]

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the subject model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

J.Westermann E-5 (2910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

773 THE COWS OF RYKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Rykang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Rykang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dinkahns took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Rykang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "Too Rykang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman swears falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Rykang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Rykang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, sees of the cows of these animals, he becomes a servant of Rykang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Ohiga* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Rykang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

956 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ajuoka*, and what is connected with him; *ajuoka* is the which doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *juok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Rykang; he leads the dances and prayers to Rykang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an unspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some rank pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Ryikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Kor. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Tij*; at the death of the king from the house of *Tij* it will be the turn of the house of *Nakik*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Kor, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1] "King" is in Shilluk *rik* or *ryik*; in older literature the word "reader" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called *mek*, which is a construction of the Arab *malik*.

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right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. Where from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bachelor and Dr. Gillan her name is not mentioned. [542]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite so uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, beans, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [65]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have no unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 681 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict becomes the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ngat ayak* ("man of crime") or *adjoy*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjoy*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjoy* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjoy* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjoy*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the "army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the corn is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-feast) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Ani mijkp, jini Mwymp, jini mddijch, ko ujkè yi rij Yo. Ko tyyè pjn i pwjèij. Ko fè ni lui yi fitp bunè, ko yy ni mudp, ko yy chpè wyt, ko fè e lipi pyyr ubi-hyjl, ko uyke jkp, ko yy dwyl; ko yy rwng dwyl, ko yy tyyè; ko yy rumo tyyè, ko bil kjl wjk, ko jkip kjl, ko ujè, mpn pyy bil; ko bil tjè wyt ki hyr, ko bil tjè wyt, ko jkipy kjl, ko ujè; ko pwyyr pwjk, ko pyyr ubi hyyl kjl wjk, ko yy ujk. (Ipn) jkip o ujkè yi rij. K'i gni anna, ko Chjl e bwyyy lipn.

A certain man, a man of Mwymp, a very good man, was killed by king Yo. His relatives mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), those were caught by the relatives of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

IV. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

15. The Election of a King.

Kpa rpa.

Kpa rpa (rpa) rij, aj dwoti kodwi ghiki, ko wijij ne rij, ko yy wiji, ko ji kajij fiyo ghaka, ko ijio iji, ko kijo nwoch, ko bik. Ka wijij ijio, ipo yi nwoch, ko nwoch kijaj ikoh, fiyo rij; ko ohijij wijiyo kijaj nwoch, ko e kpajij wajo, fiyo rij, ko ohijij ijio nwoch, ko e kpajij dwapo wajo, fiyo rij; ko wijiyo ohijij ijio nwoch, ko nwoch e ji, fiyo rij; ko wijiyo ijio nwoch, ko e kpajij kpajij dwapo, ko pijiyo nwol, ko ijiyo ohijij, rij nwoo! Ka ijiyo kijaj, ko wijwo yajij. Dyakij ko ji kijaj, ko ji wwayo pwoh; kpajij kij a bi, ko yy aj ijiwo pdwo, ko aj yijij ghwoh; ko yy kijaj wwajij pwo, ko yijij ghwoh. Ka yy wajiyo Bikikkij, ko jwiko dwapo e yjikij kijwo: wwajo a kwdo yi ijij? kijwo: ne rij dwoto.

Chang, ko jiki dwoti, ko yy dwoni Mwajwaj kij Thing. Ka e kijwo kijwo, gwo jiyo kijwo, ko kwij kijwo, ko ijiyo kijiji, ijiyo kajio fiyo, ko pdwo ijyiji, ijyiji dkajij. Ka ji wjwij yjiji. Ka kpo gwi ko ji kijwo, yy kajio pwoh. Ka kpo kwwaj ohijij, ko ji kajio kwi, ko ijyjio wwajo i pwajwij. Nij rij gwi kijiij wwji; ko jiako, kwii rij, a ohwyij, ko yy kajio kwi. Ka iwdwi ohijij ko kpo; ko yy pwajo wwji, ko ne rij kwdo yy wwji kij wwji. Ka e wwajij ghwoh, ko ghwoh wjiki yi jiki, ko yy ohwwo ghwoh. Ka kjij ko ijiyj ki Thiwij, ko jiyyj i kiwij kij ottit, ko ottit ohijiki rij, ko kwyp kjiwi ohij.

When a king is to be elected, they bring the descendants of the Nubians,[1] and the sticks of the princes are broken. And some people go to the Nubian country, and bring some flat stones; they are put into the fire; then the fire is blown up; and a stick (of the princes) is thrown into it, into the fire; if the fire remains black, then that one (the prince or pretendent who threw his stick in) is not the king. Another stick is thrown in (by another prince); if the fire burns (flames up) a little, then this one is not the king. Again another stick is thrown in; if the fire burns a little high, that one is not the king. Another stick is thrown in; if the fire dies, that is not the king. Another one is thrown in, and if the fire burns with a big flame, and blazes up, then the people laugh: "This is the king (the prince who threw in this stick, he is to be king)."

[Hofmayr says concerning this: "According to an ancient use which existed before Nyikang's time, a number of little stones according to the number of princes which have been proposed for election are thrown into a fire. Each stone has its name; now the one whose stone remains in the fire without cracking becomes king. This test is repeated so long till only one single stone is left.]

After that the people come (from different villages); they sleep in the bush,

[1] The Shilluks say: "When Nyikang brought his people into the Shilluk country, he brought some Nubians with him; these Nubians live in several villages among the Shilluks up to this day; they are known by the Shilluks, but in their outward appearance they do not differ from the Shilluks." According to the report given above they seem to play or to have played rather an important role in the constitution of the Shilluk dynasty. It appears that the Shilluks have been in some political connection with the Nubians.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

the next morning they come near and enter the village. The people of the 539*
stream (those who brought the stream) come and turn to a certain village, and 643
a cow is sacrificed; they go into the next village, and a cow is sacrificed (in each village which they pass, a cow is sacrificed). So they come to *Tashola*. On arriving there, the great chief asks them: "Who has been elected by the first stream?" They answer: "This or that prince" (calling the name of the elected one).

That is all, and then the chiefs are brought (are sent for); they all are 539*
brought, from *Mwyang* to *Tingg* (the chief from each district, from the extreme north [*Mwyang*] to the south and [*Tingg*] of the Shilluk country is sent for). 634
And they all come, that is, all chiefs come, and they talk about the matter. 643
Then the people go to the village (of the newly elected king), they surround his village all around; after that they pass the night in the bush. Early next morning they go into the village again. Their spears are taken from their hands. They go into the enclosure (where the new king lives). The women cry. The king remains in the hut. The chiefs, the descendants of the kings, are called, they too go into the enclosure. The door-stick (of the hut) is cut off with a spear. They rush into the hut, and take the prince (the new king) out. He gives them a cow, the cow is killed by the chiefs, and they eat the meat. Then they take the new king to *Tobalg*, and they adorn him with beads, with dancing beads of the king. And they hold a long palaver.

16. A second report on the Election of a King.

Nik dwoi; ko tjeg lijeg, ko pg chajlg, ko bwgy kjwi. Ko rig wolk, dwoi fkwg, ko 539*
kjl fim dwgi, ko rjw gjk kjl, ko kjlj gjl Nikwi, gjl dwgi. Ko tjeg limij, ko jwgk
lim, ko Nikwi lim; rig do wdjj. Ko rdwij, ko pi lji rg gi tjeg lijo, ko kjlj kol,
ko lwgk yi kjiio rig. Ko e rdwo, ko rg kjlj lim, limo jiigg, ko tjki jiigg ki wdij, ko
kgjo wwol gwok ogkjl-wiwk; kgjo wwol, ko e rdj. Ko wgo tjo dwoi, ko tjgwk Nikwi
ko pg dwoi Abowoor, fwy Nikwi. Ko pg kjo, pg kgio Nikwig kj Dik, i pwdjgk
kj ohwgo wwdg pg gio; pg twojg rgg kkjjkk, pg kjl. Tjeg ko: Nikwi o ki. Ko gjk
kjl, ko jwl wdjlg gdjo, ko kjl, ko lim lim wdk, ko twdwk, ko ohjg fwi kj pg. Ko tjeg
kjlwo kjlwo kjlwo, rig pa ohr, ko tjeg kjldl kwgwo jwl gwi, i di kjlj. Ko rdwij, ko tjgwk
Nikwi kjwg, gi kjlg ohwgjrg, ko tjeg rgwk, rig p wdjlg kj ooo o dkwkg, pg rdwg kjfo
tjgwk Nikwi, kjfo pg a fwdk yi tjgwk Nikwi, fwdkij tjeg kjlwo; ohw o gjwk, ki ohjg
wdki, ko ohwo ki gjwk ko ohjg wdki. Ko rdj ohjgwk: Ko pg rgwo wgk, ko gjwok kjl, ko
gjwok ohwdjg, ko rdj kjl wjk, ko tjeg o kjlwg kjlwo kjlwo kjlwo, jiigg kjlwo; ko ohjg gjk
gjl dwgk, ko tjeg lim. Ko ohjdk: yi ko gjk kj gi rdwk! Yi kj wjk kj jk! Nikwi
fwi jiigg wdkj! Ko rdj gwwgo wwol, ko tjeg fjko fwi, rg kjgjo kjwij; dg kkwi rdj pa

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*539 [illegible] *Ko e kōlg kjno: Shjlj, ołnj ydn kjno! fli fli wō kjfli kwō! ydi ołnj kj rio kj dlyh. Ko glip yo: wwō wwō wwō kjno. Ko ghwō kjl, ko ołwyp kjfo kōlo rij. Ko dlyh kjl wōkō tyyō Nikwō. Ko jiol ywi ydn, ko e kjdlp. Ko ghwō ołwyp, ołjo ghwō kwdp. Ko rij e kjij kj lim ołjlp, lim dwyō, kwo jlyp. Ko ilyy e kjlj, ołyo kjdlp flip yo: ołyo kjdlp flip ydn*

*539 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) 643 into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal bed, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. [778] They are brought from Akurowar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dak, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people say: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

173 614 643 [According to Hofmeyer (Anthropos V, page 333) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okal: "The Kwa-okal come from the Bahr el Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this whole the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, lances, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called nya kwer (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] or: "little days"?
[2] or: "he held fast by"?
[3] see pages 128, 2 n.

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There are several other clans which have the privilege of performing certain ceremonies in connection with the election of a king. One has the duty of fanning the king with a feather of the king of birds, another has to secure the dura sticks with which the party of the king defeats the party of the commoners.*] 614 643

people of Nyikang, lest they be beaten by the people of Nyikang; for they (the latter) beat all people, and every one who is beaten, is put into a separate place and has to pay a fine to the people of Nyikang. All the people try to run into a house. 539* 643

Now a cow is brought, the cow is speared, and the king is brought out. All the people count, all the chiefs, and they place the king outside the door of the great court; the people pray. The king is given these commandments: "Do not do any wicked things! Do not kill people! Govern the country of the chiefs in peace!" And the king rises, and all the people go down, they kneel on the earth, but the wives of the king kneel beside him. And he says: "Ye Shilluk people all, look at me! This is the country of my father and my grandfathers; you will live a peaceful life through me!" And all the people say: "Our father, our father!" A cow is brought, and is speared on account of the prosperity (for the good speed) of the king. And cattle are brought, and given to the people of Nyikang. And the man (who was bound) is released, and goes home. Another cow is speared, which finishes the matter. And the king is covered with certain clothes, big clothes, royal clothes. Now the people scatter, each one goes to his own country.

27. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

Ka ŋrɣ kɛ́ kí dwɔ́r kí kɛ́, kɛ́ kwɔ́r, ɣɣɛ́. Ka ŋrɣ e kɛ́ŋ́ŋ́ kíŋ́ŋ, ɣí ɣɔ́r, ka jɔ́k e lɔ́mɔ́: ɣíno ɣɔ́k ɣ́ŋ́, kwɔ́lɔ́ ɣɔ́t ɔ́nɔ́n, kɛ́ ɣɣɔ́k, kɛ́ kwɔ́r ɔ́ḱ, ɣ de ɔ́ɔ́k ɣ ɔ́wɔ́ɣe, ɣ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ḱ. E ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́: ɣíno ɣɔ́k Ñɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, kɛ́ɔ́ ɔ́n ɣɔ́ɔ́k ɣí, wɔ́ ka ɣɔ́ɔ́r kí kwɔ́ɣ́p! E ka: ɛ́, kwɔ́ɣe ɣ́ŋ́, wɔ́k kɛ́ kí ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́k, ɣ kɔ́r kɛ́ɔ́ é ɣɔ́n; wɔ́kɔ́ ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́k, kɔ́ɔ́-ɛ́-ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́! Ka ɛ́ɣɣí kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɣ́p, ka ɣɣɔ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka dwɔ́r e kɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ dwɔ́r kɛ́ɔ́, ka ɣɣɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́k ɣɣ ɣɔ́r, ka ŋrɣ kíŋ́ŋ́, ka jɔ́k e ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ka kɛ́ɔ́ ɣɔ́r, ka ɣɣ rɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɣɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ka jɔ́ɔ́k dwɔ́k, ka kɛ́ɔ́ ɣɔ́ɔ́ɔ́d, ka e ka: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɣ́, kɛ́ɔ́ wɔ́k, ka e ka jɔ́k ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́: kɛ́ɔ́ wɔ́k, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɣɣ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɣɣ rɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ka ɣɣ kɛ́, kɔ́ɔ́ kɛ́ ɣɔ́ɔ́ŋ́; ka jɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ka kíɣɣ: ɔ́ɔ́? E ka: ɛ́, dɛ́ wɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɣ́ŋ́? Ka e kɛ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɣɔ́ɔ́k, ka ɣɔ́ɔ́k kɛ́ɔ́, ka jɔ́k ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɣɣ kɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ka Ñɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́. Ka rɛ́ɣ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ka: jɔ́k á ɔ́ɔ́. Kíɣɣ: wɔ́ɔ́, wɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́! Wɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́? Wɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́d kwɔ́r. Kíɣɣ: ɣí ɔ́ɔ́? Kíɣɣ ɣɣɔ́r ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɣ́. E kɛ́: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́! Ka rɛ́ɣ e kɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ wɔ́ŋ́ (rɔ́ɔ́ŋ́) ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka wɔ́kɔ́ jɔ́k, ka wɔ́k. Ka jɔ́k e rɔ́ɣ́, ɣí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɣɔ́ɔ́. Ka ɣɣ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Kíɣɣ: wɔ́ɔ́, kɔ́ wɔ́ɔ́? Kíɣɣ: ɛ́, wɔ́ɣí ɣɔ́ɔ́k! Ka jɔ́k e kɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ka wɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɣɣɔ́, ka ɣɣ rɔ́ɣ́. ɣí wɔ́ɣ́ŋ́. 539*

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*539 *Kjwo: ŋ, djuŋ, kɛ̃, kɛ̃lɛ̃ jwɔ̃! Ko ɣɛ kjɔŋ. Ko ɣɛ wɔɔ̃ fiɛ̃ ɣɔɔ, ko kɛ̃l ɣɔ̃ŋ, ko ɣɔŋ ŋkjɔŋ kɛ̃ kɛ̃l. Ko ɣɛ kjɔŋ: wɔɔ̃ ɣɔ̃ŋ ɣɔŋ, ŋ, wɛ̃ dɛ̃ŋ, dɛ̃ kjɛ̃ ɣɔ̃ wɛ̃.*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyuk-antelope. And all
229 the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
●693 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyuk-antelope, which belongs
651 to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is opened; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He selects a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "We have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?" They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big
[5%] steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
[64] it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now?)". The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay?)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people; "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

18. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̃ ɣɔŋ kɛ̃ ŋwɔ̃ kɛ̃ ɣɛ̃, ɣɔ̃ɣ kwɔ̃r, ko ɣɔŋ ŋkɔ̃, ko ɣɛ̃ kɛ̃l, kɛ̃ ɣɔ̃ŋ kɛ̃ŋ, ko ɣɔŋ wɔ̃ŋ fɔ̃ɔ̃k. Ko jɔ̃ŋ ŋwɔ̃l, ko ɣɛ̃ ɣɔ̃r kɛ̃ ɔ̃ ɔ̃ŋ, ko ɔ kɛ̃ŋ ɣɛ̃, ko ɔ ko: kwɔ̃ɔ̃ ɣɛ̃ ɔk! Ko kwɔ̃ɔ̃, ko ɔ ko: wɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔɔ ko wɔ̃ɔ̃ rɛ̃, ko wɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔɔ ɣɔɔ, ko ɣɛ kwɔ̃ɔ̃k, ko ɣɛ kjɔŋ ɣɔ̃n kwɔ̃r Bachiddy.*

[1] The *dyuk*-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

30. The Shilluk kings.

1. *Nyikang*	2. *Dak*	3. *Ukil*
4. *Adjiri*	5. *Odak*	6. *Dwagi*
7. *Bwogh*	8. *Dyiffe*	9. *Abidjiri* (queen)
10. *Tugo*	11. *Okwajo, Odin*	12. *Nikwiri*
13. *Nidjiri*	14. *Ekdu*	15. *Nikwakdj*
16. *Anji*	17. *Abwiri*	18. *Awin*
19. *Abjok*	20. *Nidjiri*	21. *Kwajiar*
22. *Ajuok*	23. *Kwiyikwajo*	24. *Tjo*
25. *Akol*	26. *Kur*	27. *Fudjiri.*

A. E. S. has the following list (according to Father Beaulieu at Lul, and Dr. Giffen at Dolaib Hill).

1. *Nyakang*	2. *Dag*	3. *Odagu*
4. *Kudit*	5. *Dokudo*	6. *Bag*
7. *Tugo*	8. *Nyo Dwai*	9. *Nyo Abidido*
10. *Mido*	11. *Nyo To*	12. *Nyakang*
13. *Ohur*	14. *Nyo Gwaine (Nwagi)*	15. *Nyadok*
16. *Ahwai*	17. *Abidido*	18. *Awin*
19. *Abaj*	20. *Nidok (Nyadok)*	21. *Kwad kair*
22. *Ajong*	23. *Gwin kwa (Kwa kwa)*	24. *Tur Abedit*
25. *Akol*	26. *Kur Wad Nadok*	27. *Fudiat Wad kwad kair.*

31. The Burial of a King.

Ñig ka ej ukaj, ej kije ugi. Ko ginii chwiju, ka fyyni yiich, ka ebr, ka wunej ebrg, ka yigg dwai, ka yg dijt, gin á tilkigi kgi, ka yg kwai fan. Ko dji gui ki yj tidj dit tukuin. Ko yg rwang kj tidg, ka rij kgi; e kiiki tjrg, ka kije ugi, ka rwi kj ilang kwai. Wjwajo ocyan ka yg kgi, ka yg kije ugi; ka wajkg wajg wajg, ka wajkg wajg tyajg; ka wan gigo kj atikij kj dik, ka ain gigo kj atikij kj dik. Ko ugi wiki, dg ka yg wan yajo kgio yjwij. Ko yg kjdg ugi, rwaka dwai ocyan. Ki yi ji, ka kiog, ka rwi yg yjiki tjwj. Ko yg kjiii wajg ugi; riii á gion, ka yg djiio ciii. Ko jiii dwai kjo wajo[1] Tiidg, ka wajo[1] Mwyang, jiiyi kjo kjo. Ko yg kajg, wan e kiiij gwiii; u wanga ggo, ka gjii gui chjii kiiii ciiyji, ka yg ciwajo.[2] Ko yg kjoo: rij a wwii. Ko tjrg ywajii, ka gwii wajkg yiich, ka fyyn e ciji, yo ugg. Ko ciii rij kjji yaii ugg, ka kiii fai; á kiio, ka ywajii ywajii. Ko tjrg kjwg kjwo kjwo kjwo. Ko tjii chjii yg gio, ka yg tuiich, ka yg kije yi yyi, ka ciyi kije yi yyi gio, ka dii kije yi yyi gio, ka ygaij kije yi yyi, kj tjwii, kj tjo. Ko jii kgi, ggo ocyan, wan ciiyji ciiwa dauii, wan ciiyji ciiwa jiii, jii wayyi djiii, ka yg kije yi yyi, yg tiiiji, ciiyji ggo fii á tjwii, kj tyaii gio fii á tjwii; wajkg yo ya yyi, wajkg yo yyi yyi. Ko yg kwan, ka

[1] wajo: reaching T., and reaching M., i. e. from T. unto M.

[2] generally: ciwajo.

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

*539 *wuɔ̄ di nam. Ko yɔ̄ ny twiyɔ̄ a ɔ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄ yɔ yɔ̄ɔ̄. Ko yɔ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄ yɔ yɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, ko yɔ̄ a tɔ̄ɔ̄, a ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ ɔ̄ kɔ̄ yɔ̄ɔ̄, kɔ̄ jɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄, ko yɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ nam.*

539 766 ●693 When the king disappears (that is, dies),[1] his body is laid in a hut. A cow is speared, its skin removed, and cut into strips. When they have finished this, trees are brought, they are lowed with a curtain on, and then they are driven into the earth. With the strips (of skin) they unite these trees to a bier. When the bier is ready, they bring the body of the king — but without the people knowing it — lay it on the bier, and put it in the hut again. The body is adorned with a leopard-skin. Two girls are brought, and are put into the hut, where the body of the king is. One holds his head, and one holds his feet. Each of the girls is given tobacco and a pipe. Now the hut is walled (all openings are walled with mud), so that there is no way for the air to come. They (the two girls) remain in the hut, and die there. The people wait two months; about this time the worms (who have eaten the flesh of the three bodies) have turned into bugs, and they come crawling out through the roof of the hut. Now (the people know that) the flesh (of the three corpses) is consumed and only the bones remain. Then all the chiefs of the Shilluk country are summoned, beginning from Tonga,[2] and reaching to Wɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄; all, all the chiefs. And they come, each one brings a cow; when they come near Fashoda, they gather these cows at one place; and the cows are speared. Now it is said publicly, "The king has disappeared." And the people weep. One of the cows is skinned, the skin is turned and made into a bag. The bones of the king are put into this bag; and they are buried in a secret place. But still the mourning goes on, all, all, all the people mourn. And spears are gathered, a great many; they are tied together, and put into a boat; and cattle-bells are put into the boat, and beads, and pots, and dishes, and goods. And two people are brought, a man and a woman, fine people, they are laid into the boat, they are bound, their hands and their feet are bound; one is laid in the back part, and one in the front part (of the boat). The boat is rowed into the middle of the river, there the boat is pierced, so that water enters into it. The men who row the boat, get into another boat, and the boat which they have pierced, sinks down with the people in it, and all the goods, together with the people, perish in the river.

31. The Man who took the Law into his own Hand.

*539 *Jal wɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, ko rɔ̄, ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄ Bɔ̄ɔ̄ Dɔ̄ Jɔ̄ Bɔ̄ɔ̄ Dɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, ko yɔ̄ yɔ̄ɔ̄. Bɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄; wɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄ Ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄. A yɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ Aɔ̄ɔ̄. Ko yɔ̄ yɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ Bɔ̄ɔ̄ Nɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄. Ko wɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ yɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄, ko kɔ̄ yɔ̄ Aɔ̄ɔ̄ kɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄, kɔ̄ ɔ̄ ɔ̄. Ko Aɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ yɔ̄ rɔ̄, ko ɔ̄wɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄, a kɔ̄ Aɔ̄ɔ̄ Dɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄.*

[1] Of a king it is not said: "he dies", but "he disappears". — It is said: the king does not die of his own accord, but when he is very old, or sick, and the people think that his death is near at hand, his chief will strangle him with a cloth.
[2] = Tonga.

3. Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 chieftains. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate." So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came; 622 the crocodile was cooked by the chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He 627 called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! Give ten to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ko jiò rij Tiyò, jiò o pòrò, chaqio Ñwòjò. Ko wij ko ye ò lìnò, ye lìr[2] yo wòjò chòò, ko ye ò pwòyò wòj yooh ki chòòq. Ko rij e kòòq kìno: bòò, ye rì ro wòò, o rò yìr yoòjò? Kìno: ìyòre pòn gòi. A yìr pòn gòi, o Fachòòq; o dòyò Tuyò yòjò, o kòòj Tuyò kìno: Ìòn gòi y chòò ò pò rìyò! A bòòr ò rìyò ìjòò yòjò. A rìòn ò jìòyò, o kòòj kìno: ko wòòò y rìyò, o rìyòò.*

*539 King Tugo reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyowajo.
● 683 And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen
173 without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Fachódo. Tugo moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief. [2] From *lìòò* "to be".

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king (Tugy) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

Kpé: kɛ̀ jì kɛ̀ pɔ́ɔ̀, ko jì kɛ̀ɛ̀, ko jì pɛ̀ɛ́ɛ́ pɔ́ɔ́. Ko pɔ́ɔ́ gɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ko ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ' pɛ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ̀, kɛ́ɛ́: yɛ̀ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́n! Kɛ́ɛ́: kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́n kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́n![1] *Kɛ́ɛ́: yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Kɛ́ɛ́: yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́? Kɛ́ɛ́: yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ yɛ̀ kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́n! Kɛ́ɛ́: kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́n? Kɛ́ɛ́: jɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Kɛ́ɛ́: jɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Kɛ́ɛ́: kɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́n! Ko jɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. A, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́n? ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Ko jì kɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ pɔ́ɔ́. Ko jì kɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀, ko ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́, ko pɔ́ɔ́ pɔ́ɔ́ kɛ́ɛ́: ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́. Kɛ́ɛ́: ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́? Wɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́n! Kɛ́ɛ́: ɛ̀, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́

*539 *gyɛlǫ. Ka riṭ e wɛ́rṳ̀, ka nṵk kṵ̀l gɛ́ gɪr, ka ḍǫk chōl ga pyār aṅwɛn, kí jè gá pyārǫ; riṭ kṭ̀ch; a dwǫk chwak, a chike chōl kɛ́ ḍṳ̀k, kí jè, a kōbí riṭ kine: wei bṭ̀dɛ, ṭúṅá yè kṭ́r.*

173 The eldest son of a king whose name was Alɛ̀ki, was brought to be elected king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were
*539 going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

He came home again, and built himself a village, wich he called Pwot ("beaten"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I
●[643 don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out
301] of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

*539 *Jal mṭ̀kǫ Akúṅṳ̀ Bàkṳ̀, ka e bṭ̀nǫ, chama riṭ, e chyṭ̀k, ka Chɛlǫ yɛ̄i, mɛn an ka bṭ̀da riṭ anan; wa yɛ̄i ki ɛn. Ka jal mṭ̀kǫ kyɛdǫ: í, fate riṭ! A rāṇ āṅǫ? A chyɛ̄ki nau, yá kyṭ̀t! Ka jal ɛni e bṭ̀nǫ, ka pṭ̀ka tūṅ yṵ̄, bṭ̀ lɛpe gṳ̀n. Ká gṳ̀ lɛ́pé, ka Akúṅṳ̀ Bàkṳ̀ bṭ̀nṳ̀, ka e buǫgo, ka e rɛn. Ka jal ɛni ko: yi rɛṅa kɛ́ṅ? Ma yi kōba yin, che yina riṭ? yi chyɛte ṅǫ kṭ̀te? Ka ṭ̀rǫ ko: ǎ, wa chɛ́n ɛ̀nà yi ḍāṇe nau? Ka Akúṅṳ̀-Bàkṳ̀ e bṭ̀nǫ, ka ṭ̀ṅa fān, ka ye yɛyí. Tṭ̀rǫ kudi yau. Gɛy ṭōm! Tṭ̀rǫ kudi yau. Ka jāgǫ kōbǫ: gṭ̀ṅe wunǫ! Ka wunǫ gṭ̀ṅ yaṅ ṭǫṇǫ. Ká é rɛ́ṅṳ̀, ka Chɛlǫ ṅṭ̀ṭǫ: ā, fate riṭ! Ka Chɛlǫ ko: nɛ̀k! Ka ṭ̀ṅa yinǫ, a pɛr.*

173 A man whose name was Akūnyo Bāko, came and wanted to become king. He was a short man. The Shilluks consented, "This man shall be king now, we
*539 are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, Akūnyo Bāko came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

[1] Formerly only the king was authorized to wear ivory bracelets.

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akunyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remaind silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said. "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing. 173 539*

45. Queen Abudok.

Kẹn Dọkọt ka fen e bẹdọ ẹ bu rit; ka Chọlọ wijẹ mûm; rit bogọn. Ka tẹrọ bẹnọ yi Abúdọk, ka e ko: é wite wọn a mum yi bune rit. A kōbi kine: kwáni rit! A kwáni, a rẹni. A kẹdọ, ẹn Abudọk, a dwai ṭẹpọ, a mẹ́jí, a wúàlí, a pígí yẹte tẹp; ka a tẹme dugn, a pígí, ka atẹp e chẹ̀gọ̀, e ba pań. A kẹl atẹm ṭẹp, a pígí, a pẹ́ní; a kẹti Bachōdọ, a wei gọ fen. A kóbi kine: é, Chọlọ u nụ́ní yi kwa rit. A bāne ụẹne kwa rit. A kōbi: é, kwa rit re u lọ́gọ́ mùgọ̀, ka ni gẹdi ki būte pári, fári ni doyi dbyó, ka e nụnọ. U ụẹn bat kẹnọ, u ụẹn pụl. A bāne ụwọli a ụẹní. — Kwọn Abúdọk. 539*

In the time of Dokōt the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become many, just as the branches of the calabash plant become many in the bush." Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok. 173 539*

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away 643 158 787

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] Loosen a rope to thrash him!

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Deung Adok *(ḍeaṅ aduk)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kọlọ)*; Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro *(Omarọ)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maul *(wat mọ̄l)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Diljil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Diljil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakae)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Ńiḳāṅ)* and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bun Yung, his brother Umoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shulla race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Booh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous 644
than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child 644
she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* 614
is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, 591
often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. 565
When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement.

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot 644
start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descend- 565
ants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry 614
with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to dis- 643
inherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*.

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they 565
were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans 644
in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and 727
become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, 735
they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from 567
these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were 672
enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though 565
there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries 614
into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, 608
he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which 565
the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go 644
and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, 614
his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang*

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwong pac* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the *dyil* lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the *jago* will treat him tactfully. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs. 613 622

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol*, but has no special status. The correspondence between territorial divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.) 592

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The *Reth*
Luak & Gerr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dhiang
Northern & Southern Marches	Chiefs of Mumo & Tonga
.....Division *(Luak)*.....	Division or Court Chief.....
Settlement *(Podh)*	*Jago*
Hamlet *(Pac)*	*Jal duong pac*
Homestead *(Gol)*	*Jal Gol*

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(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and marches and the settlements.) [648]

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the *reth* has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual.."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the *reth* is not so powerful. 643 114

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the *reth*. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in virtue of their positions as heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern marches are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their *reth* certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the *reth* might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials. 631 643

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.30.

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom.
692 The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the *gol* leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

● 643 692 [676] [627] Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, [682] the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

628 643 692 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is [171] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.157.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*, p.162.
(4) Oyler, *S.N.R.* 1920, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [773]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king as the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

643 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth*'s
644 sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not
669 allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth*'s sons from the time of their birth.

The Death of a Reth

643 The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was walled up alive in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at
[114] any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne ".... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the *reth*.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been
[114] given - apart from information by Nornol - by Howell and Thomson who were
643 in Shillukland at the election of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and of his successor, King Anei in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree,
[614] for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.34-5.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Luak, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Dak. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Dak may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 778 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

182 631 643 541 The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to support the *reth*-elect and wait at Debalo settlement while Nyikang and his supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 643 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

643 669 All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

171 Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable information, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

56 887 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit
775 after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr
825 and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community.
791 People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the 182 643 aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-173 Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people 182 and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the 602 loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further 173 migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to 773 Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before cross-821 ing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the herd of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles 643 of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or 773 bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yangoro*, *Tsangaro*, or *Djindjiro*, and other details of the story are said to connect with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The résumé here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 159–61.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 30.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix–xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

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or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus, all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should [643] die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., *passim*.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 115.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

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the smaller units which they comprise. Such a logical model would be misleading for the interpretation of the significance of the moieties, Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. These seem to function primarily, if not exclusively, in the election of the Shilluk kings, successors to Nyikang. In the election of 1943–4, of which we have a full description,[1] the two leaders of the religious moieties had first to reach agreement upon the successor of the dead king, and their choice was confirmed by a representative of the king's clan, which is not identified with either moiety. An electoral college, representing various settlements of Shilluk-land, then confirmed the choice, which, according to Shilluk custom, had to be one of the princes whose father had already been king. In this case the choice was very limited, and the electoral college at once accepted the proposal made by the leaders of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. Disagreement between these over the choice of the king is said to have led to fighting between the moieties in the past, and thus to civil war in Shilluk-land.

The division of the kingdom into Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang thus becomes effective at the election of the king, and the preliminaries to the installation of the new king do indeed create the division which Nyikang, the king's ancestor, is said to have created in the past.[2] When the leaders of the moieties have reached agreement, there is still a ceremonial opposition between them until the king has actually been installed, when the moieties are again put together in a single kingdom, the kingdom which Nyikang originally united under himself. The Shilluk kings conceive their country as a unity by dividing it into moieties, which separate and then unite, over the election of the king. The theme of the resolution of duality and separateness, perhaps an idea paralleled by that of crossing from one bank to another of the river, in order to make a unity consciously recognized by the Shilluk, may also be seen in other features of the installation ceremonies of 1943. The Shilluk king must be possessed by, or identified with, Nyikang, so that some writers say that he 'incarnates' Nyikang. At the installation ceremonies an effigy of Nyikang is brought from northern Shilluk-land, where Nyikang is said to have disappeared during a dance.[3] There is a mock fight between this effigy, accompanied by the effigies of Dak and Cal, and the king-elect. In this fight the king first retreats from the effigy, is then captured by it, and finally must seize from it a small girl, who plays an important part in the ceremonies. She appears to represent the wife of the king's office and, since the king is to take the place of Nyikang, who represents that office, he must also take the wife. Hostility between the king-

[1] The election may have been considerably modified by European and earlier rule, and the element of election by vote may have been stressed at the expense of a rather different principle, described below (p. 157).

[2] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 30. Pumphrey (1941) quotes a story in which the existence of Gol Dhiang, which may well be of later foundation than Gol Nyikang, is attributed to a later Shilluk king, but it is still a king who made it. This seems to refer to an earlier stage in the evolution of the kingship. Here we speak of the kingdom as it was at the election of 1943.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.

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643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
631 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by
616 which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 376.

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776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [753] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its [643] interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

182 Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be
643 regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account
776 of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of
173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to
776 kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though [114] in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 159, Nyikang made the effigy.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

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a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *jwok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *jwoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *jwok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 193.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 283.

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judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 232.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[4] Oyler, 1918, (i), p. 108.
[4] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 26.

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643 781 theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 772 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have 776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which [182 every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation 643] is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is [182 concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which 643] they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king 643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[171] [1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

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of its occupant, are most clearly recognized. Then the elected king, wearing on his wrists the emblematic silver bracelets and followed by a bearer carrying a fan made from the wings of the saddle-billed stork, comes down from the mound of the shrine at Aturwic; he is lifted on to the sacred stool of Nyikang, and receives the allegiance of the chiefs of settlements, who stick their spears into the ground before him. Though he sits in state as a king, he is admonished by the chiefs and told what is expected of him. At the election of 1943–4, the chief of Tonga said to the king; 'Our job is not to keep order, that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat.'[1] Although he was speaking of a new, administrative situation, we may see here the idea of the king as a source of social order, who fulfils his function merely by existing. The king's office keeps the Shilluk in palpable relation with an ideal order, which they hold to be the true order of their universe. There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk only believe what they see'.[2] In their human king they are also able to see what they believe.

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[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 71. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 377.

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Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Lande als verschwunden betrachten." (20). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that the LAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It stands unique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Moslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [855] [177] [177] [171] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jagoe (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.; Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligamn, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "C"
(15) see above , table "C" card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[117] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence
797] of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 30
(26) Ibid, p 30
[171] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Dung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *nyireth* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *nyireth* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *nyireth* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *nyireths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *nyireth* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwareth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

171 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *mwot* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

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121 which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to under-
114 stand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a
643 ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the
[171] institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

101 The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along
[131] the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria,
[197] and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

173 According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

105 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-
361 scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *orero*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past
[792 *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orero*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and
643 stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary
[161 campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946
233] and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·5 and 110·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:12·3 and the lowest 1:11·2.

[2] *kwo*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwo* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

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that the most definite contrasts may be found. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere, a legacy from ancient Egypt,[1] or the result of spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking[2] and, indeed, other Nilotic peoples, is a controversial subject which I do not propose to discuss here. 171 643

Territorially, Shilluk country is divided into two provinces, within which are the northern and southern provinces of Muomo and Tung, eleven divisions, and finally each division into a number of settlements which are referred to as *podh*.[3] The settlement is the largest political unit which has a permanent and stable function in Shilluk society today.[4] The members occupy a common and clearly defined territory, have a common grazing and fishing area held collectively, a common name, and a common system of age-set nomenclature.[5] Within each settlement are a number of villages or hamlets, each of which, with its offshoots, is occupied by a distinct kinship group, the local lineage of one of the main Shilluk clans. One of these lineages is usually dominant and, though it does not give its name to the settlement, its leader is generally recognized as holding some authority over the rest of the community. In each settlement there are also usually representative lineages of *kwareth* who sometimes, but not always, have assumed a position of dominance within that settlement, usually by force of numbers. There are also *bang reth* living in close association with *kwareth* or tending one or more of the numerous royal shrines.[6] 631 621 613 621

There are frequent movements and migrations, both of individuals and of small domestic groups. The persons who thus take up residence in other parts of the country retain links with kinsmen in their original home and these links continue for a period. The number of generations which pass before they are forgotten is indeterminate and variable, but the factor of territorial association is an important one. Lineages of one clan living in one area are likely to retain these links and remain bound by rules of exogamy however far removed they may be in the kinship structure. Moreover, common residence in one village area or even one settlement may create bonds which are equal in strength to kinship ties and may even carry with it a bar to intermarriage. In such circumstances there is usually the fiction of common descent through the female line. Among the Shilluk there is a bar to marriage with close relatives on the maternal side carried to three or four generations, but common residence sometimes creates a more permanent prohibition. [166] 602 624 571 [582]

[1] See Seligman, C. G., *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge & Sons, 1934, p. 60.

[2] For example, the Anuak nobles; see Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Monographs on Social Anthropology, London School of Economics, 1940; and Driberg, J. H., *The Lango*.

[3] *podh*. A more elastic and relative term than I had realised when writing an article on this subject in 1937. *podh* simply means 'home' or 'homeland' and Shilluk refer to *podh collo*: 'Shillukland'. The word itself has the same relativity as the Nuer word *ciang* and the Dinka word *wut*.

[4] There have, of course, been changes of boundaries and processes of fission and fusion characteristic of any segmentary society. The nature of the terrain in Shilluk country, however, precludes any great change. The limitations of high ground, with clear-cut watercourses as boundaries, together with associated economic interests, tend to stabilize communities. [133 182 631]

[5] This is a significant fact and one which throws much light on the true nature of the Shilluk *podh*. When we compare other Nilotic tribes we find that age-set nomenclature is common to whole tribes, but does not extend beyond tribal boundaries (Nuer) or, like the Shilluk, is limited to smaller segments of society (Ngork Dinka). [101 561]

[6] Lineages of the *kwareth* are referred to by the name of the *reth*, *nyireth* (son of a *reth*), or *nyinyireth* (grandson of a *reth*) who founded them. Thus *kwareth* Fadiet, *kwanyoreth* Adung, &c. Similarly, *bang reth* are distinguished as *bang reth* Fadiet, *bang nyireth* Adung, &c.

643 776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral deity is called Juok. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is Juok but Juok is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he thus exists both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*kwareth*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached and is the human intercessor for mankind with God. Voluntarily by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fortunes of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less clearly, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth*'s divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),[3] though some might resist his more mundane powers.'[4]

The Problem of Authority

177 643 648 The extent of the *reth*'s authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedures, especially in the past, and an answer ~~must be~~ attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1867 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, since then it has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called 'Indirect Rule', through the agency of the *reth*. However unsuccessful this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*[5] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang in Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka cult of Deng has sometimes found favour with certain Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though it has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

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is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 640 643

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoc, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti. 175 643 648

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1932. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the 175 631 648 [669]

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
● 643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kasgar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

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Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Lusk and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tick*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.
[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.
[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bany*, like the *nyireth*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

669 621 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence [631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds [628 between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are ●643] to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably [626] sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth's *Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, 692 but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Ngirk Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within* [621] a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jago* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor-car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwa* Oman lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwa* Oman are set in Ogod *Buto* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Welcome Report, 1911.

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There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes: 643

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance. 692 682

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Pabur, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pabur and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the ornaments and cattle away from the village, even the clothes of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that: [114]

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyen orok* (' men of crime ') or *odire* [' slaves ' of the Royal Household]. [567]

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances. 114

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Owaci and Thworo already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows: 643 628

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the sections of Owaci and Thworo on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and 2nd. He then went to Thworo where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Thworo companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a muck sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. xlvii.

628 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight hundred strong, also in four companies.

643 There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[631] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

[782] The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud.

[787] Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Faalo and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

[648] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.

[114] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, I'arworo, and I'alo[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawur*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ngal*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the restoration of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.32.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

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tinual guerrilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled.' He adds, 'Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak'. 628 643

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely 'advises'. Much of this 'advice' is tainted with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. 'The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, untypical of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Later we hear that 'he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added most seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' Then, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Titherington, were pelted with the stomach contents. [648] [114]

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the 'custom of the *reth* of punishing a murderous or disobedient village by looting and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the guilty and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was *nothing incompatible in it with methods of those days*.'[2] 177 628

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out in the name of justice and security. The author continues: 'However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1903, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time.' 643 648

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition 628 643

[1] *Cf.* speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] 'A note on Customary Law', dated June 1951 (unpublished). The italics are mine.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1952) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] *Cf.* The Baggara *Khamr* ⁧خمر⁩, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[649 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing
682] of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
783 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical
781 expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhuol*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agoroy*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *ruth* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwop*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *ywob*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry 682 a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo rewo*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 643 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact 692 additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against 114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* [671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 23.

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"Shilloeks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohamedism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organisation of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Achmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazugle, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarize these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Funge and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 424. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).
4) Seligman, p. 423.
5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crawford to a certain extent).
6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Bousaily, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chatoway and Walder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Soba.
7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a NAM DOUN , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existance of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converteos- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in men's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77
16) Westermann, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains. [114]
17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [648]
18) The government does not allow it any more.

643 the ceremonial killing of the kings. Some authors have discarded this practice 19), and alluded some killing of kings to family quarrels and competition over the throne. It is true that some brothers killed each other, but this is still one of the attributes of divine kingship.

According to the information I gathered in Malakal, King Dak, who died in 1951 at the Malakal hospital, was well guarded by the police during his treatment in the hospital, and no Shilluk was allowed to visit him lest he may be killed in the same traditional way as his ancestors. 20) My informants were sorry for the natural death of Dak, but they seemed to have accepted it as they were helpless against the troops of the central government. Just how far the Shilluk nation as a whole accepted it, I could not tell.

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631 The political administration of the Shilluk country and its components may be summarized as follows: 21)

a) The Hamlet:

This is the smallest political unit with a chief at its head. The hamlet is formed by a lineage group of homesteads.

b) The Settlement:

This is a group of hamlets, i.e. a group of lineages gathered into a large area. At the head is a chief, called the Jago.

c) The District:

The Shilluk country is divided into eleven districts; each district is a combination of many settlements. These districts, though said to be organized by Nyikang, are not a permanent political factor. Its importance may have been felt in exceptional periods such as warfare, or to meet a common danger. The Egyptian government, and after it the Anglo-Egyptian government, used such divisions as administrative units. The important districts from the Shilluk point of view were Mucmo and Tung, that is, the northern and southern marches of the land.

648

d) The Province:

There are two provinces in the Shillukland. These are important political divisions, and their importance has been shown clearly above. The chief of Debale Kwom, and the chief of Colbany are the two chiefs of the southern and the northern provinces.

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19) "Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings (among the Shilluk) is probably a fiction ..." Butt, p. 54.
20) See also Howell, (3) p. 157.
21) Butt, pp. 46-48.

643 776 of his followers. The Shilluk do not say that Nyikang died or passed away, but say -as my informants told me- he was angry with his people, and, in a stormy night, was gone. This assumption is necessary for the conception of Shilluk kingship. The idea may be summarized thus:

1. Every king who rules the Shilluk is an incarnation of Nyikang,
2. as the soul of Nyikang is thus incarnated in the body of the king, it would suffer every kind of weakness the body suffers;
3. as this would mean the loss of the protective and guiding spirit of the whole nation, it was necessary that the kings should not be left to die of old age;
4. and thus came what we term the ritual killing of the king.

171 Among the Fung, we have no such idea about kings, and the post of kingship itself. This is due to the fact that the Fung were Moslems, and as it is implied in Islam, there is only One God, and there is no possibility of incarnation, or such would be a return to paganistic practices. No one who wrote about the Fung kings ever hinted at the existance of such an idea. Thus, one of the conditions of divine kingship, indeed the core of this kind of kingship, is lacking among the Fung.

b) The Mode of Accession to the Throne:

643 It is easy to understand the Shilluk notion of incarnation from the way they apply it. The important feature which dominates the installation ceremonies of Shilluk kings is the seating of the king-elect on a special stool brought for the occasion from the Shrine of Nyikang at Akurwa. At first, the wooden effigy of Nyikang is placed on the stool by a priest, symbolizing that Nyikang himself is sitting on the stool; then the effigy is removed and the king is seated. In this way, the soul of Nyikang takes possession of the body of the new king. And after this ceremony, the king is considered a king. [775]

Another important rite in a king's istallation is that a king must pass a month in complete seclusion before going to Fashoda for the seating ceremony, and another ten days in a special place called Aturwic in Fashoda after the seating ceremony. In this time, the king is considered to be in a solemn mood of contemplation, and in communication with his great grandfather, Nyikang, and other ancestors. During this time of seclusion, the king is provided with a girl, who is given to him by a special clan. It was the custom that the king would marry this girl afterwards, but now it is according to his wish. Human sacrifices at the installation ceremony are said to be given up now, but they were practised in the past. 58)

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58) In former times, it was usual that the king would pass over a bounded old man as he marches towards Fashoda, and the multitude of the Shilluk followers of the king would also tread on this man, and naturally he dies. Now a sheep and bull are used instead of the man. See Seligmann, p. 94, and Howell, p. 196.

I have proposed Jebel Ahmed Agha as a site of the Fung garrison, because it is well protected by the mountain, and its older name was mentioned by Werne as Defefenj in 1840, by Petherick in 1862 as Jebel Tefan, by the Omda (mayor) of Abu Geili, as Jebel Tiafan, and by Malder as Jebels Teifa and Fam. 56) Of interest to us is that Defefenj means in Arabic The Bank of the Fung. It could imply the borders of the Fung. 174

The other choice, the present Malakal area as a site for a Fung garrison, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we come to solid proof that the Fung and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their tradition, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shillukland by subduing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Cai or Ja puny 57), which are both identical with the people of Sennar, or the Fung. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Wau -a locality a little north of Malakal- between the Fung and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Fung seem to have retired to the north, perhaps to Jebel Ahmed Agha. 173 174

This was the first Shilluk-Fung encounter; a hostile relationship!! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and slave hunting, and even of a kind of alliance in warfare. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk slaves and warriors among the inhabitants of the Sennar area, in addition to other slaves from the Nuba Mountains, and other parts of the Negroid and Negro Sudan. 174

Thus, we may see that the Fung were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded in the Dar Fung area -which is a mountainous area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile basin, which afforded no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and wider influx of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Sennar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile basin is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Fung settlers, there were no well defined borders. It was merely a highway, and in a political sense a no-man's land.

3) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship:

Among the Shilluk, all writers agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a national hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land 643 776

56) Arkell, (A), p. 216.

57) Lienhardt, p. 144, see footnote No 1.

Of the Fung, we have no record about the way their kings were crowned in Sennar. But ceremonies of installing the chief of Jebel Gule were recorded recently, and it is alleged that it is an imitation of what was once the case in Sennar. 59) No human sacrifices were recorded, but the seating of the chief on a stool, and his seclusion in a special hut with a girl for forty days after the seating are recorded, but he is allowed to meet friends after sunset every day. The stool in this recorded ceremony was brought from Jebel Keili, another principality of the Fung kingdom, because the stool of Gule was destroyed during the Mahdiya regime. The stool is guarded by "Nas el 'ada, whom one might apparently describe as the hereditary guardian of the mysteries". 60) 171

If we accept the alleged similarities between what was the case in Sennar and the ceremony at Gule, it would be interesting to point out that there is no effigy, nor any special symbol seated before the new chief sits on the stool. The lack of such a rite undoubtedly indicates the failure of such comparison between the Shilluk and the Fung. The sitting on the stool would then mean the lawful inheritance of power in the country, just as it is and was practiced among civilized nations. What is really underlying the sitting on a throne, we cannot at the moment venture to say.

e) The Mode of Death of Kings:

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We have stated above that the ceremonial killing of a king would still be in practice, if the Shilluk were given free choice. Shilluk kings were either strangled, clubbed to death, or walled up in a hut until they died.

Among the Fung, we have no information about king killing, except the inference Bruce gave about a special post in Sennar for a royal executioner. It may have been the case that brothers fought for power in Sennar, but this was a wide phenomenon all over the world. It can be a ceremonial killing, if the whole kingship institution was based upon the idea of incarnating the guiding spirit of the nation in the person of the king. But since this conception was missing in Sennar, so another point of comparison widens the gap between the Fung and the Shilluk. 171

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59) Chataway challenges the validity of comparing the traditions of Jebel Gule with what was the case in Sennar. He says "Gule ... is mentioned several times by Arkell. While information regarding Fung history and customs may be obtained at Gule, it is essential to recognise that it is a tainted and unreliable source, a point which other observers have failed to recognise". Charaway, p. 114.

60) Arkell, (A), p. 232.

10: Riad E-4.5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we knew that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Kannele in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

174 was killed by cutting off his head with a SWORD, any other weapon being a violation of custom. Tremeaux writes that " ... une épée, 643 seul instrument légal en pareil cas (tue un roi)". 73) This is another qualitative difference between the Shilluk and the Fung, because we know that the Shilluk never use or used swords as weapons.
[411]

Now the information Bruce was furnished with came mostly from Ashmet Sid el Gom, the alledged regicide of Sennar. This man 114 is from Fazugli, and as we always have to be cautious with Bruce's statements, we do not know exactly whether Ashmet Sid el Gom spoke 643 about the custom of king killing as it was in the past in his country of birth. Professor Awad and Mr. Chataway are also of this opinion. What supports such an idea is what Frazer says about the ceremonial killing of the Fazugli kings. Frazer writes: "In some tribes of Fazoql the king had to administer justice daily under a certain tree. If because of sickness or any other cause he was unable to discharge this duty for three whole days, he was hanged on the tree in a noose, which contained two razors so arranged that when the noose was drawn tight by the weight of the king's body, they cut his throat". 74) Seligman also quotes three instances from Frazer about the killing of the king at Fazugli. 75)

171 King killing is a widely spread custom in Africa, and to try to cope with it is outside the scope of this paper. But in the 643 Nile Valley, we have instances of the existence of the custom in Meroe, when king Ergamenes cut the throats of the priests instead of letting them kill him. We also have a story collected by Frobenius in Kordofan about the custom of king killing, and how one king was able to avoid his fate; and henceforth, the custom was abandoned. 76 This custom is in practice, or now in dormant form, among the Shilluk, the Burun and many other tribes of Dar Fung. It was alleged to be in existence among the Sennar kings, and was also alledged to have been the custom of the Abdullah Arabs, who were the viceroys of the Fung kings in the North. 77) If thus the 114 custom was widely spread in the Nile Valley, there is no point in alleging that the custom in Sennar was brought by the Shilluk, 171 because it is now clear that the origin of such a custom is to be 174 sought after in the deep past of the cultures and civilisations 643 that were planted, or originated in the Nile Valley.

There is no doubt that the Dar Fung tribes, as well as the Nuba of southern Kordofan, represent the older substratum of 174 the whole of the central and southern Sudan. This is judged by their isolation, the poverty of their present lands -which are merely rocky hills- the different languages and cultures etc.

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73) Tremeaux, p. 199
74) Frazer, p. 286
75) Seligman, p. 425
76) Frobenius, L., Chapter I.
77) H.A. MacMichael, in his "History of the Arabs in the Sudan", Cambridge 1922, quoted by Seligman, p. 426.

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [797] After an outbreak the mamur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Mainam, faction, which included Mainam, Fakoi and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [648] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would 628
do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man 634
seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had [643]
arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the King or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified [789]
that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made 537
talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a 628
conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk 643
in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had 776
bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the [648]
evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and

537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 648 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked [787] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

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After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the inviduals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok. 628 783

To conclude the ceremony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which faction the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy. 628

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men: After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction. [648]

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small.' He added that was often true of boastful men. 628 643

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

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17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE OROROO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyireth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1830.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tieh mi Reth*.

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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Ororo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls." 565 614 644 558

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[20] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Ororo*. 614 643 644 558

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[21] which is often used to describe the *Ororo*.

The *Ororo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of 565 614 644

20. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Ororo* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Ororo* will ever say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry. [124]

21. *bung bodh yi geu*.

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565 the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can
614 intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other
644 than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among
his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers
[643] of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers knowns as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
[727] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[735] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary
[614] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle
[682] with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Abogo, *Kwar* Muol, *Kwar* Nyileng and *Kwar* Ojul.

23. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jur, *Kwar* Othou and *Kwar* Okel.

24. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jung (who were originally Dinka).

25. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Oman (of Ogod).

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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my grand-daughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Raths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

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[77] The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power
[643] becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being
648 President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division
[77] chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an
634 eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry.
[648] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to
[643] remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division.
[643] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as
[561] a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Never-
[648] theless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

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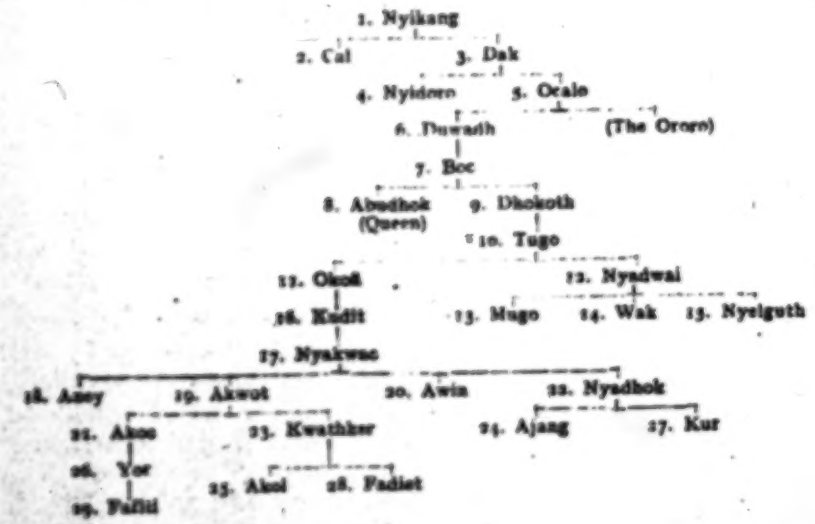
son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[29]. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



29. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwale* taboo.

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APPENDIX II.

Installation of a New Reth.

643 When a *Reth* [1] dies the Chiefs of Golbafi and Debalo consult as to who among the available *Nyireth* is to become *Reth*. This decided, the king elect is seized and taken to Fashoda where he stays quietly till the late *Reth's* mourning dance has been held. Then follows the installation ceremony. Details of this have been described by Munroe who witnessed it. The essential element is the ceremonial entry from Debalo to Fashoda. For this there are two rival "armies," *lin̄ Reth* and *lin̄ Nyikang*[2]. The latter army brings the images[3] of Dak and Nyikang in state from Akurwa to Fashoda and awaits the arrival of the *lin̄ Reth* at the north side of Khor Arepajur (which lies between Debalo and Fashoda). *Lin̄ Reth* then accompanies the new *Reth* from Debalo to the Khor, each man carrying a bit of dura stalk as a spear. *Lin̄ Nyikang*, of which the members carry thongs of twisted grass,[4] "capture" the *Reth* from his own army. Thereupon the *Reth* walks across the prostrate form of an elderly man (described as *odung*) who lies down in his path in the Khor bed. Thereafter the *Reth* is escorted to Fashoda by two "holy maidens" (*nyawols woa man kwer*) of which one is from the *Ororo* and the other from *Kwar Okol*. These afterwards becoming his wives. The *Reth* then stabs a bull as *geidhi*[5] for the *odung*, who thereafter has traditionally the right to seize any of the *Reth's* cattle upon which he can immediately lay hands. The *Reth* is then taken to the four huts on the mound[6] at Fashoda. The image of Nyikang is placed upon the sacred stool (*kwom*). The *Reth* seizes the foot of the stool and the image of Nyikang is removed from it. The *Reth* then sits upon the stool and becomes thereby invested with his holy office. Three days seclusion on the mound follow, after which he is ceremonially washed in one of the four huts which is used exclusively for

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1. *Reths* are said in Shilluk not to die but to "pass" (*podit*).
2. *Lin̄ Reth* is composed of warriors from *Ger* and *lin̄ Nyikang* from warriors of *Lual*.
3. These are poles of bamboo crowned with ostrich feathers.
4. *Ocalle*.
5. *Geidhi* is the payment made by a person who has injured another as indication of his readiness to pay the customary compensation in due course.
6. The mound is called *atwaic*.

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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies. 643

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwalo* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth* Nyakwac[1] who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwanyireth* Bol Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Divison) is reputed to be descended from this union. 173

APPENDIX III.

Terms of Relationship.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:— 601

(1) Relationships with kinsmen.
(2) Other relationships.
(3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) Relationship with Kinsmen.

(N.B.—*In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "Wi Deng" means Deng's father, while "Nyimia" means "my sister."*)

(a) *Relations of the same generation:*

Uwi	*Uwia*	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (*i.e.*, classificatory brother).
Nyiwi	*Nyiwia*	Same as *Uwi*, but femine, (*i.e.*, classificatory sister).
Umi	*Umia*	Uterine brother.
Nyimi	*Nyimia*	Uterine sister.

1. This is kept highly secret.

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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi hal Juoh* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yuci nun*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*.[1] They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wedh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Law Dwong* of office Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that

[1] Dyil are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - Ausilpt]

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[124] 613 621 recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by [173 565] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Rath*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameilek*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. 622 The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a [428] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. [613 643] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Rath*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three 621 generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate 361 lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process [613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son to

3. *Jago Ameilek* is now dead.

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THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade[5] organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition.[6] This would not be surprising, for the organisation of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political ●693 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [171] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

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5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Nilotes-stammes.*" 1923) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

> "Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

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social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority 182
is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual 561
obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which 614
unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The 622
Jago[7] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representa- 613
tives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the 643
settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*. 614

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and 561
prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial 613
proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male 621
members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but 182
does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in [701]
warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of 561
puberty, is automatically grouped with his coaevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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7. Chief.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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ANEI KUR, RETH OF THE SHILLUK.

[FACING p. 7]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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105 similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka. They have, however, an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy, of which there is no counterpart among their more democratic Nilotic neighbours, and which shows more definite and developed principles than those found in the institution of kings among the Anuak and chiefs among the Acholi. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere or a natural and spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking peoples is a controversial subject, which we do not propose to discuss here.[4]

SHILLUK RELIGION AND THE TRADITION OF NYIKANG.

776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as *a remote and ampral diety is called Juok. Juok is the Shilluk con-* ception of God and is present to a greater or lesser degree in all things. Juok is the explanation of the unknown, the reassuring justification of all the supernatural phenomena, good or bad, of which life is made up. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang. The distinction between them is not clear. Nyikang is Juok, but Juok is not Nyikang, for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place as the hero-leader of Shilluk tradition. He is also the first *reth* of the Shilluk and the founder of the royal 643 house. Further the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk 776 *reth*, and thus exists both in the past and the present Nyikang is [775] the *reth*, but the *reth* is not Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define. The Shilluk themselves would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the *reth* represent the line through whom divinity runs, a conception which may be expressed as an analogy to the ancestor cult, only the cult is symbolic of the tribe as a whole rather than of the Kwareth alone or other individual kinship groups. The *reth* is clearly himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached, and is the human intercessor of mankind with God. Voluntarily by

4. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (1934). p. 60.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers. 643 776

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fafiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th *reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hoffmeyer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey (*Vide* Appendix IV). 173 643

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these: 643

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*. [669]

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and [644]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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●643 which he said were for his personal use at night, since they would not glint and reveal his movements.

[644 591] 4. All sons of *reths* are brought up in a village away from Fashoda (either their mother's or that of some Shilluk chief who has agreed to adopt them), and there lead a somewhat secluded life.

The king or *reth* of the Shilluk is a classic example of Frazer's conception of a divine king. The argument resolves itself into the following essentials :-

1. The king has power over nature, which may be exerted voluntarily or involuntarily.
2. He is considered the dynamical centre of the universe.
3. Hence the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and the course of his life ; both must therefore be carefully regulated.

The fourth essential, which Frazer stresses later in the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, is that of 'king killing.' By this he means that the physical condition of the king reacts upon the fortunes of his people and must not be impaired. Therefore, if the king shows signs of senility or physical imperfection, he must be removed, and a successor substituted.[4] The only way to remove him is to kill him. Among the Shilluk there is abundant and current evidence of the first three essentials both in the regulations which control the *reth's* life and the rites and ceremonies performed at his installation. There is evidence also of 'king killing.' There are in fact two forms of 'king killing' among the Shilluk :-

(i) According to tradition the *reth* may be strangled or suffocated by his wives if he fails to satisfy them, or shows signs of illness or senility, which may effect the welfare of the tribe. This is supported by tradition only.

4. See C. G. Seligman. *Egypt and Negro Africa*. p. 4.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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(ii) The *reth* may, at any time, be killed by a rival claimant to the throne. This is clear from tradition and is supported by the current evidence of the extraordinary precautions taken to avert possible attack during his lifetime, especially during the installation, and from the more recent events of Shilluk history. 643

These two forms of 'king killing' are not quite the same thing. The first is motivated by a desire to avoid the national consequences of the *reth's* waning physical powers upon the people as a whole. The second is motivated by the desire of a rival claimant to seize the *reth* ship. There is, however, a connection between the two, since the rival—always the son of a *reth*—will have more chance of success if the *reth* is unpopular because of tribal disasters which are attributed to his physical deterioration.

In September 1943, *reth* Fafiti Yor of the Shilluk, who had held office for twenty six years, died. That same year Anei son of *reth* Kur was elected his successor, and was finally installed at the capital of Shilluk *reths*, Fashoda, in March 1944. The late Professor Seligman speaking on the subject of divine kingship[6] said, "If it be permissible to speculate on the deeper significance of the beliefs and ceremonies I have described, more weight should, I suspect, be given to the complicated installation ritual of the Divine King than has hitherto been the case. In the past there has been an over emphasis on his ceremonial death. It is for future research to unravel the many emotional trends woven into the installation and rejuvenation ceremonies. For it is in these especially that the emotional projection upon the Divine King of his people's deepest desires for life, fertility, and prosperity find their clearest expression."

Our purpose here has been to record as accurately as possible all the ceremonial, all the diverse ritual and the public events which took place to ensure that Fafiti was safely laid to rest and his soul conducted peacefully to a new status in the ancestral hierarchy of the royal house, and to establish his successor firmly upon the throne. 121 643

6. *loc. cit.*, p. 61

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk--to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [614] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event--at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement--soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

128 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear :-

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1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position. The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly [775] appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential [669] danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either [648] in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. How much greater then must

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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[178] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth : The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth : A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa : Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak : Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro. "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 143 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. 194

Recent Shilluk History.

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[8] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure; he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwathker, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (Note 2) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

8. Fashoda the capital of the *reth* is actually 12 miles upstream of Kodok.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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between the north and the government on the one side and the south on the other. Kwathker was captured and died in chains in Fashoda gaol. Ajung Nyidhok, who had never been tribally installed, was soon deposed also on ground of disloyalty, and the *reth*ship was abolished by the *mudir*.

The experiment of administering the Shilluk without a *reth* did not work, and the troubles of the government were if anything increased. After a massacre of government troops at Kaka in 1875, the experiment was given up, and Kweikwon, a son of *reth* Kwathker was appointed *reth*. Some five years later in 1881, Kweikwon went on an expedition with the *mudir* of Fashoda to attack the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir in the eastern Nuba Mountains. The force was annihilated, and Kweikwon and the *mudir* were both killed.

An interregnum then occurred, until Yor Akoc, having gone to El Obeid and received the blessing of the Mahdi, installed himself in Fashoda. Relations with the Mahdi, however, and his sucessor, the Khalifa Abdullahi, did not long remain cordial. The Shilluk people were expected to provide corn and slaves in abundance, and when *reth* Yor failed to do so willingly, the wrath of the Khalifa descended upon him. The Emir Zeki Tummal set up a fort near Kodok, and ravaged the Shilluk country from top to bottom, eventually capturing *reth* Yor near Tonga and beheading him in the Dervish camp.

Kur Nyidhok, a first cousin of Kwathker, threw in his lot with the Emir, and went to Omdurman to pay homage to the Khalifa, who confirmed him as *reth*, and called him Abd el Fadil. While Kur was away in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, raised a faction, and after a struggle, was prevented by the northern Shilluk from installing himself in Fashoda. *Reth* Kur lasted till 1903, when he was deposed by the present government on the grounds that his rule was unjust and oppressive; he may have been a victim of slanderous reports sent in to Kodok by eligible *nyireth*.

He was replaced by Fadiet, a son of Kwathker, a government nominee.

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Fadiet died in 1917, and once more the Shilluk were divided between Fafiti Yor and Coti the son of the Turkish puppet Ajang, with the south supporting the latter; the government, had to intervene and instal and protect Fafiti by force. 175 643

From this short account it can readily be seen that the customary procedure of the *reth's* election had not taken place undisturbed for nearly one hundred years and perhaps much longer.

The effect of this stormy history in 1943 made it very difficult for the elders to remember what the procedure was in all the details. There was a constant urge to get back to the old tradition, but often quite important items were omitted or forgotten, and had to be done at the last minute in a hurry. Not even Shilluk custom stands still; it varies with the capacities of people's memories and also it is affected by outside influences. It is not a hard and fast pattern into which everything must fit. The Shilluk would like it to be, but are not always equal to the task. Certain aspects of the traditional ceremonies cannot now take place; it is no longer practicable to keep up the traditions of Dak, the son of Nyikang and great Shilluk conqueror. For example in days gone by, two subjections of the Shilluk, Akwabai near Fashoda and Abuor near Kaka, used to raid north to get the various things required in the ceremonies for the installation of the *reth*. There is now a tendency to buy these things in Kosti market. 178 643

The events which we describe fall in to four main periods:— 643

1. The death and burial of *reth* Fafiti Yor and the funeral dances held for him.
2. The election of Anei Kur.
3. The formal installation of *reth* Anei in Fashoda.[9]
4. Subsequent events which have occurred after his installation, which were motivated by a desire to confirm the *reth*, and which throw light on the nature and function of the Shilluk monarchy.

9. During the ceremonies of installation we were ably assisted by other observers, notably Mr. John Longe and the Rev. D. McClure.

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PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bugon*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women [237] were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. [293] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* [644] Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

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a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Derviahes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this. [177] [177]

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die. 643 [73]

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation 643 766

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643 766 of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time of the early maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth* elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over quicaly; maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a desire to get all the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the *reth* had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty cut down as far as possible

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an interesting gauge, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through 643 various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being [668] a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period [669] of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of *reth* Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their 766 men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but [826] public opinion required that those who could, should help according to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived farther away.

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182 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held
766 at Fashoda at all.

[614] The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall
766 to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorized persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was notice-
776 able how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return
[644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers
766 came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

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drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled. 766 [535]

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes. [533]

The Public Dance

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride—one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands. 766 535

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior 766 [643]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere. 766 [781] [782 783]

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang 643

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *nyireths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *nyireths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *nyireths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 viously, but was not known to have died). The sons of Fafiti were not serious competitors as it was generally agreed that it was not their turn; there was no doubt about that. The claim of the sons of Fadiet was not so easily settled. The head of the line was invited, with an elder from the same house, to an unofficial meeting, and he agreed to forego any claim for his line at the election, though the Shilluk say that he was given a more or less firm assurance that next time an election was to take place the house of Fadiet would provide the *reth*. Responsible Shilluk opinion accepted this, although we believe that unofficially certain elements among the southern Shilluk (Fadiet's country) would like to have seen a *reth* chosen from one of Fadiet's sons. Had one of them been chosen, we think it would generally have been held to be irregular. There remained the sons of *reth* Kur, who were considered to be more eligible than the others, as their father had been *reth* before Fafiti or Fadiet, and no *reth* had yet been chosen from his children.

It is often said that a *reth* nominates his successor. Fafiti, in his [177] life time, agreed that that was the old practice before outside influences and governments started to interfere with the Shilluk, and this may well be so, or at least be the tradition, for Fafiti was a mine of Shilluk history. However in the last 100 years or so it has not been done, and Fafiti never intended to nominate his successor. It is clear, however, that a candidate nominated by a dying *reth* is still subject to confirmation or otherwise, by what we may call the "electoral college."

What Fafiti did do was to take under his wing Anei, one of the sons of Kur, and bring him up, as he himself had been brought up by *reth* Kur. Anei was known to be favoured by Fafiti, and he was even given outward signs of recognition by him, such as silver bracelets to designate him as a favourite. At Fafiti's death Anei was not nominated, but it was well known that in fact he was Fafiti's choice. Anei later told us that Fafiti used to say that if he were lucky he would be chosen *reth*. This designation by a popular *reth* would seem to be an important factor in the choice of the new *reth*.

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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [179]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Oruro, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Oruro and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [64 64]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first *reth*.

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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Colo chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each *reth* appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected *reth*—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are venerable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the *reth*ship are descended directly from the sons of *reth* Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1903 and 1917 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of *reth* Fafiti was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "canvassing" of one of the sons of *reth* Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, "if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" —presumably to prepare for war. 631 643 666 669

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying." 631 643 666

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists. 643 669

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos- 643 669 622

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of
649 warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for
[623] only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolise his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

631 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts
643 to receive the homage, unoffically and without ceremony, of the chiefs of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross
643 discourtesy. The *reth's* brothers too all come, or should come, to
644 pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-3 (1943-1944)1946
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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pothe manyo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 villages by the way. One of the most noticeable features of the activities surrounding Nyikang is the principle that he and his lieutenants are given, or take, what they want from Shilluk as they pass. This [173] embassy to the north may well have its origin in a raiding party, and the two sections, whose duty it is to perform this journey, may have been obliged to render this form of military service to Nyikang. Nowadays the silver and the cloth which were originally plunder, are [177] bought from Kosti with money supplied by the *reth*, and contributed [437] by Shilluk north of Kaka. Other requirements are ostrich feathers procured from the country round Kaka for the head pieces of the images of Nyikang and Dak, by the people of Mwomo, and ivory for bracelets to be worn by various functionaries at the installation itself. This was provided from the tusks of elephants slain by the Shilluk in 1938.[11] They are very rare in Shilluk country. Bamboo is brought from Fungor in the eastern Nuba Mountains for the bodies of Nyikang's image, and those of his sons Dak and Cal. This is brought by the [283] people of Akwobai. Certain sacred ropes made from the fibre of dom palms, which grow round Fanyikang, are brought by "Dak", who with his followers makes a special pilgrimage some two months before the ceremonies.

643 224 292 An obligation lies on the chiefs of Fanyikang to produce skins of the female Mrs. Gray antelope from Fanyikang Island. These are required as the high robes of honour of the *reth*. They are worn by the *reth* himself and all the important people in the ceremony. To be presented with a Mrs. Gray skin is a mark of the greatest esteem. They are royal game, and are only killed in the first year of a new *reth's* reign. On this occasion doubtless to save any complications with the government, which strictly preserves these antelopes, the operation was all over before the administration had word of it.

643 356 The houses of Fashoda had to be tidied up and new fences built, but no new building in mud was done.

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[132] 11. In 1938 a few elephants invaded Shilluk country near Malakal, for the first time for many years.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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There were various dignitaries created *jagos* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *nyireths*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January. A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372 326]

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle.

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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1.—Dak leads, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of *Reth* Fafiti.

[FACING p. 40]

643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
782 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
[773] is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
[775] at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Dak are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Dak. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Dak makes periodical ex-
643 cursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stools[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 61-ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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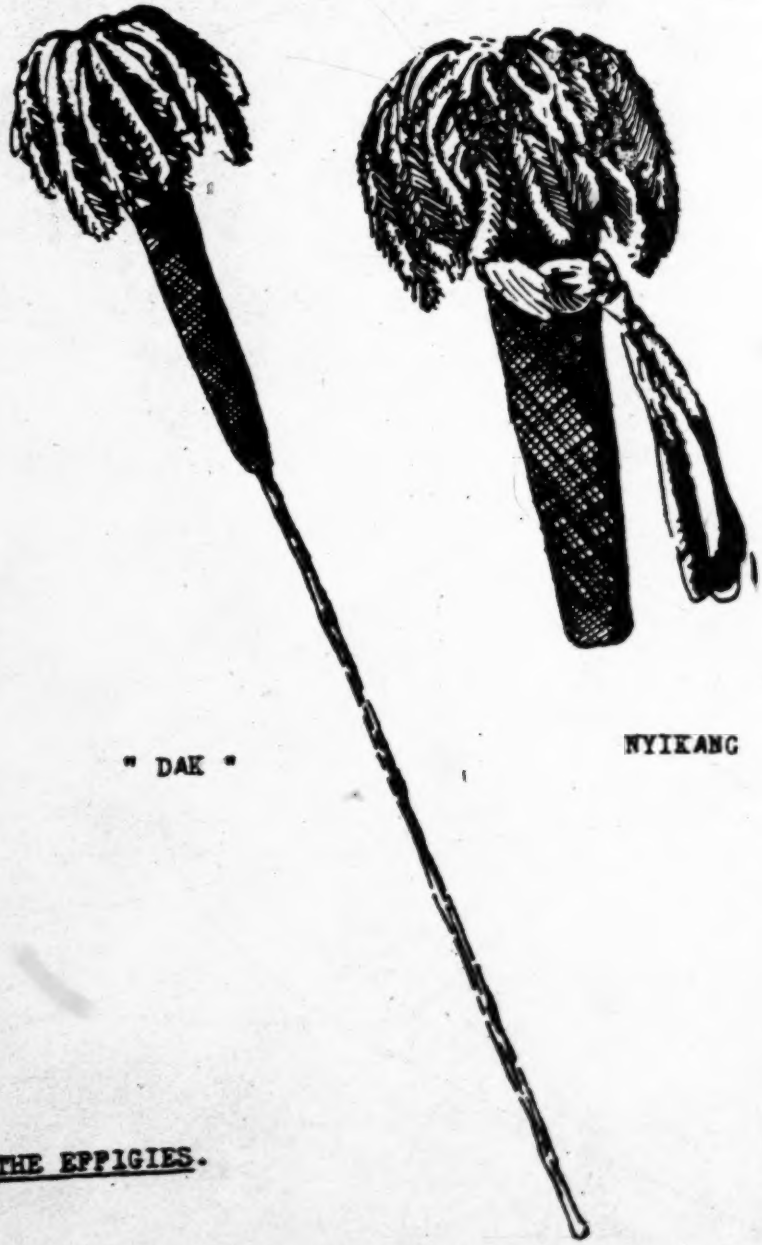

THE EFFIGIES.

[FACING p. 41]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants [614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sow beside him, the escort chanting
643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *keglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *keglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
535 contingent of female *bangreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, 553
while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual 535
songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed 643
the *pas seals* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups
of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m.
a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a [209]
byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and
the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. [516]
Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying
baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound [482]
the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The 535
two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced 643
before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they 778
proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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535 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
778 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
643 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol
778 Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[533] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing
[535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[415 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still
[755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed." 643

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house prepared for him and went in. Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house. 643 778 [533 535]

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days. 643

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied [644]

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643 [648] by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food, and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reth* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

[312] We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reth*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice. [114] Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munro in his account of the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reth* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reth* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up residence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

613 776 The *reth*'s stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reth* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reth* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reth* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

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resentment at the new *reth's* presumption in occupying Fashoda at all becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies. 643 776

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were being made. The small grass huts called *adul*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands. 643

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived from Lul and passed through Debalo. This was the party responsible for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocoro in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not allowed to see them. According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Aturwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle. If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy. 643 778 [644] [787]

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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reik*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reik*. A few
676] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes
643 clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepejur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reik*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reik* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reik* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepejur symbolises the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reik*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reik*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reik*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

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reth is ceremonially impressed upon the minds of all his people. It is the occasion when the *reth* is formally recognized by the Shilluk as a whole. The public nature of the ceremony must be emphasized because prior to it, only limited sections of society—Kwareth, Orore and the Colo chiefs—have been concerned. 616 631 643

The ceremonies which are enacted on this day are divided into four distinct phases with a variety of ritual observance in each:- 643

1. The simultaneous march of the opposing armies to the high ground immediately south-west of Fashoda, and the mock battle which follows.

2. The capture of the *reth* by Nyikang, and the procession to the shrine of Nyikang in Fashoda.

3. The enthronement of the effigy of Nyikang on the sacred stool, the substitution of the *reth* for Nyikang on the stool, and the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang.

4. The retirement of the *reth* into the temporary camp, which is specially built for the occasion on the open ground immediately facing the shrine.

5. The ritual lighting of new fire by the Orore and Kwareth just before sundown.

The first two phases are public and concern the tribe as a whole. The third phase, which retains a degree of mystery, is witnessed by limited sections of the population from outside and is screened even from them by a canopy. The *reth's* retirement into the temporary camp concerns him and certain traditional functionaries alone, and the rites which follow are carried out in strict secrecy. The fire-making ceremony concerns chiefly the inhabitants of Fashoda and the *reth's* immediate followers.

The main events of each phase are described from the records of all the observers who attended. We have deliberately avoided an over-detailed description of the events and behaviour of the participants,

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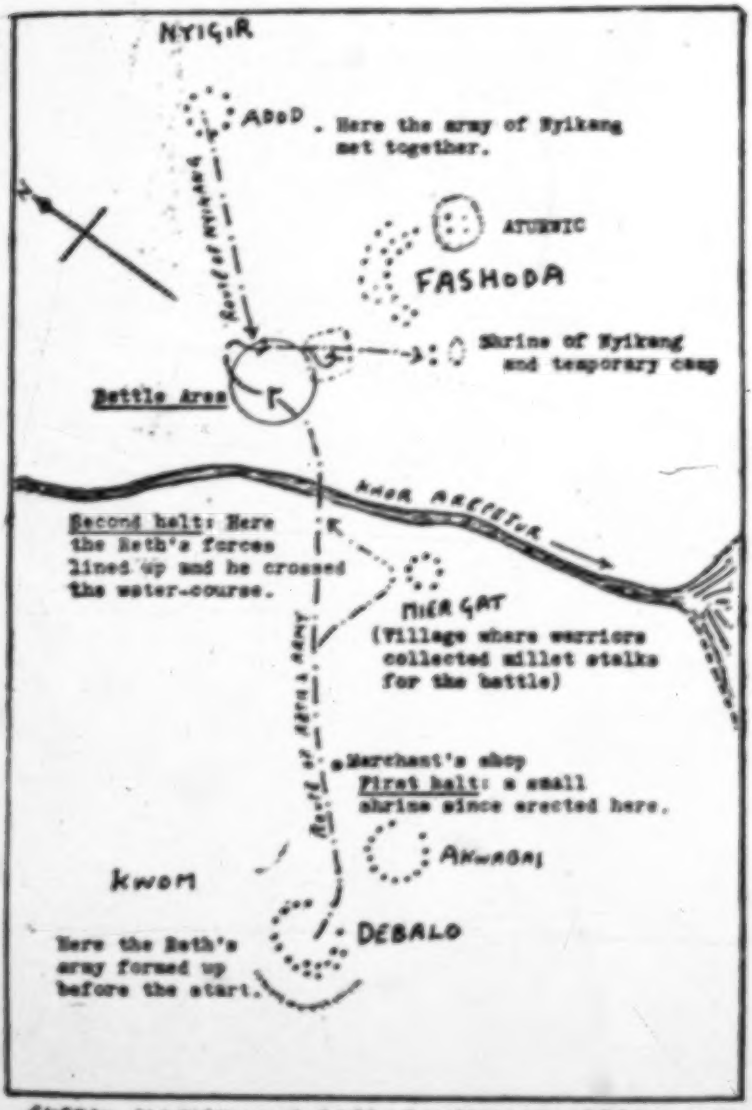

SKETCH-MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

[FACING P 50]

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●643 for the really significant rites would thus be lost. More detailed descriptions and explanations are recorded in the Notes with numbered references in the text.

The Reth's March From Debalo to Arepejur.

On the morning of March 11th, the *reth* was still at Debalo, and his warriors, together with some of the chiefs of the south who had come in to pay homage to him the day before, began to assemble in the village. By 8 a.m. there were large clusters of them seated in the shade around the houses ready to move off when the *reth* was ready. At this point of the proceedings we were told that the Kwa Okelo, who should have been at Debalo by then, were not ready, and that they were known to be mustering at their village which is only a mile from Debalo. There were obvious signs of preparation within the *reth's* hut, but we saw nothing of significance except the sheep and goats which had been taken that morning from the self-confessed adulterers and seducers of girls. The sheep and goats were brought to the *reth's* house in charge of four men but they were driven back to the cattle byre from which they had been brought after a few minutes. Meanwhile a message had been sent out to the Kwa Okelo to tell them to hurry and to bring with them the small girl (*nya kwer*), (Note 7) who plays so important a part in the ceremonies.

About an hour and half later the Kwa Okelo could be seen in the distance to the south of Debalo. Behind them and mustering in another village were the Kwa Ojul. Both parties began to move off in the direction of Debalo. On their arrival they drew up in close formation outside the village and near to the *reth's* hut. They were [533] carrying spears but no shields and were singing songs. The gist of these songs was that Nyikang had returned with the wind. In the midst of the Kwa Okelo a small cluster of women could be seen and among them *nya kwer*, and in front of them was a single man who, carried aloft a small basket covered with a grass mat, doubtless *nya kwer's* "luggage." The Kwa Okelo marched into Debalo, but the Kwa Ojul remained outside and did not join the procession until the

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The First Day of the Installation.

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1.—Dengalo. Just before the march to Fashoda.
The reik dressed in white with a dark cash is standing outside his quarters awaiting the gathering of his warriors.

643

2.—Anyayok. Casting the black bull over which the reik must step before the crowning.

[FACING P. 51]

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reth had left his house, when they drew up on the north side of the village to take over the heifer which traditionally they must lead backwards from Debalo to Fashoda. This heifer, a brown one, had been brought into the village previously, and was already tethered in the centre. The Kwa Ojal, however, had brought with them the sheep over which the *reth* must step at Khor Arepejur. 643

Meanwhile the *reth's* body-guard and the Ororo were clustering round the entrance to the *reth's* hut. It was difficult to see any definite formation of clans at this point, and there was some confusion about positions, but the Kwa Okelo, and with them *Nya Awer*, who was completely surrounded by women, were in the centre of the village. Jago Yolsiker Ajang, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was much in evidence and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin (Note 8), and it was presumably his traditional duty to get the assembly into some order. 644

From out of the *reth's* compound there first came his women attendants who had accompanied him from Fashoda and carried with them cooking materials and food in baskets (Note 9). Immediately after this the assembly drew up in roughly semi-circular formation facing the *reth's* hut and began to clap and sing in honour of the *reth*. The *reth* then appeared at the door of the homestead, and, stepping over a white sheep which had been pegged down in front of him, he stood with his back to the fence facing the multitude. The spear, wrapped in white cloth, and which together with the beads of Ororo is collectively known as Nyikang was brought out and held beside him. After much singing and acclamation the *reth* moved forward and, heavily guarded by the Ororo, took up his position in the centre of the village. The procession was then ready to start. Kwa Ojal, who never came into the centre of the village, began to drag the heifer backwards at the front of the procession, but abandoned the attempt lower down the slope. Thenceforth it was led in the normal way, but scarcely visible for the crowds who surrounded it. The party then moved off in the direction of Fashoda, and a white bull, which had been tethered in the centre of the village alongside the heifer already mentioned. 645 646

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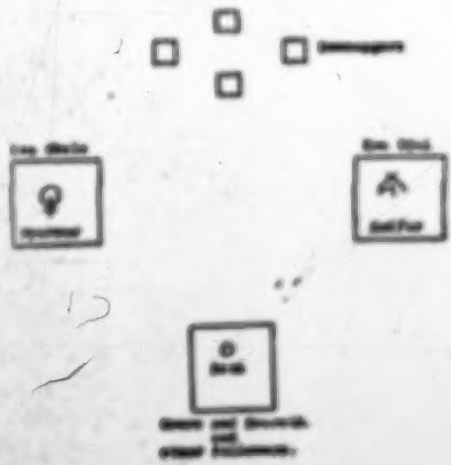
was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move far. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal. The argument arose over the privilege of sowing cowry shells in the *reik's* path on his journey to Fashoda. Kwa Mal maintained that it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yoleiker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *eyireik* Nyawelo, the eldest son of the late *reik*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sowing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went. Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of Nyikang, which should be carried before the *reik* (Note 10), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *reik*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojul on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *reik's* messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *reik* himself :—



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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojal went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debalo, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan in fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Overo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debalo, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular *chief of Gol Dhiang*, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

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643 773 787 821 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth's* army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows:-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not [782] [778 576 788] [793]

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

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643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty' [273] and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no [778] one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying
643 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and
[534 each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle
778] of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
" *Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *engero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tonga.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together " *Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong* ", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say " *Kwaa dibong* ", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the " things of Nyikang " such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and [793]
she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows :—" Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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643 782 so many cows, sheep, spears, etc., and now the people were thrusting themselves upon Nyikang to make sure these things would be delivered to them. They were begging Nyikang to speak to them and assure them that the things would be forthcoming. In all the ceremonies I witnessed the element of begging was paramount, the people begging Nyikang to speak to them and promise them "things of the [781] earth" to enrich them. The element of worship and adoration was singularly lacking. (Note 14).

643 778 After this song everyone turned their backs to the opening of the *kal* (enclosure), and the drums started to beat again. This time the people were silent, and soon Dak appeared and came out of the enclosure. Dak was about twelve feet high, carried on a long bamboo pole. The body of the figure was about eighteen inches long and approximately five inches thick, of a cylindrical shape wrapped about with blue and white checked cloth. It was crowned with a splendid plume of ten to dozen ostrich feathers, all black. Dak was carried by a middle aged man, and I was told that he would receive 'great riches' for his work, probably three or four cows. Dak circled the house three times and then came to rest again at the entrance. At [782] this time two sheep were sacrificed, one at the door of the *kal* and the other beside the road in the direction of Fashoda. These sheep were allowed to lie where their throats had been cut, but I noticed later that, as soon as the procession had passed, the women of the village went out and dragged them in to be eaten.

As Dak stood at the entrance, the drums changed their beat and everyone began to chant "*Kwas*, you are great". Then Nyikang appeared out of the house and took his place beside Dak. He was carried by a man of middle-age. Nyikang was much larger in body than Dak, though not nearly so tall. I estimated the body of the figure as being about five feet long and a foot thick. It was wrapped in the same cloth as Dak and crowned with a much more profuse plume of ostrich feathers. Two long streamers fell away from the head and

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [782] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal wi jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our beggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [481] [533 539] [778]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

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17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

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THE FIRST DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.

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3.—The battle between the two armies outside Fashoda.

[M8]

4.—After the battle the rait is seized by Nyikang and led off to Fashoda. The rait is concealed by Nyikang.

[FACING PAGE]

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643 [778]

Just as the king's party was sighted, four men came out of Fashoda carrying the sacred shield and spear of Nyikang. As Nyikang and Dak approached this group there was something of a scuffle, as if the shield and spear were loath to join the procession. But after a short sham battle and much waving of spear and shield, they were persuaded to march with Nyikang, and the procession again moved on to meet the king and his followers at Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda. This is the traditional battle ground, on which the forces of the king and those of Nyikang join in a great sham battle, both sides using corn stalks instead of spears, and fighting until the followers of Nyikang overcome the guardians of the king and capture the king to carry him away into Fashoda.

643 941

The two armies were now drawn up facing one another, the host of Nyikang awaiting to join battle with the *reth* and holding the high ground to the west of the capital.

The Battle

(P.P.H.)

As soon as the *reth* had crossed the watercourse, he and his army advanced at a fast pace in the direction of the host of Nyikang, who had remained on the high ground opposite Fashoda. When the distance between the two parties was no more than two hundred yards the shield-bearer of the king moved forward, and began to dance in a threatening manner, dodging and retreating and advancing in the direction of Nyikang. Small parties of warriors broke away brandishing their millet stalks in the air. The warlike attitude of the opposing armies became apparent. The Kwa Nyikwom who were leading the army of Nyikang began to move, and a few of them broke away in front, brandishing their whips and ropes. Women in the background cried out in exultation and encouragement, and with wild shouts and hollows the armies fell upon each other. The air was filled with flying millet stalks, and such was the confusion that it is difficult to record accurately what happened, but the *reth's* army was considered to be repelled,

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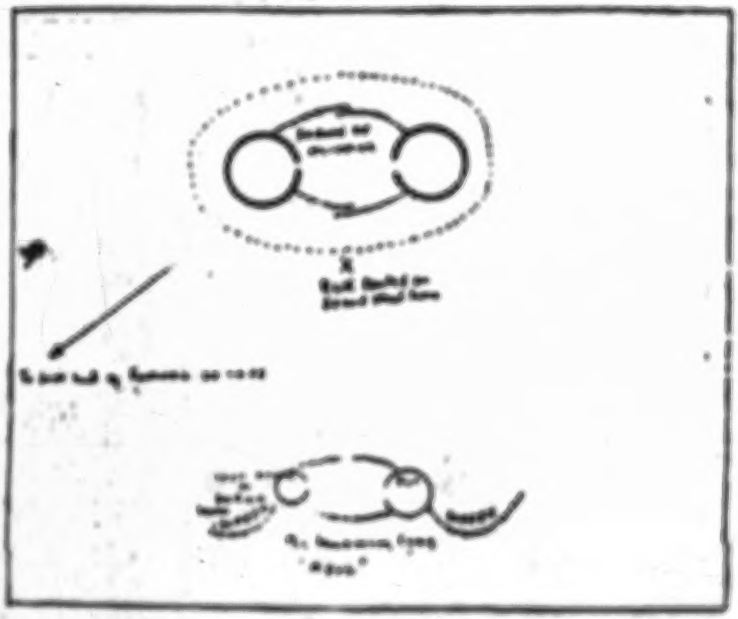

Fig. Shows of the Rammers

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and the *reth* himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwom, cut off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black ostrich feathers screening his face. 643 541

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief "*rony arum*," "the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

The Reth carried off to the Shrine by Nyikang.

The party with Nyikang and the *reth* in their midst then turned towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared space which marks the pool of Cerfuc (Note 15). The drums of Nyikang, of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared space called Cerfuc and halted. In the middle were a group of people clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while Nyikang, with the *reth* immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hang down from the head of the effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa Okelo speared the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred relics. 643 [614] [778]

The Enthronement and Substitution.

After the spearing of the heifer, the *reth*, still closely led by Nyikang, advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from 643 778

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643 [178] the public gaze, and the ox-hides upon which it is placed, had already been brought out and set up at the entrance of the shrine, and the stool itself, heavily swathed in white cloth, was hurriedly carried out. Behind stood a Shilluk holding the fish-spear of Dak, which was also wrapped in white cloth. The party escorted by the Kwa Nyikwom with Dak well to the fore then moved up to the canopy, and the effigy of Nyikang was set upon the stool, while the *reth* knelt down and clasped the legs on the north side. The chief of Kwa Nyikwom knelt down and clasped the legs on the other side, and *nyakwer* seated herself to one side of the *reth*. After a long period of much chanting but no visible movement, the effigy of Nyikang was lifted from the stool and hurried into the shrine immediately followed by Dak, and the new *reth* took his place upon the sacred stool of the Shilluk, facing the crowd, but still well screened by the canopy. The place of the *reth* holding the stool for Nyikang was now taken by the *jal tyel kwom reth* (chamberlain). It was not possible to follow all the ceremonial which followed. The party was screened on three sides by the canopy, and the *reth* himself was surrounded by functionaries. The *reth* himself, seated on the stool but screened by the canopy, was facing the crowd, and the chamberlain and another Shilluk knelt on either side to hold the legs of the stool, while *nyakwer* was sitting on the ground to his left. In front was held the sacred spear of Nyikang, which had accompanied the *reth* from Debalo. The majority of the crowd had already dispersed and either took no further interest in the procedure or were not allowed to do so, and those who were watching close at hand were for the most part Kwareth, Ororo, or the attendants of Nyikang. Nevertheless this was the crisis of the ceremonies. The act of substitution upon the stool symbolizes to the Shilluk the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang, and we saw that the *reth* was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards, when he walked across to the temporary camp opposite the shrine.

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After sitting on the stool for about twenty minutes, facing the people, still screened by the canopy, the *reth* arose and escorted by the chief of the Kwa Nyikwom, who held his right hand, and by *nyakwer*,

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who held his left, walked across the open space in front of the shrine. Here another ox, this time a black and white one, also swathed in white cloth and covered over the back with a leopard-skin decorated at the edges with cowrie shells, was tethered. Beside it stood two men of Kwa Ojal, one holding a crude straight-bladed sword, the other holding a spear. These were said to be yet further weapons of Nyikang, and each in turn was handed to the *reth*, who stood at the tail end of the ox, and with each he made three passes in the air over the back of the ox, which was then led off to be sacrificed.

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[778 782]

The Temporary Camp

After this ceremony, the *reth*, still accompanied by the chief of Kwa Nyikwom and by the small girl *nyakwer*, entered the screen, which surrounded the temporary huts, and he himself entered the larger of them. These huts were built under the personal supervision of Jago Yor Leiker and Jago Tabo, the chiefs of the south and north. The huts were built of grass, and similar to those built in Shilluk cattle camps. The larger was considered the *reth's* temporary residence, the smaller the kitchen, where his food should be prepared and where the water was heated for the ritual bathing. The bull mentioned above was stripped of its coverings, which were again torn to pieces by the crowd, and the leopard skin was taken into the shrine of Nyikang. The bull was speared and fell to the ground immediately in front of the *reth's* temporary camp. After this the public part of the first day's ceremonies was over. The *reth* had retired into seclusion, and those Shilluk who had remained to watch the ceremony of the stool soon dispersed and went off to rest in the shade around Fashoda. Only the Oturo, Kwareth and Kwa Nyikwom, the immediate attendants of the *reth*, remained to guard him and minister to his wants.

[631]

[782]

The effigies of Nyikang and Dak had already been carried into the shrine. The drums were also put away, and the sacred stool, which had been carelessly left with the canopy draped over it, was carried off, the canopy held around it so that no one could see it go,

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643 to the mound of Fashoda, which is called Aturwic, and with it the shield and spears of Nyikang.

The *reth* was now in seclusion. No one but his most personal attendants might visit him. We were told that he would be stripped, bathed, and clothed in new robes during that afternoon. It was neither seemly nor possible to enquire too deeply into this part of the investiture, for it is conducted in strict secrecy. There is evidence that this ritual bathing takes place within the temporary camp Adul, because the smaller of the two huts is known as the "bathing room." Shilluk say that the *reth* is bathed alternately with hot and cold water, so that he shall not be subjected to extremes of temperature. It is a symbolic rite emphasising his people's desire that he shall rule them with even temper throughout his reign. The fact is mentioned by [119] Munro in his account of Fafiti's installation (Note 18), and informants confirmed the tradition at the installation of *reth* Anel.

During the heat of the day the main crowds dispersed to their homes, but there were still large numbers of Shilluk sitting in and around Fashoda that evening. Most of these were relatives and friends of the inhabitants of the capital, who provided them with [273] refreshment, since the ban on drinking beer was lifted after the *reth's* retirement. The Ororo and attendants of the *reth* were putting up wind-screens round the *reth's* camp, under which they would sleep [669] that night to guard him from possible attack. The danger to the *reth's* life was not yet over, a fact which repeatedly appeared from the care and attention of his guardians. The Shilluk describe this period of the ceremonies as "the *reth's* camp *outside* Fashoda", and it was evident that he had not, in the eyes of the Shilluk, entered his capital. His final acceptance by Nyikang and by the Shilluk people still remained in doubt, though one of the most dangerous periods of his initiation from election to final installation had been successfully passed.

The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the

The same evening, outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim then blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang. 643 783 [372] [621]

THE MAKING OF NEW FIRE AT FASHODA.

Just before dusk a group of Oruro and Kwareth began to gather near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire-making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making 643 372 643 643 [787] [372]

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Arnold]

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643 of fire ceremonially at Debaio has already been mentioned. This ceremony completed the first day. Nothing further occurred, though members of the Kwar Nyikwum danced and sang during the night, and sporadic drumming could be heard until the early hours of the morning.

Interval.

During the two days after the *reik's* formal installation on the sacred stool no public ceremonies occurred. The *reik*, still in strict seclusion, moved only at night, and the rites enacted were conducted in secrecy. To the bulk of the people his whereabouts remained unknown. It appears that he spent one night in Adal (11th—12th March) and that the ceremony of tying on the sacred bead of Acuro took place on the morning of the 12th March. It was not possible [124] to witness any of these rites, and inquiries were met with evasion. An air of reticence and mystery veiled the scene. On the evening of the 12th and after dark, the *reik* went up into the mound Aturwic, and it is said he was enticed away by a woman of the Ocuro (*ryawo*), leaving behind him *ryakwer*, the girl of Kwa Okel who had accompanied him from Debaio. During the night of 13th-14th the *reik* visited Dhidu, a house which is below the mound of Aturwic and nearest of all houses to it. This visit must also remain a mystery. Answers [125] were evasive and probably deliberately misleading, though some informants said it was the house occupied by the Ocuro girl.

The Fourth Day.

643 The ceremonies of the fourth day centre round the person of 644 *ryakwer* and emphasise the continued opposition between Nyikwo and the *reik-elect*. *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies", who is provided for the occasion by the Kwa Okel, and who accompanied the *reik* from Debaio, had entered the temporary camp Adal with the *reik*. Thus far her status and the part she plays in the ceremonies had remained obscure. It was not clear whether she could be regarded

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THE FOURTH DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.

The army of Nyikaung led by the Kwe Nyikwom and brandishing whips and ropes charges through Padonda towards the rath.

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as the wife of the *reth* or not. The answer depended on the cattle which had been handed over to the Kwa Okel by the *reth*, and whether they are considered bride-wealth or merely a reward for her services, in the same way as the sheep and cattle given to other expert functionaries who assist. The Shilluk say that the girl does not remain the wife of the *reth* and is handed to some favoured subject after the ceremonies are over. Up to this period in the ceremonies it was therefore problematical to us whether she is regarded as wife at all. The word *kwer* means literally "ceremony or ritual", and the girl is sometimes called *nyarwiey*, *reiey* being the term used for the induction ceremonies. This gives no clue to her status, but points to the ritual nature of her functions. The ceremonial acting of the fourth day, however, makes it quite clear that the cattle are indeed bride-wealth, and that she is regarded as the *reth's* wife, at any rate for the duration of the ceremonies.

According to tradition, *nyakwer*, remains with the *reth* in seclusion in the temporary camp outside Fashoda until the second night, when he is enticed away by a girl of the Ororo, who induces him to follow her up into the mound called Aturwic. *Nyakwer*, neglected and forgotten, is left in the temporary camp, until Nyikang steals out from his shrine and carries her off with him. Only on the morning of the fourth day does the *reth* notice her absence and call for an explanation. The chief of the Kwa Okel, "the father of the girl", is summoned by the chief of Gol Dhiang, and is questioned by the *reth*. He denies all knowledge of her whereabouts. "Why do you not know?" demands the *reth*, "Have I not married her with cattle which are now in your possession? Go, bring her back to me." The chief of Kwa Okel goes off in search of her, but returns shortly afterwards to say that he has heard that Nyikang has seized her. He is ordered by the *reth* to fetch her, and goes off to request her return from Nyikang, using the *jago* of the Kwa Nyikwom as an intermediary. "Whose cattle are these?" says Nyikang, "Are they the *reth's* or are they mine?" (Note 19). The *jago* of Kwa Okel returns to the *reth*

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The Fourth Day of the Installation.
Nyikang and Dak go up into the mound Atarwic to make peace with the cult.

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The Fifth Day : Greece Day.
The cult comes down from Atarwic.
He is second from the left and dressed in a Mrs. Grey antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

[PACING p. 68]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reik*'s demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reik* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon. Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reik* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol ongor*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Col another son of Nyikang. (Note 10).

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Meanwhile the army of the *reth* was gathering below Aturwic, and the *reth*, dressed in white with a Mrs. Gray skin draped round him and five ivory bracelets on each arm, descended among them. Armed with millet stalks, they began to move slowly forwards in a threatening manner towards the army of Nyikang. When only a hundred yards separated them, a violent argument broke out about the bull, which should have been provided for the occasion to be tied down and walked over by the combatants (Note 21). Both parties retired and the *reth* went up on to the mound again, where he could be seen standing at the central entrance, a long millet stalk in his hand. Nyikang, Dak, and Cal retreated to a point just outside the shrine. After a long delay the bull was brought and placed between the two armies, who advanced, and the *reth* in front of his army walked forward to throw the first spear (millet stalk), which fell at the feet of Dak. Millet stalks began to fly, and in the general mêlée, the *reth* rushed forward with a small escort and wrested *nyakwer* from Nyikang, and hustled her away through the ranks of his warriors up to the mound behind them. Three furious counter-attacks followed by the Kwa Nyikwom, who dashed forward waving and whirling their ropes and whips. Finally, with Nyikang and Dak and Cal, at their head, they reached the bottom of the mound and went up to the huts on top. Shortly afterwards Nyikang and Dak descended from the mound. It was said that all hostility between Nyikang and the *reth* was now at an end, and that Nyikang had accepted him as his successor. Then they started on a tour of all the huts in Fashoda. This was considered an inspection of the houses, and those sections of Shilluk who are traditionally called upon to repair them were fined by Nyikang if they had not done so. The fines were one head of cattle each, and one chief was fined for initiating a song, the privilege of the Kwa Nyikwom. This part of the ceremonies was taken lightheartedly, and the victims subjected to much witticism.

Nyikang, Dak and Cal then retired to the shrine. They took no further part in the ceremonies and did not appear in public until

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Speech Day.

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1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the reit as a sign of homage.

2.—The reit's party below Atwrwic, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING P. 70]

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their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reik* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reik* was confirmed as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reik* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reik* was led down the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [293]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognise you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

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537 631 643 644 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reik* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reik* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reik*. Then the *reik* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reik*. "I have become your *reik*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 782 The assembly then arose, and the *reik* moved over to where the white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which beat the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this came the final ceremony. The *reik*, accompanied by a few chosen followers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reik* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reik* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourite house of his father *reik* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reik* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

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PART IV.—SEQUEL.

Fertility Rites and Rain-Making.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, 643
and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour 789
of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This 782
was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters.

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, 643
which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early 789
rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An 787
old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This 766
showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd. and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pasuth Fafiti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty.

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th, April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days 643
previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 10 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils

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on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reik*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reik* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reik* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lui knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reik* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reik* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of Nyikang over the new *reik* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, the *reik* and the *reik's jai tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle of the small throng. The Orero woman, who had enticed him away from *ayakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reik's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang—when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reik* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 683 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathou. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organisation is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 2, p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*. [114]

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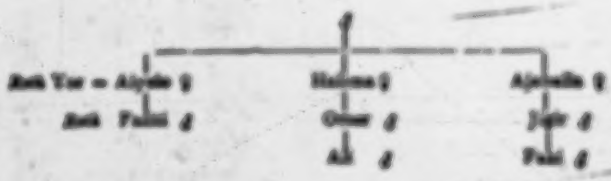
Note to Introduction

1. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 101.

Notes to Part I

3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reik*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fadiet's mother's sisters, were present.

The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reik* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

4. *Reik* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Cofi Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reik* Fafiti, angered because *reik* Fadiet had held no funeral dance for *reik* Kua hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reik* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reik* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *keglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizontally upon forked sticks.

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6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late reik, and by *kwe* reik and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and oib by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lea*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new reik requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301 302] [293] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The reik could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 613 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the reik or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The reik himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Goi Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 613 292

9. The reik was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue. 613 644

10. The reik's sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang. Like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

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are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twat* is the word used for the *reth*'s messengers.

11. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyakuer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. Our impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

15. Cerfuc, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfuc is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 200 yards N.E. of Cerfuc.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "*Funy*" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. P. Munro. "The installation of the *reth* of the Chol". *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 643

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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

63/ The following chiefs composed the electoral college in 1943:-

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1. Chief of Debalo Kwom (chief of Gol Nyikang).
2. " " Golbainy " " " Dhiang).
3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tonga.
5. " " Delai Ajak.
6. " " Bur Nyilic (Athodwai division).
7. " " Othocogo (Detwok division).
8. " " Fadit (Wau division).
9. " " Owaliny Obwa (Malakal division).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fanyikang.
12. " " Acago (Detwok division).
13. " " Fadiang (Golbainy division).
14. " " Yoiny (Fashoda division).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

[173] Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lau dwong* or "high rank of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lau dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lau dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lau dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lau dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

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The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 11, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. 631 643 642
(only seven names are given).

The Electoral College of 1927 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwai, in place of the chief Bur Nyllier (8), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abiemyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyllier, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abiemyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1927 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy and the Kwareth chiefs of Fadiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed. [663]

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long. 643 778

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

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Personal Equipment.

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The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[94] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[95] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears

[95] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey

4. *Nyikang's bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwin wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive

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APPENDIX III.

(W.F.G.T.)

List of Clans Participating in the Initiation Ceremonies.

References are made to the list of Shilluk clans in Westermann, *The Shilluk People* pp. 118-134. 619 695

Kwa Mal. The clan which claims the privilege of sewing cowrie shells in the path of the *reth* on his journey from Debalo to Arepejur. Westermann lists them as 2 and 12, but assigns to them the functions which we believe are performed by Kwa Nyikwom.

Kwa Nyikang. The clan which provides the ceremonial blacksmiths for the royal spears. Westermann lists them as No. 8, but assigns to them a different function. The duties of Westermann's No. 60, Kwa Anut, seem similar (the making of fire by friction).

Kwa Okolo. The clan charged with producing the small girl, *ayabor*, for the ceremonial marriage. Westermann lists them as No. 14, not No. 13.

Kwa Nyikor. The clan responsible for the management of the funeral dance; called by Westermann Kwa Nyikai and listed as No. 63.

Kwa Nyikwom. The high priests of Nyikang at Akurwa, who carry Nyikang to Fashoda, and tend his shrine. They drive off intruders with whips on the way to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann, though his No. 1, "Kwa Lak" has similar functions.

Kwa Ojal. The clan which produces the heifer for the journey from Debalo to Fashoda. Not listed by Westermann.

Kwa Wang. The clan responsible for beating the drum which applauds approved speeches on the last day of the installation ceremonies. Westermann lists Kwa Wan as No. 44.

Note. We find that this list of clans given by Westermann between marks of haste. He assigns one home for most clans. While the clans are generally to be found in the places he mentions, several other lineages of the same clan are frequently found elsewhere. [114]

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK (1945)

By W. P. G. Thomson.

These notes are intended to amplify the article "The Death of a *Reth* of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor" by Mr. P. P. Howell and myself published in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXVII, 1946. [21]

No attempt is made to describe the ceremonies in full. The general pattern followed that of 1944 and these notes are chiefly concerned with the differences observed on this occasion, and the reasons given by the Shilluk for these differences. It was interesting to observe that in several cases where points of ceremonial differed, the procedure reverted to that of January 1918 described by Munro in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I, 1918.

The disposal of the Body and Soul of Reth Anei.

The course of events was as follows:—

Reth Anei Kur died on November 10th 1945. He had been ill for some days, apparently from an attack of relapsing fever, which was prevalent among the Shilluk at the time; he was known to have a bad heart, and had in fact had a heart attack some months previously in Malakal hospital. A Shilluk medical assistant, present at Fashoda at the time of the *reth's* death, reported that he died in his arms of heart failure. This is as good evidence as we are likely to obtain that *reth* Anei died a natural death. 693

I was invited, as in 1943, to pay my last respects to the corpse. This I did on November 11th, and the scene was similar to that of 1943, but simpler. The corpse was fanned by sisters of the *reth*, and his wives were not in the house with the corpse. Several were observed outside. The reed mats were not so elaborate as in 1943 and there were no cloth curtains. 766

The corpse was not immediately buried, as happened in 1943, but was taken on the night of 11.11.45 to a small hamlet belonging to the village of Fadwel, (the village of the Bang Reth Kur — slaves of *reth* Kur, the father of Anei) some three quarters of a mile from Fashoda, and sealed up in a hut. These proceedings were naturally secret, and I was not invited to enquire into details. This method of disposing of the corpse was a reversion to tradition: there is no evidence that a [567]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

766 maiden was sealed up alive in the hut along with the corpse, which is also said to be traditional.

Fafiti Yor died in September 1943, and his funeral dance was held in November. Anei Kur died in November 1945, and his funeral dance was not held until October 1946. This longer interval was also more in accord with Shilluk custom, which holds that there should be an 643 interval of about a year between the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor. The installation ceremonies should follow quickly upon the funeral dance for the deceased, and should take place after the harvest is ripe.

Two days before the dance, the remains of *reth* Anei were brought secretly, and by night, from Fadwel to Golbainy where his private village had been, and were buried in his house. The remains were brought by Orero under the supervision of Gol Nyidhok, the descendants of Nyidhok, the grand father of Anei. The dance took place there and only occupied two days. It was less well attended, and the contingents not so well marshalled as in 1943, but the essential characteristics were the same, and there were the same arguments about how long it should last. The ceremonies were in the hands of the eldest son of the deceased, and of Kwanyiereth Bol Acieu, the chief of Lul, who had taken a large part in 1943. The chief of the Kwareth, who was senile in 1943, had died in the meantime, but his successor in office, a young man, took no part. The *reth* remained purposely in Fadwela, and did not come to Golbainy at all. It was noticed that, as bulls were slaughtered, the horns and tails were hung on to the palisade surrounding the house where *reth* Anei lay buried, and his cattle bells and other ornaments were displayed by *bangreth* in front of the tomb, spread out upon a bull skin.

The election of Reth Dak Fadiet.

643 On the death of *reth* Anei the electoral college were summoned, 666 as in 1943, by Jago Tabo of Golbainy for Gol Dhiang and Jago 631 Yorleiker of Kwom for Gol Nyikang, the two great ceremonial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom. The composition of the college was the same as in 1943, except that the chiefs of Bur Nyiliec and Owalliny Obwa could not attend owing to illness. It was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. I doubt whether even the chief of the Kwareth has any influence: he and the other members of the college have only to listen to the decision.

643 *Reth* Anei had not lived long enough to adopt a *nyireth*, as *reth*

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Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyiroth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyiroth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyiroth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Talso of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiong. One had been offered by *nyiroth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiased choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [649] 643 666 643 666 631 643

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

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643 was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reik* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking [195] of the *reik* (*c.f.* Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *reik*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reik* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reik* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *reik* 643 became more and more worried as the installation approached. There 669 were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *ayiroth* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reik* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reik*'s party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reik*'s nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reik* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. 643 It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take [201] place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

[614] On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

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beating the bounds of Shilluk land at Moro, north of Kaka. The details of their progress were similar to that of 1944.

The only observed difference between the preliminaries for Nyikang's journey was the embassy to Fazyikang to get *dom* fibre for the ceremonial ropes. This year it was performed by 'Aonugo,' one of the unrewarded sons of Nyikang, and not by Dak as in 1944. The embassy this year only went to the *dom* palm forest at Ohai Dego, which is 15 miles downstream of Fazyikang.

On 28.12.46 the *reth* was still at Fashoda, and not yet fled to Debalo Kwom. It was expected that he would go before dawn on 29.12.46. Fashoda was full of his personal supporters from the southern Shilluk. I noticed that the *reth* had apparently made friends with the *ajawak* whom he had recently suspected of trying to ambush him.

The *reth* started for Debalo secretly at about 3.00 a.m. on 29.12.46. After resting half way, he entered Debalo, after the village had ceremonially resisted him three times. He stepped over a black sheep, held by Orero. When he entered, his supporters all broke into one of the songs of Nyikang. This was a mistake, as the whole proceeding should have been secret. The *reth* stayed at the same broken down house as in 1944, and the same royal house was prepared, and left empty.

Jago Yorbiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was in charge of the ceremonies. All the fires had been put out before the *reth's* arrival, and preparations had been made to light new fire by the ceremonial method of *pic ner*. This method is later used at Fashoda and is described in our previous article (op. cit. p. 68). A bull was brought by Jago Yorbiker, which was to be sprayed when the *reth* came out of seclusion to be greeted by the assembled chiefs of Gol Nyikang in the evening. The chiefs of Gol Dhiang had no business in Debalo, and if they came, they would come as observers. Some sheep were brought by self-confessed adulterers. The *reth* insisted that only adulterers whose cases had not previously been opened could avail themselves of this privilege of amnesty, but in the event a few men tried to avoid a judgment debt by paying a sheep. There is some confusion about the ownership of these sheep. It seems clear that they belong to the *reth*, but are presented by him to the chief of Debalo Kwom (himself the chief of Gol Nyikang) as a recognition for his services in sheltering the *reth* in Debalo. In 1944 the chief of Gol Nyikang appropriated the sheep without permission.

That evening the drums of Nyikang were heard from Nyigir, and the *reth's* drums from Debalo. The procession carrying the sacred beads *Ocero* from Lul arrived at about 8.00 p.m.

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643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorleiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debaio. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepejur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Gelhaiey* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak, while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

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sheep over which he had to step on entering *Adal*, defaecated on the way. The man holding the sheep picked up the droppings and rubbed them on the sheep's back. After he had done so he made gestures showing that he had restored the situation, indicating that the sheep was no longer defiled. 643 783

For the following account of the final ceremonies I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Nicholson, then Deputy Governor Upper Nile, with whom I witnessed them. 643

The final ceremonies of the installation of the new *reth* of the Shilluk took place at Fashoda on 3rd and 4th January. This time there were no large crowds, but only the chiefs and leading notables and the attendants of Nyikang and the *reth*.

On the evening of the 2nd, the *reth* had come out of the special grass hut into which he had been led with the small girl, his symbolic bride, Nyakwer, 'the girl of the ceremonies,' after the spirit of Nyikang had entered into him and he had been ritually seated on the sacred stool or throne. He had come out to go up into Athudowic, the hill of the throne, the great mound which dominates Fashoda, on which are set the four sacred houses which constitute the shrine of the Shilluk kings. With him was a girl, but it was not his bride. In accordance with tradition her place had been taken by a girl of the Orero clan who had enticed him away. Next morning, when he discovered this, the *reth* sent out to search for his wife, and eventually learnt that she had been taken by Nyikang to his shrine. He sent envoys to ask for her return, and when Nyikang refused, he came out, stepped over a sheep, marched down the hill with his army, stepped over a grey-white bull and challenged Nyikang to battle. Nyikang's drum was then heard, sounding a distinctive beat, the lion call, and Nyikang accompanied by his sons Dak and Cal (a smaller figure made of the grey feathers of a female ostrich) came out from his shrine at the head of his army. After marching round his shrine, from right to left, he advanced to meet the *reth* and his party, who were waiting on the open ground in the middle of the village. Twice Nyikang advanced towards the *reth* and retired again to march round the shrine, while his drum sounded a new insistent beat. The third time the armies joined battle armed with millet stalks, and also, in the case of Nyikang's men, with special rope whips. This time the *reth* prevailed, and seizing Nyakwer who was with Nyikang's army, drew her with him at a run up into the hill, while Nyikang and his men withdrew to his shrine at the other side of the village. 773

Next morning the stage was set for the last act, the *kel long*

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643 *piny*, the planting of the spear in the ground, when the new *reik* appeared before the chiefs and notables, received their homage and addresses of exhortation, and in reply gave his undertaking to be a good and just ruler and to work for the welfare of the Shilluk people. The ceremony was simple but impressive. First of all the chiefs and leading notables lined up near the base of the hill, squatting on the ground with their legs tucked beneath them in the decorous and respectful manner which is distinctive of the Shilluk. Behind them was a similar group of men of lesser importance. Then Nyikang's shield with bells on it, (which is said to be of silver), his long spear, and his throne (the *kwom*), all wrapped in new white cloth to conceal them from the gaze of ordinary men, and his drum, were brought out and taken to the bottom of the hill in front of the waiting chiefs. Here the throne was set up on a giraffe skin. Shortly afterwards the *reik* appeared, clad in a white *law*, and wearing the royal skin of the female Mrs. Gray antelope, and a new ivory armlet, which had been specially made for the occasion. After stepping over a sheep, he walked down the hill accompanied by Nyikwer and a small party of attendants, and protected by the royal fan made of the wings of the saddle bill stork in the form of a shield. When he reached the throne, he was lifted on to it by two men of the Orum. The bearer of the fan held it over the *reik's* head to protect him from the sun, while the bearers of the shield, spear and drum stood in front. When all was ready, the shield-bearer advanced towards the rows of chiefs shaking the shield so that the bells jingled, and marked out the first speaker. This was Yor Leiker, the chief of the south, on whom together with Jago Tabo, the chief of the north, who spoke second, had lain the main responsibility for the choice of the new *reik*. These two were followed by some two dozen others, ending up with the chiefs of Tonga and Nwomo (Kaka), the wardens of southern and northern marches. The speeches took the form of exhortations to the new *reik* to deal justly with his people without fear or favour, that the spirit of Nyikang was in him and the people looked to him for good crops and good fortune. And as each speaker finished he stabbed his spear into the ground and left it there. When a speech met with approval, it was acknowledged by the shield bearer and the drummer coming forward and walking round the speaker shaking the bells and beating the drum respectively. When these speeches were over, the *reik* rose up and addressed the company, went over to the bull and stabbed it, and returned once more with his party into Athudowic.

The ritual was over. The new *reik* was secure in the occupation

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of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life. 643

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Hrasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there. 19 778 775 824

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Guro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *wyirath* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up. 301 643

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1948. 114 643 644

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of 643 644 778

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Alhudewic stands had been plastered with smooth mud from top to bottom.

8. *Fanyikang.*

As in 1944 the sacred shrine of Nyikang at Fanyikang was thrown down and rebuilt after the ceremonies.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak and FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By F. P. Howell

THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows: —

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

(5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Ahgwa to Fashoda;

[1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol*, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

the flight of the *reth*-elect to Debaio where he remains in seclusion while the warriors of the south (*gol* Nyikang) gather to his aid; the gathering of the host of Nyikang supported by the warriors of the north (*gol* Dhiang); the *reth*'s march against Nyikang, the mock battle and his defeat and capture by Nyikang; his substitution for Nyikang on the royal seat and his possession by the spirit of Nyikang; his purification and seclusion in a temporary camp outside the capital; his vigil in the sacred mound of Atarwic; a further battle with Nyikang and the establishment of peace between them, and finally, after these important ritual events are over, a public ceremony in which the chiefs of the country publicly declare their allegiance while exhorting him to perform his duties justly. 693

Each event in this procedure is a further step towards the transference of the soul of Nyikang from the dead *reth* to his successor, which has always been an essential feature of the Shilluk monarchy. Each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies is another crisis passed, for until the substitution has been made, the Shilluk people are in a condition of extreme spiritual danger as well as of actual political danger since at any time civil war may break out over the choice of the new *reth*. This is manifest throughout. [715]

The *reth*-elect, who was chosen by the electoral college shortly after the death of his predecessor, is Kur, son of Fadiet *wad* Yor who was *reth* of the Shilluk from 1917 until 1943. At the time of writing the installation ceremonies are not yet completed and we are here concerned only with the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet. We must remember, however, that these ceremonies are part of a whole chain of events designed to achieve the safe and successful transference of the spirit of Nyikang from the old *reth* to the new and to bring back to the tribe its former stability.

reth Dak *wad* Fadiet died in Malakal on the evening of May 8th, 1951. His death was not unexpected since he had been ailing for some time and under treatment in hospital for advanced tuberculosis. He was attended personally in hospital by a medical dresser who was also his nephew, and his wives and followers were to some extent excluded from direct contact with him. There was an intense atmosphere of potential danger to his life and a feeling that he would be despatched by his wives before he died a natural death, for it was widely known that he was seriously ill, but I believe that this derived mainly from the medical dresser himself, who, acting in an entirely unradiational capacity, sought to stress the conventional attitudes demanded of him. At any rate there is no evidence that he was put to death or even "assisted to die."[1] 693

[1] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11 and p. 19, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

22: Howell K-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fadiola, where he should have died, and a messenger left early the next morning. From Fadiola he was carried to Debwot, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the unconditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Fatadik, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwot. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*)[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kor *wad* Fadiet.

[768]

643 It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the burial and
644 mourning ceremonies (*nowo*) are to take place in close consultation with the
428 kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with
766 the *orwo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Cid and his eldest son Adiong, had taken stealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs.
643 The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the
766 prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[2] The *orwo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[767]

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

A[i.e., with Fadiet's. - Analyst]

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means, literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

591 643 [103] 766 [778] [778] [578]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of *as* the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be hemo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *hengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766. [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*arek Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] 783

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533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth,*
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *ohak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*heny*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Luak had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijuk*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Biu, Thwolong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadheiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fafiti and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Luak at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *ororo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *ororo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangreth* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

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766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fafiti *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom. [183]

(ii) In the case of his successor Anei *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Dak *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption. [643 591]

1 See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

2 Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

3 *Id.*, p. 6 and p. 75.

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THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bugon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to assure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth's* remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *wowo*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

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[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Col.*, S.N.R. Vol. 1. 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. P. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27. 1946, and Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29. 1948.

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643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. [669] Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113] [1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyaweilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

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4. *jago* Aturwel (Fadit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Olwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)'

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

[648] [372] [787]

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jung kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."

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I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

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[6] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*akadh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

123 country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here,
643 with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rôle of Nyikang

643 We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person
776 of the late *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak,
778 son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and ambatch surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers[a], sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable.
[78] Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by
[64] men of the *kera* Nyikwom and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth *to Debalo*

643 As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and retreats to the village of Debalo a few miles south of Arepejur, the watercourse which
[63] is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang; *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Luak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[b]. At Debalo, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

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[a] See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 159.

[b] Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

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The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Athurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Athurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Athurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

[1] Variously spelt: *Aturwic*, *Athudowic*, *Athurwic*.

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643 seen that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Dak, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[11] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*gwel*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bung* Nyikango (slaves of Nyikang) and orders them to take this silver to the shrine of Akurwa where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of the raiding party.

[778] "Then the effigy of Dak (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[12] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Dak watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jum* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang) and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany 776 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is 778 wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Dak and the *kwa* Nyikwom. At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Dak, represented in the effigies, came

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[12] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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Nyikang and Dak advance to meet the Reth's forces.

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At Debalo. The Reth Steps over a bull before his departure.

[FACING p. 196]

purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debalo, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers were to be seen clustered round Debalo. There followed the usual delay while *kwa* Ojul, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda,[11] were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *kwa* Okelo who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after stepping over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anei and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to motor northwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Gray antelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, her luggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *laus*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two Government police, stationed at Debalo for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anei on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the *khor* Arepejur was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by eluding its captors and running away down *Khor* Arepejur, from which it was only retrieved with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much shouting and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

[11] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Opposite Fashoda. The *kwa* Nyikwom lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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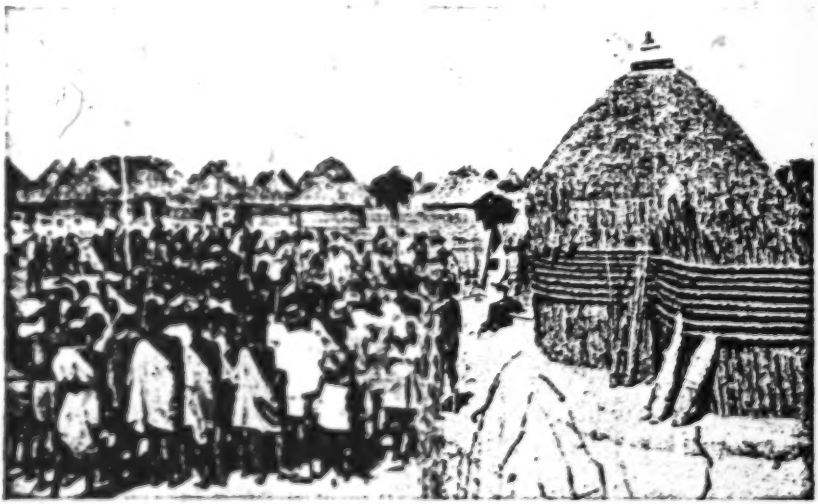

The substitution on the stool. Nyikang has withdawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the stool underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. N. DONALD

[FACING p. 197]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[10] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.[11]

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

[10] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[11] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Duk, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahudo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 by the *ororo* and *kwareth* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafiti, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

[164 744]

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Athurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

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THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

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The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurwic; jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Onger where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,[21] was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *laus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[22] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Athurwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Athurwic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Athurwic* surrounded by the *ororo* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[21] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

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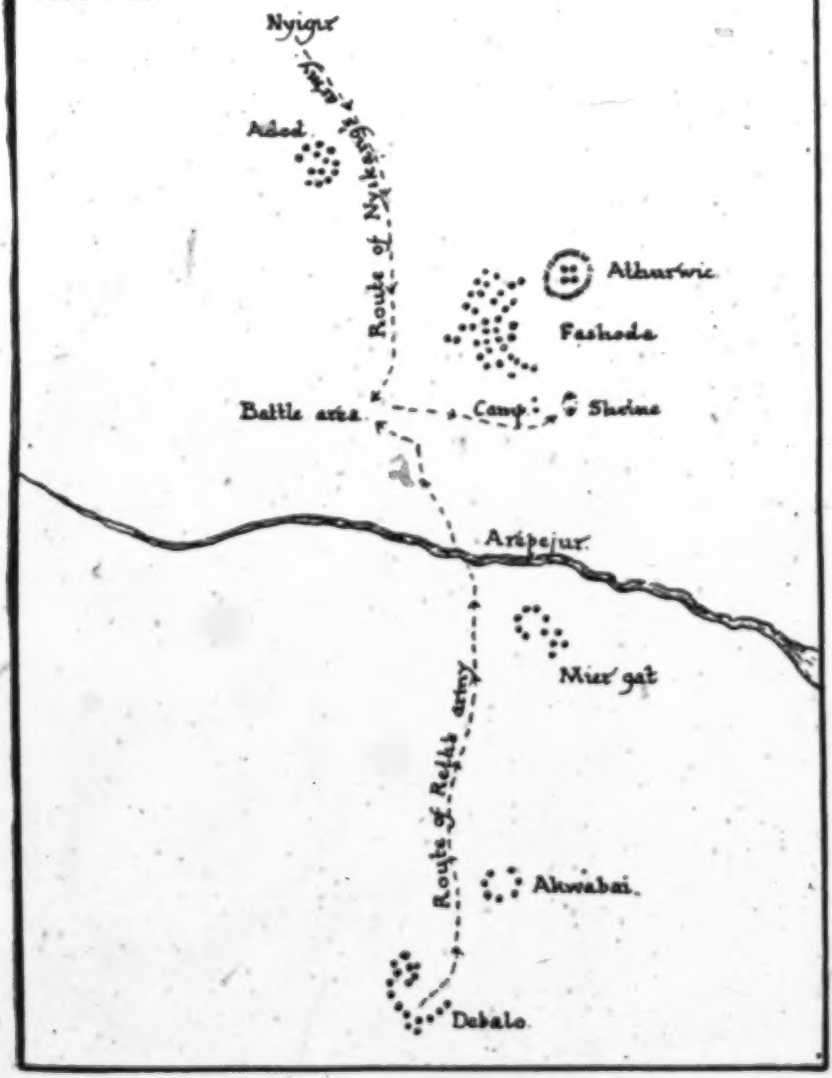
SKETCH MAP SHOWING AREA OF INSTALLATION CEREMONIES

Not to scale.



[FACING p. 200]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[*]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

[*] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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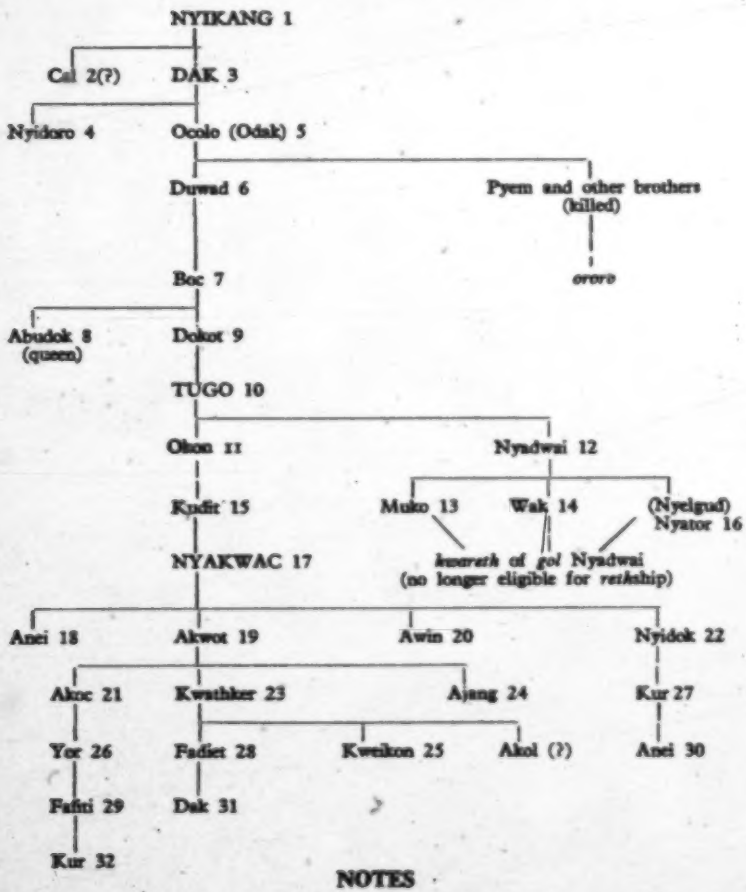
APPENDIX I.

REVISED LIST OF SHILLUK RETHS.



NOTES

173 643 1. Shilluk *reths* prior to Tugo are listed according to tradition, but there are some inconsistencies. Cal, for example, who is said to be a half-brother of Dak, lived at Dinyo near Tonga, but most Shilluk say that he was

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

never *reth*. He appears in effigy during the final ceremonies of installation. Nyidoro's position in the genealogy is doubtful; his burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet built a shrine for him. Ocolo is often called Odak, which sometimes leads to confusion with Dak son of Nyikang. Odak's sons, with the exception of Duwad, were killed in battle and their sons were degraded to the status of *ororo*. Pyem is the ancestor of the *kwa* Nyimol the main *ororo* clan. Hofmayr also mentions Akac (son of Duwad or Boc), but he was never *reth*. Abudok, eldest daughter of Boc, is said to have ruled the Shilluk and to have maintained her position by concealing the sex of Dokot, then only a child, who was dressed by her in a girl's apron.

3. Tugo (Hofmayr gives his dates as 1690-1710, but these are, of course, not authenticated) was the first Shilluk *reth* to have a settled capital and founded Fashoda. From him sprang the two main branches of the Royal House, *gol* Okon and *gol* Nyadwai. The latter are still *kwareth* even though no *reth* can now be chosen from their numbers; *reth* Fadiet tried unsuccessfully to degrade them to *ororo*. Some Shilluk mention Ngu Akwo, son of Nyadwai, as being *reth* after Wak, while Nyadwai's brother Ngu Aba never ruled. Nyelgud is a nickname for Nyator who is alleged to have been *reth* after Kudit.

4. All those eligible for the throne are from the House of Okon. Some alterations to previously recorded genealogies should be made. Yor, called Adodit, was son of Akoc, not son of Kwathker. Kweikon, son of Kwathker, should be included; Akol, a rival of Yor and later of Kur, was never installed at Fashoda, though some kind of installation ceremony was held for him by the southern Shilluk at Fanyidwai. Deidunyal, son of Ajang, was elected, but never installed and is not included. In fact many candidates for the throne were backed by only one element in Shilluk society, but failed to get themselves installed and these should not be included.

APPENDIX II.

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INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.] 114

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pan duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth. 643

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhok who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship. [644] [562]

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango[1] and Both in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving ivories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abomi Nyikango). [765]

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathaw which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwɔ Nyuth and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again. [233]

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debalo run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debalo until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debalo. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in [753] their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the 828 spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not [644] allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debalo to Fashoda the coronation [669] is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebajur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango [644] on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyek holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums [775] and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with 233 the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debalo. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debalo, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[233]

at about four o'clock in the morning, when nobody will see him at his work but the chief only, who tells him what to do.

During these days Nyikango's army remain with the other people dancing and beating their drums, playing with the images of Nyikango and Dak outside or in front of the shrine. At the end of two days the Reth is taken to four high temples (Athurwic) on a mound, and stays in them for another two days. Nyikango's army continue beating their drums night and day, so the people from afar are attracted by them, and they come to join the dancing. At the end of this time all the senior and ordinary chiefs gather together in Fashoda at a final advisory council (Loko), where the Reth is given the right to take up the post of king. The senior chiefs make speeches giving him advice to perform his professional task justly, and after the speech of the best orator the drum is beaten as a sign of praise. At the close of the speeches he is given two silver bracelets which are put around his wrists, as a sign of his office. These bracelets represent the crown and remain with him during his reign. After this he is invested with his holy office, which cannot be taken away from him or be abdicated until he dies.

After the coronation Nyikango and his carriers remain in Fashoda for two months pending the first fall of the rains. As the first rain of the autumn appears, the party begins to leave Fashoda for Akurwa, where Nyikango's and Dak's images are kept until the coronation of another Reth.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Blood" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Ororo," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1540, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth*, for the reigning king; *Nyireth*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyareth* or *Nyinyireth*, for the son of a *Nyireth*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyireth*, which is elided into *Kwa'nyireth*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this last being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wuo*. [576 554]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Undoubtedly, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Funy (Funy clan). The remaining Fung, together with the reputedly small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 563

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyireth* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne carefully in mind. [576] 565 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *kwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 643 648

[p. 319]

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do
643 not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from
648 or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly
the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction
[576] produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is
that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation
to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far
as you are concerned.

195 The *Reth*'s head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is
643 his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When
he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*).
When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms
used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of
things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes.
An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the
objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be
643 used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is any-
648 thing comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the
purpose of this note (which is serious).

539 Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry
outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to
meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second. 195 643

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Reth.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog. 648 539

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume I. No 3.

INSTALLATION

OF THE

RET OF THE CHOL (KING OF THE SHILLUKS)

BY P. MUNRO.

In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted 121
to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons : first it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman [1] and Westermann [2], and secondly the constant ebb and flow [124]
of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with 114
the account of the same as given by Seligman p. 224 are, in my opinion, 643
probably due to the fact that any enquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I 128
have divided this article into two sections : *a*) Necessary preliminary remarks; *b*) The actual narrative.

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(1) SELIGMAN VOL. B., *General Science, 4th Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, p. 216 et seq.

(2) WESTERMANN, *The Shilluk People.*

[p.145]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

643 The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 22nd, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: *a*) by his [156] presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and *b*) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, [645] during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti [178] therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers [825] and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. SELIGMAN, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile). [825]

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier. [805]

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret,

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(1) Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by WESTERMANN, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret. [773]

(2) The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart. [778] [346] [644] [843]

(3) About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound. [342]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 and also the official residence of the Ret [1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent [535] by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

202 643 The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is [644] known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang : his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but 776 778 smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm up- [644]
wards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They [773]
help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo [1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and [482] the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be 643 kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of 778 Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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565 773 614 [1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery : cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang : a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are : *a*) to carry the Ret; *b*) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for : he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
[54] there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

[778] « Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
[587] out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
[422] the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
[582] up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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[114] [1] Seligman (p. 254) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769 made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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776
756

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu- 643 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The 687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the 224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

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soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle 224
taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo [643]
hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the [687]
hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the [411]
harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcase is [628]
floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, [643]
including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

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Chapter VI

SHILLUK GOVERNMENT

643 Such is the relation of the Shilluk land to the lands of neighbouring peoples and to the great countries and powers of the modern world. Yet of these latter the Shilluk thinks very little. To him, his country is the world, and its government is all-important to his well-being. That government, and indeed all concept of authority, is centred in the [642] person of the Shilluk king.

'*L'état, c'est moi!*' No French monarch ever uttered that dictum with more assurance than a Shilluk king might have done had he ever heard of it, and thought it worth while to put into words what to him and all the Shilluk was a self-evident truth. Indeed, if a Shilluk were to enunciate his concept of the royal dignity, he would go much further than [642] merely to say that the king is the state, in the sense that he is an absolute monarch who rules his people according to his own dictates, who heeds not, indeed does not need, the advice of counsellors; who merely has to state his wishes for those wishes immediately to have the effect of law. He would indeed claim such despotic power on behalf of his king, though, lest some myrmidon of the Government was within hearing, he would hasten to add that it was no longer exercised and that no modern Shilluk monarch would in fact rule his country in so arbitrary a manner, yet would further aver that the king of the Shilluk is the state, in a way, and to a degree, that no European Monarch ever was; that to say that he ruled by the 'divine right of kings' would be something of an understatement; that he was king, not merely by divine authority and approbation, but that he was a divine king. For every Shilluk king has been and must be a descendant of Nyikang, the great deified hero-king of [186] the Shilluk.

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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome. 643 173 [825]

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death. [776] [775]

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of 643 [793] [731]

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643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 648 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term '"Fashoda" Incident' is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north [103] of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognised right of any potential [669]

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643 682 669 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is, as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 731 [775] Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them; famine, pestilence, invasion, and—what comes nearer home and is always a potential danger during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, 643 when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that 666 the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A [787] number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs 643 goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this pre- [669] caution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since 643 with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an 669 armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as [178] many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installa- 643 tion of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land 642 is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its [775] habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public [535] dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late

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643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 During this time also active preparations are on foot for the 796 ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, [326] ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of [301] bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the conni- [237] vance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation [326] ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 There is great activity during this period of preparation 796 in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own 778 sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king dis- 775 appeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers 796 are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march 778 to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by [614] members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

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643 796 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a [782] screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the [778] shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the [787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for [782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of [783] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

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king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village. [372]

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *entourage* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved [778]

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643 796 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward [537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly. [782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 797 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the position, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or [798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

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sense that saved the struggling mission of Detwok from destruction at the hands of the grief-stricken and enraged villagers when in 1931 the wall of a brick kiln collapsed, killing several boys and girls. He had on several occasions expressed his wish to become a Christian but owing to the political and religious repercussions that would have followed had he, the ruler and high priest of the Shilluk, taken such a step whilst in the prime of life, he had perforce to defer his conversion, but hoped for the grace of baptism before he died. God granted him his desire.

King Papiti became ill in mid-September, 1943. He had indeed been unwell for some time, but was afraid to let it be known to anybody in case the news brought the traditional smotherers to his hut. (On a similar occasion some years before he had had to spend lonely nights in the forest, in fear of his life, until he had recovered from his illness.) Now it was too late for medical skill to do anything for him and he was dying.

We heard the news in Detwok from Eugene, his nephew, one of our best Christians and a catechist. He proposed to go to Fashoda to ask the king if he had meant what he said about becoming a Christian. Being so close a relative of Papiti's and yet having no claim to the throne, Eugene would easily be admitted to his presence. He set off through the swamps and the mud (it was in the middle of the rains) to cover the twenty miles to Fashoda. On arrival there he was eagerly welcomed by Papiti who reiterated his desire for baptism. Eugene therefore gave him some preliminary instruction and without further delay continued as fast as the conditions of the terrain would permit, to Lul, some twelve miles further south. He arrived at the mission in the early hours of the morning and at once aroused Fr. Hurst from his bed. But let Fr. Hurst himself proceed with the narrative:

> In the Shilluk country there are no papers, but news travels fast nevertheless, and we heard that the king was sick. On Saturday, September 18th, at 4.30 a.m. I was

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643 797 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs [195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's [644] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the [237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the [513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
[681] restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[634] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in [782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
[825] sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
[787] following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
[643] where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
[825] this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
[553] If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

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763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[166] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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'When Father Tappi and I started the first mission among the Shilluk at Lul, they did not want us; they hated us and twice attempted to kill us.' During the first few months the natives twice attempted to take their lives by throwing spears at them. One of their greatest troubles was the learning of the language, a tongue absolutely unknown to Europeans. The Shilluk could not bear the thought that foreigners should learn their language and did all they could to prevent them from doing so. They answered their questions falsely, and laughed scornfully at the attempts of the missionaries to write down the strange words; twice, too, they set fire to their houses so as to destroy their work. With time this difficulty was overcome, but even when the people could understand them they refused to listen to what they had to say. 'How is it possible,' they asked, 'for there to be anything good in heaven? Even the birds come down to eat so as not to die of hunger. We Shilluk are made to eat and dance; you foolish men can have your heaven.' They ran away from men so cruel as to wear on their breasts a cross with a man fixed to it. Alone in their mud huts, often hungry and often ill with malaria, the missionaries had only their faith and their trust in God to keep them at their posts. The health of the laybrothers became seriously impaired and yet not one Shilluk would come to work for them. To add to their troubles, the rains stopped earlier than usual that year and all their crops were ruined; the work they had done was wasted, and they were left even without seed to plant.

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Little by little, however, the natives began to approach the mission, first out of curiosity to see the work the white men were doing, and then to beg, whilst the king showed his interest by sending occasionally for a bottle of brandy, some money or some other present. At the same time the missionaries began to gain a reputation as doctors and were thus able to make friends with some of the people and baptize some children before they died. In 1903 the king deigned to visit the mission and stayed the night with the Fathers; he ordered the nearby villagers to send milk and instructed

[643]

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* 797 them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called
[643] the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this
[643] same year, too, the British Government deposed the king,
[648] Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was
[346] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

[114] A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

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convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the native boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish. 797* [164]

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to build. [177] [339]

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week later. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission 761 643 797* 643 797*

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* 797 643 was saved. Of the two chiefs who were on the side of the missionaries one is now the father of the best Catholics and catechists in Detwok, and it is pleasant to recall that King Papiti received the grace of Baptism before he died, as has already been related.

Father Brambilla, who was Superior at Lul at the time, hastened to Detwok when he heard the sad news and offered to give to the family of each of the dead girls ten cows, the amount of dowry which each would have had on marrying, but the king would not hear of it, giving as his reason: 'The crocodile does not give cows; this was an accident.' Soon afterwards the people assembled for the solemn mourning dance for the dead children, and Father Brambilla sent four bulls for the funeral feast.

* 797 The church was completed in the same year by Father Cotta, and under his guidance the school also made great progress. It was his dream to have a Central School there for the whole Shilluk mission to which boys would come from Lul and Tonga to attend the upper classes, but this scheme was not realized whilst he was there.

The mission of Kodok, as it was known, was raised to the status of an Apostolic Prefecture in 1938 and the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society of Mill Hill took over the staffing of the district from the Verona Fathers who had worked there for nearly forty years. The first leader was Mgr. Wall, who had already seen many years of service in Kenya. He had his headquarters at Malakal, another mission in Shilluk territory, and the Prefecture was renamed after this place in 1949. Since the coming of the Mill Hill Fathers the good work has gone on slowly, but the difficulties still remain immense; a total absence of civilization, complete indifference to religion on the part of the population in general, trying climatic conditions and wretched communications make the missionary's task hard and call for great patience and a spirit of optimistic endurance. Much effort [871] has been put into the advancement of education. Father Cotta's dream of a Central School in Detwok has been realized, and schools for both boys and girls as well as

who has reared him and there his descendants live. 644
Some lineages of the royal clan, the *ororo*, have 591
been formally deprived of their noble status and 565
can now intermarry with their parent clan. They 614
are said to be descendants of Ocolo, the fifth king, who were degraded by his successor, but Father Hofmayr's and Father Crazzolara's accounts[1] would suggest that some of them may be descended from nobles degraded by other kings, and further research will probably confirm this. They are few in number but they hold the important chieftainship of Tonga settlement and they play a leading part in the royal funerary and investiture rites. A king always has some of their daughters among his wives and it is said to be their duty to smother him in certain circumstances.

The emergence of what may be called aristo- 565
cratic status has been accompanied by the forma- 644
tion of numerous groups of persons of the category 613
of *bang reth*, royal clients. They are descendants of retainers of past kings—captured enemies, certain homicides, persons who have become possessed by the spirit of Nyikang, and poor men who have

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk* (1925), pp. 66, 83, and 261–2; P. J. P. Crazzolara, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk', *Anthropos* (1932), p. 185.

565 attached themselves to the court—and have been
644 given the fictional collectivity of exogamous line-
[613] ages. They are said to be rather more numerous than the royal clan. During a king's lifetime his special band of retainers used, until the practice was discouraged by the Government, to live near the capital in a hamlet of their own, but when their master was buried in his natal settlement some of them moved there with his elderly widows, and their descendants remained there to tend his shrine. Also, when a prince was 'planted out', as the Shilluk say, in a settlement, his father sent some of his retainers to live there and these became *bang*
565 *nyireth*, a prince's clients. They served the prince
644 during his lifetime, and after his death their de-
613 scendants continued to live near the prince's
621 descendants as a fictitious lineage. Consequently, where there is a branch of the royal clan in a settlement there is usually a lineage of clients in the same settlement. The clients are merged in the general
[101] category of commoners, *colo*, of which word 'Shilluk' is an Arabic corruption, though it is said of them that they have a slightly lower social status than members of other commoner clans because they have no traditional rights in the settlements in which they live.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151–2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ago*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593] woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
[582] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
● 644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
[836] Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VI

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Fashoda, Aturwic

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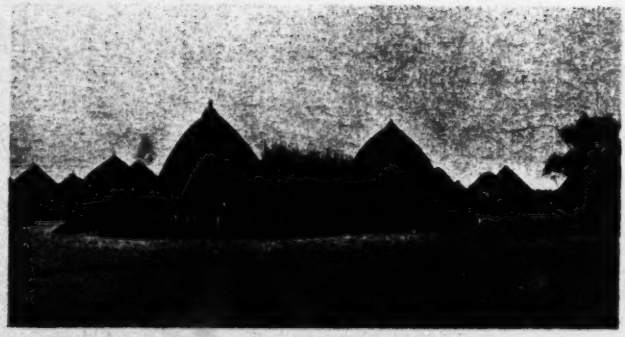

Akurua, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

[8]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 565 [836] or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated [562] with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 669 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving [173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 565 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are *nyinyireth*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the [304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows :—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children [1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more 776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups 773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart 769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be 776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are 764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the 643 word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in [346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, [793] viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines. [644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream [787] and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of [782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[198 643] [1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 778 764 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 643 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place [644] at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2]

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At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *ororo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ororo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ororo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwer*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *ororo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ororo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously more ceremonial in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Aker informed us that the victim would be lying unbound when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great ones"—including certainly the *jang dwong*—assembled near the shrine and each spat into a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place. [782]

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwer*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she at one time was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *dak ker* of the Acholi is a matter for future investigation. [644]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[648]

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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[171]
[644]

RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Nyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadygi is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Ker. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Yē*; at the death of the king from the house of *Yē* it will be the turn of the house of *Ńedok*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Ker, but not to a son of *Fadygi*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadygi*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1]) "king" is in Shilluk *rīt* or *rēt*; in older literature the word "bondu" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called mek, which is a contraction of the Arab malik.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, durs, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 671 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyqi ovpk* ("men of crime") or *adjrq*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjrq*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjrq* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjrq* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjrq*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

*539 *Kīne: à, dīɔ̱ch, kɛ̱ɩ, kɔ̱lú jwɔ̱k! Ka gɛ̱ bɛ̱ŋɔ̱. Ka gɛ̱ waɲɛ fōɩ̱ɛ gɛn, ka būl gɔ̱ch, ka ʈɛ̱rɔ̱ chɛ̱ŋɔ̱ kɩ̱ bûl. Ka gɛ̱ lɩ̱ɔ̱gɔ̱: wuna yɩ̱k ʈɛ̱rɔ̱, ɩ, wɔ́ dúɔ̱k, dɛ̱ bɛ̱t pɛ́ mɔ̱ɩ̱.*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyɔ̱k-antelope. And all
224 the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
643 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyɔ̱k-antelope, which belongs
651 to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then they pray: "O Nyīkang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyīkang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "Whe have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?" They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big
[576] steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
[644] it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now!)". The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay!)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people; "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

28. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̱ɩ ʈɛ̱rɔ̱ bɛ̱ ŋwɔ̱t kɩ yɩ̱ɩ, yɛ̱ɩ̱e kwɛ̱r, ka ʈɛ̱rɔ̱ ŋɔ̱dɔ̱, ka yɩ̱ɩ kɔ̱l, kɔ́ ʈɛ̱rɔ̱ lɔ̱ŋɔ̱, ka ʈɛ̱rɔ̱ waɲɩ fach. Ka jāgɔ̱ chwɔ̱l, ka yɩ̱ɩ ʈɛ̱gɛ̱r kɔ́ ɔ̱ nɛ̱ŋɔ̱, ka e kɔ̱ɲɔ̱ mɩ̱, ka e ko: kwɔ́ɔ́ yɛ̱ɩ ak! Ka kwɔ́ɔ́, ka e ko: mɔ̱k an ba mɔ̱k rɩ̱ɩ, ka mɔ̱k an tyɛ́ɔ́, ka gɛ̱ kwɔ́ɔ́ch, ka gɛ̱ lɛ̱ŋɔ̱ gin keau Bachōdɔ̱.*

[1] The dyɔ̱k-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

NORTHERN PROVINCE (GERR)

631 Akomo Delelajak Athodwoi Detwak Golbany Fashoda

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (LUAK)

Wau Malakal Detim Fanyikang Tung

These have little political importance though they are said to have been made by the order of Nyikang. They have the tradition of co-operation when necessary to meet a common danger or a difficult situation. This tendency of contiguous settlements to combine for warfare was utilised by the Turkish government and is now used by the Anglo-Egyptian government to form administrative units. Originally, the associations were not permanent enough to be regarded as politically important.

The Provinces

Shilluk country is divided into two great provinces, Gerr and Luak (Northern Shillukland and Southern Shillukland), which are ritually important but have little administrative significance. The boundary dividing the two provinces is a water-course called Khor Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. The chief of Debalo Kwom, just south of Arepajur, is, through his office, the chief of Luak. The chief of the settlement of Golben, north of Khor Arepajur, is chief of Gerr.

Apart from these, only two other chiefs and divisions counted. These were the chiefs of the settlements forming the northernmost and southernmost regions of Shillukland, the chiefs of Akomo and Tonga.(1) Fashoda, the capital of Shillukland, occupied by the *reth*, is the focal point of the structure of the Shilluk people and this is clearly seen, not only in administrative matters but in ritual and myth and in the circumstances surrounding the installation of the *reth*.

[644] [182]

SOCIAL DIVISIONS

614 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

The Kwareth

565 614 644 This is the royal clan, the largest of all clans and, like the others, is spread through all parts of the country. All members trace their descent, in the male line, from Nyikang and only a member of the royal clan and one whose father has been a *reth* is eligible for election to the kingship. Within the *kwareth* are four main titles.

(a) *Reth* - The reigning king.
(b) *Nyireth* - The son or daughter of a *reth* - whether reigning or dead.

(1) See Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Oruru

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The oruru are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the oruru always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the oruru. 565 614 643

The Bong Reth

The *bong reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shilluk land, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bong reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 728 567 672

The *bong reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bong reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 644 608 644

The *bong reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bong* 565 644 614

614 585 644 *nyireth* and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

585 614 The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kwareth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kwareth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

643 [173] [175] The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

622 693 The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lou*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

63 622 The *jol doung par* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lou*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibudho.(1) 643 783

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. 173

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the union between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) Ibid., p.19.

643 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth*'s
644 sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not
649 allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth*'s sons from the time of their birth.

The Death of a Reth

649 The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was walled up alive in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at
[114] any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old. Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize the throne ".... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candidate of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events following a rebellion against the *reth*.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

[114] Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been given - apart from information by Nornal - by Howell and Thomson who were
643 in Shilluk land at the election of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and of his successor, King Anei in 1944. In the events described by them the political, ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree,
[614] for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.34-5.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Ching

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *ching*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female epiwith

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *epiwith*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

. . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nimer* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [837]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *epiwith* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *epiwith* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *epiwith*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *epiwith* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *epiwith* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *epiwith* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kaw*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *epiwith* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *epiwith*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [837]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into concurrence and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the list of the 644 836

[1] *Nyiwith*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 228.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *ayirith* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *ayirith* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *ayirith* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

644 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *ayiriths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *ayirith* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwureth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognised head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

711 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiok*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *mut* and the Dinka *thok de thiok*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which
[361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom
614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *orero*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*,
[558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but
[567] who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past
[712 *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who
735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *orero*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and,
582] apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang
[354] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though
171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial
643 units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[16] [1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of
233] 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·5 and the lowest 1:1·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *col dhano*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nya wic dhano*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a wano*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *okir* or *okir* (around-ing to ox) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwa* takes the *yang kwini* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *rwath rum* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwar* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two oxen which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Nuerland these might

"Shilleoks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mohamedism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organization of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Achmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazugle, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarize these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Funge and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 424. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).
4) Seligman, p. 423.
5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crawford to a certain extent).
6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Beuscily, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chatoway and Nalder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Soba.
7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER III.

The Elements of Shilluk Society.

565 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Reth*, *Ororo*, *Collo* and *Bang Reth*. The first two together comprise all the patrilineal descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although the *Kwar Reth*, and less so the *Ororo*, are usually treated with a certain outward defence by the *Collo*, little of the original practical difference between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the *Collo* vastly predominate. The *Kwar Reth* are simply an enlarged clan and account for perhaps a fifteenth of the tribe[12]. The *Bang Reth* are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Reth*, and the *Ororo*, who are as will later be seen a mere segment of the *Kwar Reth*, are numerically negligible.

The Kwar Reth.

The *Kwar Reth*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
566 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disjointed aristoc-
614 racy, physically indistinguishable from its *Collo* neighbours, sometimes
644 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk
[625] clan being exogamous the *Kwar Reth* cannot intermarry. Accordingly, with the exception of the *Reth's* daughters who cannot marry at all, they inter-marry with the *Collo* without restraint. Most, though not all of the *Reth's* wives are *Collo*.

Within the *Kwar Reth* there are four higher titles. These are
554 *Reth* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Reth*),
565 *Nyireth* for the son (or daughter) of a *Reth* (reigning or dead), *Nyāreth*
614 (or *Nyinyireth*) for a son of a *Nyireth* and *Kwar Nyireth* (elided into
644 *Kwanyreth*) for a grandson of a *Nyireth*. Strictly every member of the *Kwar Reth* has a claim to the title *Kwanyireth*, but in fact its use is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyireth* and any remoter descendant who has achieved some political eminence.

12. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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With the exception of *Reth*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

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The *Kwar Reth* is vastly bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the cunning process of dissemination whereby the *Kwar Reth* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

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The *Reth* has many wives,[13] most of whom live with him at Fashoda. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyireth*[14] is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"[15] into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief[16] who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hamlet of his adoption the *Nyireth* grows up and while small herds the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Pa Nyireth* and will be the village of the *Nyireth's* descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyireth* increase this original *Pa Nyireth* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kwar Reth* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kwar Reth* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kwar Reth*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kwar Reth* attain to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

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[361]

13. The wife of a *Reth* is known as *bareth*.

14. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyireth* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

15. *pidh* (used also for planting out cuttings in a flower bed).

16. The chief entrusted will often be the *bareth's* brother. In any case he cannot refuse this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyireth's* nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyireth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
● 644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
~~644~~ described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiroth* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tish mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of *Reth* Odak against the Anuak in which the Shilluk were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the *Reth's* sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Duwadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a *Reth* may be appointed, could never become *Reth*. Duwadh, the sole surviving *Nyireth*, in due course became *Reth* and forthwith degraded the lineages of all the slain *Nyireths* and made them "as *Collo*." In this way the *Kwar Reth* was restricted to the descendants of Duwadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "*Ororo*," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls." 565 614 644 558

It is said that the *Reth* has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of pruning the royal tree by this process of excising branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by *Reth* Duwadh on this occasion.[20] *Reth* Fadiet tried to degrade the lineage of *Reth* Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be *Ororo*. 614 643 644 558

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the *Reth* speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be *Kwar Reth*. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"[21] which is often used to describe the *Ororo*.

The *Ororo* play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed *Reth* and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of 565 614 644

20. It seems possible that in truth the old *Reths* used this device frequently and that the present *Ororo* are not really all sons of Duwadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the *Ororo* will ever say which is the particular son of Duwadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shilluk to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry. [124]

21. *bung kodh yi gen.*

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can
614 intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other
644 than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among
[643] his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers knowns as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
[727] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[735] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary
[614] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is
[682] of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Abogo, *Kwar* Muol, *Kwar* Nyileng and *Kwar* Ojul.

23. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jur, *Kwar* Othou and *Kwar* Okel.

24. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jung (who were originally Dinka).

25. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Oman (of Ogod).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under
●644 which *Bang. Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the
Bang Nyireth also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently
[614] beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by
[554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element
in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions,
[622] are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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173 26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Bucc and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abduhok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbah, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
● 644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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173 that Shilluk country once extended as far as Gordon's Tree which is just south of Khartoum. Whether there were Shilluk settlements permanently occupied in that area or whether this represents the furthest point to which they penetrated in raids and hunting parties is not certain.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and do not have any large scale migration in search of fresh pastures during the dry season. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the year round, and only the youths go into the cattle camps, which are never more than a few miles from the villages. The cattle camps are mostly situated on islands and dried out watercourses which run parallel to the river.

173 Territorially the country is divided into two great provinces Gerr and Luak. (Note 1) These two provinces are again divided into
631 further divisions, the functional meaning of which is difficult to discover, but which retain according to Shilluk tradition a vague feeling of mutual co-operation in times of stress. These divisions were made by order of Nyikang. In most cases these divisions have been utilized by the Government for administrative purposes. Finally the country is divided into a large number of settlements, which are made up of
[614] many villages. Shilluk clans are not territorial in basis for distinct lineages of one clan may live in many and widely separated settlements. The largest unit exclusively occupied by a kinship group is
[681] the village or *bac*.[2]

615 The Shilluk people are divided into four main classes or groups
614 of clans.
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(i) The Kwareth, the royal clan who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth*[3] is chosen.

(ii) The Ororo, a disinherited branch of the royal house, who do not differ fro[illegible]mmoners except in the special functions

2. See P. P. Howell, "The Shilluk Settlement": *S.N.R.* XXIV. 1941.

3. The word *reth* has often been translated as "king." We prefer to use the Shilluk term throughout.

For Notes see pp. 75 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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they perform in connection with the *reth*. They are a distinct clan. 565 614 [644]

(iii) The Colo—the name refers collectively to the main body of Shilluk clans (*kwa*), of which there are a large number — trace descent patrilineally from (a) the original followers of Nyikang, (b) those individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards and (c) those who are lost in antiquity, but who may have been the people who occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang: their traditions certainly confirm this

(iv) The Bang Reth, the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of the past *reths*, which are in many case inherited by the successor, and the descendants of the royal slaves obtained by capture from those who volunteer to serve the *reth* by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang, or paupers who volunteer to serve him in order to exist at all, and those persons who were enslaved because their brothers committed homicide 565 567 644

There is no real caste distinction between the Kwareth and Colo. Moreover the Kwareth are themselves a patrilineal clan and therefore exogamous, and there is no mutual ban on marriage between them and the main body of the people, except in the case of the *reth*'s daughters, who are not allowed to marry at all. The Kwareth, however by reason of their connection with Nyikang and previous *reths* are treated with special respect. 565 614 644 [582]

The Shilluk have less cattle than their Nuer and Dinka neighbours and being predominantly sedentary rely more upon agricultural products. Apart from cultivation—almost entirely millet—and the milk and meat from their cattle, the Shilluk supplement their diet with fish and they have the reputation among other tribes of being exceptionally skilled fishermen. Except for the more permanent territorial basis of their settlements, the basic social structure is very 105

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers. 643 776

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fafiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th *reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hoffmeyer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey. (*Vide* Appendix IV). 173 643

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these: 643

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*. [669]

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and [644]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 which he said were for his personal use at night, since they would not glint and reveal his movements.

[644 591] 4. All sons of *reths* are brought up in a village away from Fashoda (either their mother's or that of some Shilluk chief who has agreed to adopt them), and there lead a somewhat secluded life.

The king or *reth* of the Shilluk is a classic example of Frazer's conception of a divine king. The argument resolves itself into the following essentials:-

1. The king has power over nature, which may be exerted voluntarily or involuntarily.
2. He is considered the dynamical centre of the universe.
3. Hence the well-being of the universe depends upon his actions and the course of his life; both must therefore be carefully regulated.

The fourth essential, which Frazer stresses later in the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, is that of 'king killing.' By this he means that the physical condition of the king reacts upon the fortunes of his people and must not be impaired. Therefore, if the king shows signs of senility or physical imperfection, he must be removed, and a successor substituted.[4] The only way to remove him is to kill him. Among the Shilluk there is abundant and current evidence of the first three essentials both in the regulations which control the *reth*'s life and the rites and ceremonies performed at his installation. There is evidence also of 'king killing.' There are in fact two forms of 'king killing' among the Shilluk:-

(i) According to tradition the *reth* may be strangled or suffocated by his wives if he fails to satisfy them, or shows signs of illness or senility, which may effect the welfare of the tribe. This is supported by tradition only.

4. See C. G. Seligman. *Egypt and Negro Africa*. p. 4.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny dugge*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women [237] were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. 283 The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* Fadiet. None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of [644] water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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(P.P.H.)

The funeral dance of the late *reth* was held in his private village on 7th, 8th, 9th of November, 46 days after his death. The dance is known as *wowo* in Shilluk, and is different from that held for other members of the tribe, which is called *ywok*. 766

All arrangements are in the hands of the *kwareth*, and Colo chiefs have no say in the matter at all. At the outset there was considerable argument among the *kwareth* over the form of the dance and the length of time it should last. The new *reth* and the family of Fafiti took one side and some of the *kwareth* chiefs the other. This argument affords an interesting example of how the form of Shilluk tradition becomes blurred from lack of use and the attention which is paid to past precedents. It is worth noting in this context that the dance held in 1913 for *reth* Fadiet lasted for two days only in his private village (*i.e.* the village where he had lived before he succeeded to the throne), and that he had held no dance at all for his predecessor *reth* Kur, no doubt owing to the circumstances attending the end of Kur's reign. This neglect on the part of Fadiet so angered his successor Fafiti, that he hurled the royal drums into the Nile, refusing to beat them for Fadiet, who had not fulfilled his traditional obligations to Kur, and held the dance with Fadiet's own drums. Therefore the dance of Fafiti had to be held with his own drums, for the traditional royal drums no longer exist (Note 5). The *reth* and Fafiti's family maintained that the proper period for a royal funeral dance was four days in the private village of the late *reth*. Other *kwareth* said that it should be two days only in the village of the late *reth* followed by an optional dance in Fashoda lasting four days at the discretion of the *reth*-elect. It should be noted, however, that this claim goes back to events several generations ago, for no dance was held at Fashoda either for Kur or Fadiet and probably not for their predecessors, who died unnatural deaths during the Turkish administration and the Mahdia. The new *reth* declared his intention of holding a dance of four days at Fashoda after the ceremonies at Pareth Fafiti, but at the last minute the counsel of the *kwareth* must have prevailed, for the 644 182 766

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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182 766 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

[614] 766 The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorised persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 776 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return [644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 766 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Gelhainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Gelhainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :-- 631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth's* mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. [644 648 602]

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where [illegible] 361 766 778 [illegible] hoomstead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth's* burial. This

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766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[711] 703 The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and [535] danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *uwo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the 761 crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Duk, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard some-body say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [174]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Colo, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [64 64]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organisation became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries, and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of reths, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first reth.

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643 sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of
669 warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyiretik*, for
[623] only *nyiretiks* are eligible to become *retiks*. (It is for this reason that Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyiretiks* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *retik* (who will not be *retik* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolize his new status of what we may call *retik*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

631 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *retik*-elect starts
640 to receive the homage, unofficially and without ceremony, of the *chiefs*
of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross
643 discourtesy. The *retik's* brothers too all come, or should come, to
644 pay homage, and other *nyiretiks* as well. His brothers appear to bear

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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed." 643

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house prepared for him and went in. Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house. 643 778 [533 535]

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days. 643

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied [644]

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643 by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food,
[644] and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reth* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are
[372] ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reth*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice.
[114] Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munro in his account of the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reth* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reth* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up residence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

613 The *reth's* stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He
776 has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reth* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reth* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reth* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

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resentment at the new *reth's* presumption in occupying Fashoda at all becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies. 643 776

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were being made. The small grass huts called *adul*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands. 643

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived from Lul and passed through Debalo. This was the party responsible for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocoro in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not allowed to see them According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Atwrwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy. 643 778 [644] [787]

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reth had left his house, when they drew up on the north side of the village to take over the heifer which traditionally they must lead backwards from Debalo to Fashoda. This heifer, a brown one, had been brought into the village previously, and was already tethered in the centre. The Kwa Ojul, however, had brought with them the sheep over which the *reth* must step at Khor Arepejur. 643

Meanwhile the *reth's* body-guard and the Ororo were clustering round the entrance to the *reth's* hut. It was difficult to see any definite formation of clans at this point, and there was some confusion about positions, but the Kwa Okelo, and with them *Nya kwer*, who was completely surrounded by women, were in the centre of the village. Jago Yolsiker Ajang, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was much in evidence and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin (Note 8), and it was presumably his traditional duty to get the assembly into some order. [644]

From out of the *reth's* compound there first came his women attendants who had accompanied him from Fashoda and carried with them cooking materials and food in baskets (Note 9). Immediately after this the assembly drew up in roughly semi-circular formation facing the *reth's* hut and began to clap and sing in honour of the *reth*. The *reth* then appeared at the door of the homestead, and, stepping over a white sheep which had been pegged down in front of him, he stood with his back to the fence facing the multitude. The spear, wrapped in white cloth, and which together with the beads of Ororo is collectively known as Nyikang was brought out and held beside him. After much singing and acclamation the *reth* moved forward and, heavily guarded by the Ororo, took up his position in the centre of the village. The procession was then ready to start. Kwa Ojul, who never came into the centre of the village, began to drag the heifer backwards at the front of the procession, but abandoned the attempt lower down the slope. Thenceforth it was led in the normal way, but scarcely visible for the crowds who surrounded it. The party then moved off in the direction of Fashoda, and a white bull, which had been tethered in the centre of the village alongside the heifer already mentioned. [644] [778]

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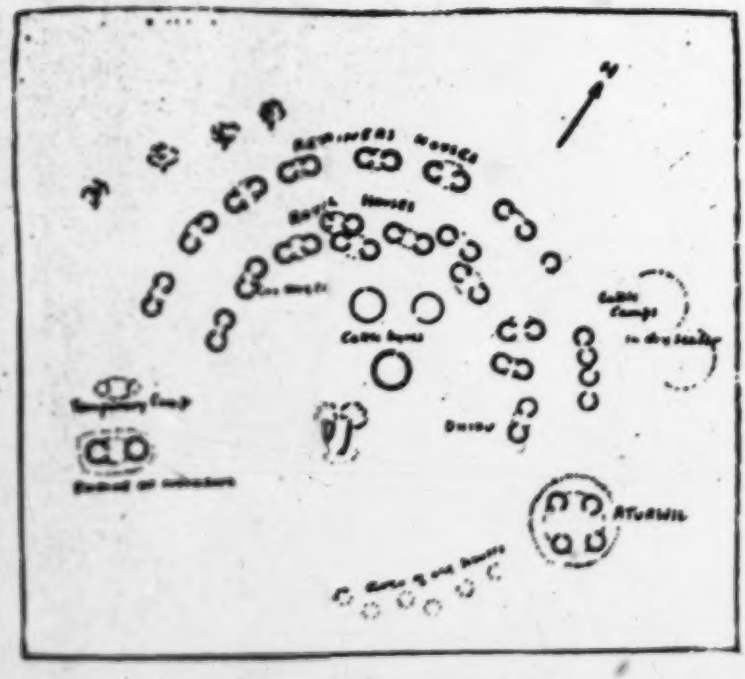

SKETCH MAP OF FASHODA

[FACING P. 66]

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643 of fire ceremonially at Debalo has already been mentioned. This ceremony completed the first day. Nothing further occurred, though members of the Kwar Nyikwom danced and sang during the night, and sporadic drumming could be heard until the early hours of the morning.

INTERVAL.

During the two days after the *reth's* formal installation on the sacred stool no public ceremonies occurred. The *reth*, still in strict seclusion, moved only at night, and the rites enacted were conducted in secrecy. To the bulk of the people his whereabouts remained unknown. It appears that he spent one night in Adul (11th—12th March) and that the ceremony of tying on the sacred bead of Acoro took place on the morning of the 12th March. It was not possible [124] to witness any of these rites, and inquiries were met with evasion. An air of reticence and mystery veiled the scene. On the evening of the 12th and after dark, the *reth* went up into the mound Aturwic, and it is said he was enticed away by a woman of the Ororo (*nyororo*), leaving behind him *nyakwer*, the girl of Kwa Okel who had accompanied him from Debalo. During the night of 13th-14th the *reth* visited Dhidu, a house which is below the mound of Aturwic and nearest of all houses to it. This visit must also remain a mystery. Answers [124] were evasive and probably deliberately misleading, though some informants said it was the house occupied by the Ororo girl.

THE FOURTH DAY.

643 644 The ceremonies of the fourth day centre round the person of *nyakwer* and emphasise the continued opposition between Nyikang and the *reth*-elect. *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies", who is provided for the occasion by the Kwa Okel, and who accompanied the *reth* from Debalo, had entered the temporary camp Adul with the *reth*. Thus far her status and the part she plays in the ceremonies had remained obscure. It was not clear whether she could be regarded

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as the wife of the *reth* or not. The answer depended on the cattle which had been handed over to the Kwa Okel by the *reth*, and whether they are considered bride-wealth or merely a reward for her services, in the same way as the sheep and cattle given to other expert functionaries who assist. The Shilluk say that the girl does not remain the wife of the *reth* and is handed to some favoured subject after the ceremonies are over. Up to this period in the ceremonies it was therefore problematical to us whether she is regarded as wife at all. The world *kwer* means literally "ceremony or ritual", and the girl is sometimes called *nyaroiny*, *roiny* being the term used for the induction ceremonies. This gives no clue to her status, but points to the ritual nature of her functions. The ceremonial acting of the fourth day, however, makes it quite clear that the cattle are indeed bride-wealth, and that she is regarded as the *reth's* wife, at any rate for the duration of the ceremonies.

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According to tradition, *nyakwer*, remains with the *reth* in seclusion in the temporary camp outside Fashoda until the second night, when he is enticed away by a girl of the Ororo, who induces him to follow her up into the mound called Aturwic. *Nyakwer*, neglected and forgotten, is left in the temporary camp, until Nyikang steals out from his shrine and carries her off with him. Only on the morning of the fourth day does the *reth* notice her absence and call for an explanation. The chief of the Kwa Okel, "the father of the girl", is summoned by the chief of Gol Dhiang, and is questioned by the *reth*. He denies all knowledge of her whereabouts. "Why do you not know?" demands the *reth*, "Have I not married her with cattle which are now in your possession? Go, bring her back to me." The chief of Kwa Okel goes off in search of her, but returns shortly afterwards to say that he has heard that Nyikang has seized her. He is ordered by the *reth* to fetch her, and goes off to request her return from Nyikang, using the *jago* of the Kwa Nyikwom as an intermediary. "Whose cattle are these?" says Nyikang, "Are they the *reth's* or are they mine?" (Note 19). The *jago* of Kwa Okel returns to the *reth*

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643 with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this
644 time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth*'s demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second
613 battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning
541 Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon.
[533 Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song
535] indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at
[778] their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

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SPEECH DAY.

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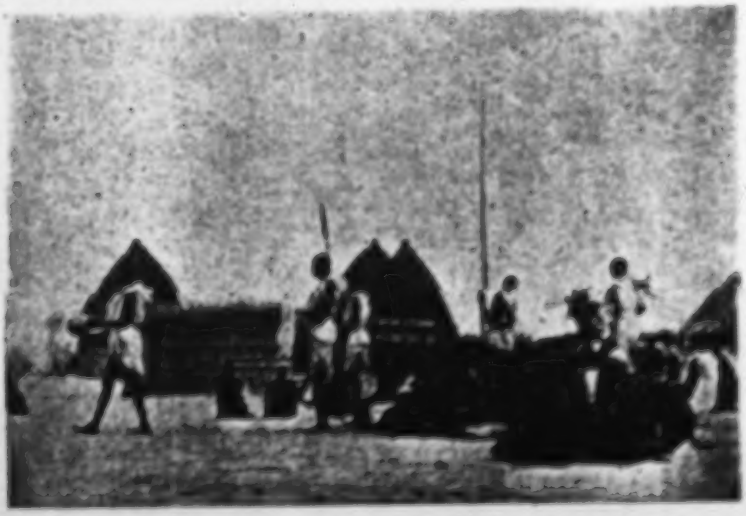
1.—Each chief, after making his speech, sticks a spear into the ground before the reik as a sign of homage.



2.—The reik's party below Atwrwir, with the spears and shield of Nyikang. The drummer in front is beating a tattoo as a sign of appreciation of the speech just delivered.

[FACING p 70]

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643 their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reth* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reth* was confirmed [693] as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all [202] the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At [778] the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reth* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters; he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray shine over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reth* was led down [644] the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached [245] the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly. 643 [293]

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn, and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyiliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground. 537 631 643 644

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognize you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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537 631 643 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reik* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reik* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reik*. Then the *reik* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reik*. "I have become your *reik*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 The assembly then arose, and the *reik* moved over to where the white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this came the final ceremony. The *reik*, accompanied by a few chosen followers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reik* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reik* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourite house of his father *reik* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reik* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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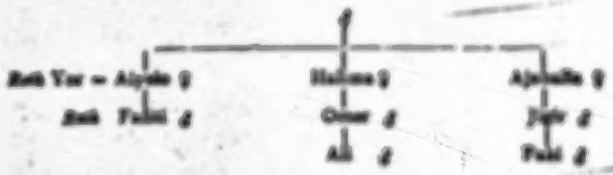
Note to Introduction.

2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

Notes to Part I

3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below:—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Faditi's mother's sisters, were present.

The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no funeral dance for *reth* Kuc hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizontally upon forked sticks.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life.

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Hoasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there.

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ouro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *nyimik* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fadiet in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up.

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *lawik*, *i.e.* will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1946.

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

Alhudowic stands had been plastered with smooth mud from top to bottom.

8. *Fanyikang.*

As in 1944 the sacred shrine of Nyikang at Fanyikang was thrown down and rebuilt after the ceremonies.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the unconditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwor. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*)[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional [643] manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kor *wad* Fadiri.

It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and 643 mourning ceremonies (*ocwo*) are to take place in close consultation with the ● 644 kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with 428 the *ocwo*[1] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact 766 there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adieng, had taken wealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. 643 The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be 766 completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[1]

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[767] [2] The *ocwo*, originally descended from *rath* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[1] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

A [i.e., with Fadiri. – Ausly?]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the senior and the rank bands

After three nights in seclusion in Dekaka, during which his followers are removing from the south, the rich is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by Nyakwer, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his child and spear-bearers and his army, the rich marches on the capital, crossing Jonglei on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (Ciwjiw) nearby. 693

The submission on the sacred mound

In front of this shrine the sacred mound of Shilluk kings, the hoom, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the rich takes his place. This act of submission and subjugation, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the rich is possessed by the spirits of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the rich is carried to a temporary camp (*Alal*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ocwa*. [783 694]

The visit to Akwerwi

On the next evening, he ascends into *Akwerwi*†, the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is carried there by a woman of the *ocwa*, having Nyakwer behind, kingcrow and neighbord. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has wined her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd; these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as rich.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the rich comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the rich succeeds in wounding Nyakwer from Nyikang and retires into *Akwerwi* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the rich and then follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those chiefs who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The rich has now been accepted by Nyikang where official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akwerwi. [694 695]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the rich, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the rich and, after declaring his allegiance, exhorts him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The rich is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 691 693

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the more important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of rich Fidhi in 1917, rich Anei in 1944 and rich Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a rich is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of rich Kur wad Fidhi which follows, it will be 693

† Variously spelt: *Awerwi*, *Ahadwerwi*, *Akwerwi*.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

63 purpose. Secondly, it was clear that many persons from the southern Shilluk assumed that he would remain there for at least three nights before proceeding to Fashoda and were therefore too late to attend the ceremonies.

I reached Kwom, near Debaio, on the morning of the 6th February. At that early hour there was little activity, though many of the *reth's* followers were to be seen clustered round Debaio. There followed the usual delay while *Awa Ojal*, the clan whose duty it is to provide a heifer which is led backwards in front of the *reth* as he leaves for Fashoda,* were still arguing about the number of spears and other articles they should receive as their reward; *Awa* Okela who provide *Nyakwer*, the "girl of the ceremonies," who accompanies the *reth* and plays such an important part in the installation, were also late. Finally, towards midday, all was ready. Messengers had arrived to say that Nyikang was on the move, and after enjoying over the bull and the performance of the usual ritual associated with this occasion, the *reth* and his company set out for Fashoda. I watched the procession depart and as far as I could make out the formation of the bodyguard and the position of the clans was the same as in 1944, though a great deal less orderly in the initial stages of the journey. Since Mr. J. C. N. Donald (who had attended the installation of *reth* Anei and of *reth* Dak) and Mr. Udal were present, I decided to leave the *reth's* party and to move onwards to follow the army of Nyikang. Mr. Udal has recorded the details of the *reth's* march as follows:

"In fact it was not until nearly 12.30 p.m. that the procession finally set off to meet the forces of Nyikang. The *reth* appeared wearing a Mrs. Grey envelope skin surrounded by his family entourage including *Nyakwer*, his baggage carried on a retainer's head and the shield-bearer carrying the small shield of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth. In addition to his own police in their scarlet *lues*, the *reth* on his own initiative had arranged that the two Government police, stationed at Debaio for the occasion, should escort him and they accompanied him throughout the ceremonies. A bull was efficiently cast for the *reth* to step over and with that the procession moved off at a brisk pace. There was no stop for refreshments at the merchant's shop at Kwom which had been honoured by *reth* Anei on his way to the installation in 1944. Not until the *Ikor Ameijar* was reached did the cavalcade, deployed in extended line, come to a halt.

"The time was now about 1 p.m. On the northern bank of the watercourse the forces of Nyikang could be seen drawn up in wide formation and the effigies stood out distinctly at some quarter of a mile's distance. Two messengers from Nyikang were waiting in the bed of the watercourse, and the black bull, over which the *reth* must step, was also in evidence. A brief conversation was held with Nyikang's messengers who then returned to their master. In the meantime singularly inadequate attempts were made to cast the black bull, which delayed the proceedings by charging its captors and running away down *Ikor Ameijar*, from which it was only recovered with difficulty. Finally it was well and truly cast, and the *reth's* forces crossed the watercourse with much dancing and advanced to meet the forces of Nyikang."

* See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1956, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.]

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (*pun dong*), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth.

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhek who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship.

As soon as the Nyiorth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuewu (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Pulhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Gulhanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkungo and Reth in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debabo Kwam there are some people carving ivories. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front of their villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passing along that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tunga paddle for south in their canoes to Lake Nu to fetch the ambatch (*dimai Nyikango*).

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debabo Kwam south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debabo there is a little herd of cattle from Fathow which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debabo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyath and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again.

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adar Nyiggo, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debabo.

* Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debuio run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debuio until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debuio. The spear from the shrine at Bel and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

New spears are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debuio to Fashoda the coronation is not postponed, but the people at once raise a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyimith—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the rainmaker chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Ambatior near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy winding people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circumambulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two body members with the image of Nyikango on his shoulder. These two members are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyjyeth holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with the Reth keeping the little bowl of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debuio. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debuio, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and cleaning their place. This work is done

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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SHILLUK "ROYAL" LANGUAGE CONVENTIONS.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

THE Shilluk divide themselves with great distinctness into two divisions, namely "Royal Head" (Shil., KWAR RETH) and "Shilluk" (Shil., COLLO). KWAR RETH includes, with the exception of a single distant branch called the "Otora," all the living patrilineal descendants of the semi-mythical but historical Nyikang Okwa, who, in about 1500, is supposed to have led a party from the neighbourhood of Wau into the present Shilluk country. 565 644

Within the KWAR RETH there are three higher titles. These are *Reth* for the reigning king; *Nyiretk*, for the son of a king, reigning or dead; and *Nyaretk* or *Nyinyiretk*, for the son of a *Nyiretk*. All other members of the KWAR RETH are entitled *Kwar Nyiretk*, which is divided into *Kwa'nyiretk*. All KWAR RETH should be addressed by prefixing their title to their names or else by the use of their titles alone, an exception to this being that you never address the Reth as *Reth* but use the appellation *Wau*. [57 55]

The Shilluk say that they found the Fung in the present Shilluk country and that they drove them out northwards. Unfortunately, however, many remained as an inferior caste, and there are still traces of a Kwar Fung (Fung chiefs). The remaining Fung, together with the apparently small band of Shilluk who accompanied Nyikang, presumably form, with subsequent accretions, the ancestors of the COLLO. Nyikang and his sons are the ancestors of the KWAR RETH. 173 565 549

When using the Shilluk language it is important not only to use the proper title when addressing a member of the KWAR RETH but also to make certain deferential modifications in some words and expressions. Only some of these modifications are necessary when addressing a mere *Kwa'nyiretk* (largely those of implying divine intervention in all verbs of motion), but when addressing the Reth certain fictions have to be borne constantly in mind. [57] 549 644 195

For example, the *Reth* and, less rigorously, District Commissioners and their assistants do not sleep. Strangely enough, they go out to graze (Shil., *bwai*). They never exist unaided. When not more specifically 195 644 644

[p. 319]

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabling a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Keka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang drews near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dobalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dobalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoith of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17th, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret.

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by Westermann, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping an ox that daily is following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Fumkang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and also the official residence of the Ret[1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak[2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodjok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a past between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all run at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as Do-Ket', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and relegated to Do-Ket' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang: his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Adar son of Abol Ahong of Akwom.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry stews symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ye bin, ye bin* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, *Faditi* was taken across in his tarur (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service *Faditi* gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish *Faditi*, who in accordance with custom was dressed in the ordinary Shilluk lua (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel[10]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[10] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwor (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of town).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kalo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the meal for the Tokki (lunch cake). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Kalo, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 109 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Ogilvie, of Doleib Hill).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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173 To the west and north was the desert inhabited by peoples
174 greater and stronger than themselves and prepared to dispute their advance in that direction; on the east the Nile ran, and behind them were the swamplands, and Dinka. They had no choice then but to stay in the country where
131 they are found today, a narrow belt of land extending
361 from Tonga in the south to Kaka in the north, a distance of about 150 miles. Inland Shilluk settlements may be found 15 miles away from the river, but generally their villages, containing from two to twenty or thirty families, stand no further than a mile or two from its banks, straggling along the whole length of the country. Since their first settling there some hardy souls have crossed the Nile and founded foothold on its eastern bank which they have gradually extended until they occupy a strip of land stretching from opposite Kodok in the north to the River Sobat in the south, and along that river for a distance of 30 miles or so. The nature of the country on the other side, however, does not differ from that of their original settlement, and the powerful Dinka tribe has always opposed their progress inland, so that those who have gone to live on the eastern bank are no better off than they were before.

565 The social structure of the Shilluk tribe is built up from a division of the people into four classes or castes. These classes are not however exclusive, for they live together in the same villages, share common tasks and recreations and even intermarry. The basis of the division is the possession of royal blood, or, ultimately, descent from Nyikang.

565 The first class is that of the Kwareth, the Royal Clan. To
• 644 this belong all those who are members of the royal houses tracing their ancestry directly to Nyikang. Only a member of this class is eligible for election as king. The first four generations of a king's descendants are recognised as being of royal blood and are entitled to the privileges of royalty.
[304 Thus they are permitted to retain all their teeth, they may
301 wear an anklet of small white beads, and more than one
292 according to the nearness of descent; they alone may dress in a leopard skin for a dance.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[681] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth clan may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same clan, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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342 Meanwhile a shallow pit is dug nearby, and to the broken soil sand and water are added, the mixture being puddled by vigorous treading till it has the consistency of a thick, sticky paste. When the rope weaving is finished, this mud paste is plastered on the wall within and without at the same time, until the whole is a solid mass about a foot thick. Another party of men is busy in the meantime preparing the framework of the roof; the older men make six thick rings of grass completely bound around with rope, graded from twelve feet to one foot in diameter; the younger men select six straight tree branches about seven feet long and as thick as a man's arm, and bind these to the largest of the grass rings with rope to form the base of a cone. The remaining rings are then tied inside the cone from base to apex which is then overlaid with millet stalks, securely fastened, and the framework is now complete and ready for lifting on to the top of the wall. These various stages of the operation are marked by the drinking of beer; the bowls are first filled when the mud is slapped on to the wall, a second time when the walls are finished off, and lastly when the roof is secured in its place. This marks the end of community labour, for the thatching can be done by one man assisted by a boy to throw the bundles of grass up to him.

342 476

342 The thatcher begins at the base of the roof tying bundles of fine grass around the edge to form the eaves; the bundles overlap and hang about a foot over the edge of the framework. Sheaves of coarser grass are laid over these and fastened into position by rope laced through the millet stalks of the framework; at the apex the grass is gathered to a point, tightly bound with rope and neatly trimmed off. When the thatching is done, the women clean up the floor inside the hut and smooth it over with mud so that it has a firm, cement-like surface, and the house is then ready for occupation. This is a typical Shilluk dwelling; the king's own house may be a little better built and more elaborately thatched, but it will not differ in size or construction from this. Tradition must be observed, and as long as the king is content to live in a round house with mud walls, no window and only

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a small hole for entrance, no Shilluk may dare to build himself, say, a square hut, or improve the light and ventilation of the traditional dwelling by putting in a window.

The Shilluk is a fine fisherman, adept in the use of harpoon, fishing spear and net. The harpoon he uses consists of a loose barbed head of iron which is fitted into the socket of a long bamboo pole to which it is attached by a length of thin but extremely strong twine. When a large fish is caught on the barb, it jerks the head from the socket, and is then played by the fisherman until he is able to finish it off with his fish spear. The spear itself is normally used in the shallows of the river or swamp; the man casts it repeatedly into the soft mud as he walks along, hoping to spear the mud fish which lie in great numbers under the surface.

The use of the net by an expert is a delightful thing to watch; the net is large, fine-meshed and circular in shape, weighted round the edge with pieces of lead. The fisherman gathers it in folds over one arm and casts it with a clean, effortless sweep; it falls lightly on the water in a perfect circle, sinks slowly to the bottom and then is slowly gathered in. If it is empty, it is folded and cast again with the same easy, graceful motion.

Fishing is done all the year round by individuals, but the real season is from March to May when the river and the large inland water-courses (the khors) are at their lowest level. During this time several villages will combine together to fish a certain khor, and as women as well as men join in, it becomes a real community effort. The day before that appointed for the fishing, men will go to the khor and block up its outlets, then on the day itself there is a general exodus from the villages, the men carrying harpoons and spears, and canoes if the river has to be crossed, the women carrying heavy nets, and cooking pots too if the start is early. Arrived at the khor, the women fix the nets on poles firmly pushed into the deep mud, side by side, right across one end, leaving no way of escape. The men line up abreast at the other end and move slowly towards the nets, thrusting into the mud

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily
797 I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs
[195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's
[594] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the
[237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the
[513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptized him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the evening feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [481]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] 574 [864]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's house for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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[144 [108] born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from [149 Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

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51/ 513 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated 514 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

515 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*ocwoji Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his *ninimar* (*yiel kwoma*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the male hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fo rok* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Bonhoure told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyikang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tonga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fo rok* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyakwai and Yor Adondo ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyakwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Makkal and Wakjok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Anywic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Hemry writes that unless the king takes a

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Rot Fadiet wad Kwaiker died on February 25th, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Rotship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shuti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Rotship, and Fadiet wad Tor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shuti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Rot to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Rot, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Rot Kwaiker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Rotship makes it essential for the new Rot to be the son of a previous legitimate Rot, thus Shuti did not have the proper qualifications.) Fadiet wad Tor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Rotship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Rot-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the mutured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fadiet himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Rot as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of great insecurity. Fadiet therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also sudwich for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 106. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of sudwich, covered with light blue cloth, and with a resembled mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

631 segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-
[721] Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous settlements to combine for war against other settle-
631 ments or under the leadership of an outstanding
619 personality, but such combinations were not permanent, or even consistent enough for us to
[177] speak of them as political groups. The Turkish
648 Administration tried to give greater consistency to them so that they could be used as administrative units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has done the same and calls them divisions and appoints a chief for each. Previously they appear to have been little more than districts or localities, and the only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of settlements were those of Ger, northern Shillukland, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than an administrative character, and those of Muomo and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern and southern marches of Shillukland, whose functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly, Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of
631 the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwet (19) and Nyadok (20). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule differing from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang dang*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151-2.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-trading and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken Islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

GOVERNMENT OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom[1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

SUCCESSION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Nyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal houses in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the oldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadjut is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Kor. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of Tij; at the death of the king from the house of Tij it will be the turn of the house of *Fadjak*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Kor, but not to a son of *Fadjut*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadjut*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his oldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

1) "King" is in Shilluk *rēl* or *rēl*; in other literature the word "reader" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called *mek*, which is a contraction of the Arab *malik*.

566 174 On the coming of Nyikang into the Shilluk country, would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word Obiang, which, as is shown on page 111, is connected with *Nyiang*, and means a descendant of *Kiang*, also designates only an unlikely members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used, but it is well known as Fadiella, the seat of the royal court.

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Bohinen", called by them *Dyo*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Bohinen (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Bohinen came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Fatoo, a sub-district of Nyagic; they are known here as good cultivators of corn. Originally these were driven into this district by the Shilluk's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 dwellings; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Bohinen play a certain role in the election of the king, vide page 121 f. They bear the title *Nahwi*. RELATIONS WITH THE BOHINEN

649 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Invited by Anuak, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peacefully now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them. RELATIONS WITH THE DINKA

There are a few Bahr Daggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase corn from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the wells at Amra. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fa ghak* "village of cattle"). RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

174 South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 3 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common CONSTANT SHIFTS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

fire and sword.

In 1821 the Turkish-Egyptian troops under Ismail Pasha occupied the country and defeated the Funj in the battle of Abu Naka.

Apart from these expeditions towards the Blue Nile the Shilluk of the White Nile have frequently waged wars against the Dinka and Nuer, of which their traditions tell. More recently they suffered from slave-raiding raids by Arabs and Turks, undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle and slaves.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SHILLUK KINGDOM

a) By the Turks. As early as 1821—1822 the Sudan was conquered by the Turkish-Egyptian government, and was considered as part of the Turkish empire; but this hardly affected the political situation of the Shilluk kingdom, the Turkish rule not being strong enough to make its influence felt, except in keeping an innumerable heavy taxes in cattle and corn, and in making slave raids.

b) By the Baggara Sudan. In 1861 the Baggara Sudan under Faki Muhammed Kiwe invaded the Shilluk country and plundered it thoroughly. Muhammed Kiwe married the daughter of the Shilluk king and practically made himself the ruler of the country. —* In the same year Sir Samuel Baker started for his expedition into the Sudan. His description of the Sudan at this period gives a unfamiliarly picture of the results of Egyptian rule. He describes the provinces as mostly ruined and only governed by military force, the revenue unequal to the expenditure, and the country paralysed by excessive taxation; the existing conditions rendered these expenses so overwhelming to the Sudan that their maintenance could only be accounted for by the fruits of the slave trade. — On this expedition Baker founded the military post of Tewfikia on the right bank of the White Nile, near the mouth of the Sobat; this place has since then continuously been considered as a station for troops.

AND SHILLUK KINGDOM

On Ismail Pasha coming to the throne in 1863 orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued and on Baker's return journey in 1865, he found an Egyptian camp of 1000 men established at Kodok in the Shilluk country for the purpose. — Khartoum was at that time the headquarters of the slave traders, who carried on their traffic under the cloak of legitimate commerce. The traders organized armies of brigands, and formed chains of stations, of about 300 men each, throughout their districts, which they had leased from Government. Raids were made on native tribes, who were obliged to submit, by the country, or ally themselves to the slave hunters, to be used against other tribes.

CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK KINGDOM 1874

In 1874 the Shilluk country was finally occupied by the Egyptians and became a province of the Turkish empire.

In 1874 Charles Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and at the close of the same year he could report to the Egyptian Government that the slave trade on the White Nile had received a deadly blow.

* The following data table with two exceptions been taken from The A. S. S.

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During Gordon's absence in 1875, the Shilluk tribes in the neighbourhood of Kodok rose in rebellion against the oppression of the Government, and, had it not been for the presence of Gessi, an Italian adventurer who had joined Gordon's staff, Kodok would probably have been lost.

REBELLION OF THE SHILLUKS 1875

A great cause of disturbance in the Sudan was the appearance of the Mahdi Muhammed Ahmed, a native of Dongola, he began his career in 1881. The Shilluks and their country were in many ways affected by these troubles; not only did they with their own troops fight against the Mahdi, but their young men also formed a considerable and valuable part of the Anglo-Egyptian army.

DISTURBANCES OF THE MAHDI, BEGINNING IN 1881

The Mahdists extended their invasions far into the Sudan and took possession also of the Shilluk country. But in 1891 the Shilluks rebelled against their oppressors; an Emir of the Mahdi Zaki, Tummal, was sent thither to quell the rebellion, with a force chiefly consisting of the Gellabat men who had fought bravely against the Abyssinians in 1889. During the whole of 1891 the war against the Shilluks continued, the Mahdists ("Dervishes") on more than one occasion being heavily defeated, and the communications between Omdurman, the residence of the Khalifa, and Bahr el Jebel being completely interrupted. Two persons had much to do with the world in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilluks; desperate efforts were now made by the Dervishes to effect their ransom. In August, 1891, the Nuers were used as allies by the Dervishes, and succeeded in killing the king of the Shilluks. Soon afterwards, however, the Nuers turned against their allies and expelled them from the country north of Kodok, whilst the Shilluks inflicted a severe defeat on their enemy near Kodok in December, 1891, and again in January, 1893. The war was waged with relentless cruelty till 1894, when the Dervishes finally crushed the Shilluks and captured their king's wife. After that the Dervishes merely kept a small war-smashing outpost at Kodok.

On the 10th September, 1898, Kitchener left Omdurman for the north with five gunboats and troops, and having destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Rosk, arrived at Kodok on the 19th, where he found the French expedition under Marchand. He left a garrison at Fort Sobat. This place has been relinquished since as a military post.

On 19th January, 1899, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Egypt, defining the status of the Sudan, and laying down broad principles for its government.

In the same year, on the 24th November, the power of the Khalifa Abdullah, who was the successor of Muhammed Ahmed, was finally defeated by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Um Dibreikat; the Khalifa himself was killed. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish dominion in the Sudan.

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE KHALIFA 1899

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EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS 1898

In summer 1898 an Abyssinian force came down the Sobat. It arrived at Fobat towards the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kor Wat Dyedok (*Rajaf*) was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadyet Wat Kwai Kor (*Kir*), is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a British officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo-Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of cordiality and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at such stations occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at those stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 140 members; a boys' school with an enrolment of 110; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage at home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrolment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrolment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrolment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrolment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

D:Westermann E-5 (9910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

777 extended from Alexandria to Assuan and where Evangelical Church members and adherents were going into the Sudan in considerable numbers as Government employees, should extend its work to the Sudan. Accordingly, the Rev. J. H. Giffen, D. D., and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin were commissioned as the first missionaries of the proposed Mission. They reached Omdurman in December, 1900. For some time, a rigorous prohibition of the Government forbade all missionary work among the Moslems of Northern Sudan. The work was therefore limited to the Evangelical and other Christian communities. In March, 1901, work was begun at Dolaib Hill, among the black tribes of Southern Sudan. In establishing this mission station practically everything remained to be done. Houses needed to be provided; at first of mud, later of burnt brick, and later still of concrete. Provisions needed to be secured and gardening became a necessity, for no vegetables or fruit were to be had unless grown by the missionaries themselves. Problems of health became acute, as life and work were thus undertaken in a region and a climate where hitherto no white community had established itself. To these difficulties were added those of safety from wild animals, and especially innumerable snakes which infested the place until the land was somewhat cleared by agriculture. There were also the problems of establishing just and sympathetic relations with the people of the neighborhood. The early attitude of suspicion which prevailed is well illustrated by the following 777 incident narrated by the Rev. Dr. Giffen in his interesting book "The Egyptian Sudan."

648 "We had been there for some months, and thought we had gained much confidence from the people. We had a friend visiting us and this chief, Atio, had called in honor of our guest. After some conversation, our friend said to Atio: 'Now you have a good and righteous Government; it will protect you, and will help you; it will fight your battles if need be. And these missionaries will teach your children, will help you to cultivate your lands, will find a market for your grain, and they have The Book and will teach you of God; you ought now to be quiet and peaceable. Till your lands and care for your lands.'

"After a good deal of deliberation and smoking, Atio laid his pipe aside and replied: 'Master, you speak well. We had here the Turks (the old Egyptian Government) and they said, "Be submissive to us; we will protect you, we will fight your battles for you, we will teach you of God." But they took our cattle, they destroyed our villages, and carried our women and children into slavery, and they are gone. Then came the Ansar (the Mahdists) and they said: "Come with us, we have a great army; we will care for you and protect you; we will give you plenty to eat, and a good place to live; we have The Book and we will teach you of God". But they slew our men, and right here

D.Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

where these administrators built their houses many of our men fell fighting for their women and children. They took away our cattle, destroyed our villages, carried off our women and children, and they too have gone. Now you come and say: "We will care for you; we will protect you; we will fight for you; we have *The Book*; we will teach you." Master, you speak well; but we will see.'

"This brief, pathetic story, a review of their whole history, reveals everything."

The supreme problem in the new work was, however, the language, for the Shilluk language had never been reduced to writing, neither was any grammar of the language in existence. The administration sent to the Southern Sudan mission field laboured successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages. However, the Rev. Ralph Cuzzey and the Rev. Elliott McCreary especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remained for the efforts with which this book is connected to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language. These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the Trustees of the Arlington Fund, to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan is operated.

Among the successes of missionary work during the brief period of about a decade which has elapsed since this work was begun, may be mentioned the following important achievements: the ministry to the religious life of many Christians, Egyptians, Levantines and Europeans who entered the Sudan in Government service; the establishment of promising centers and of both educational and medical missionary institutions whose Christian influence is steady and far-reaching; the solution of problems of health, of residence and of agricultural possibilities; the solid foundations laid for the mastery of the language; the winning of the sympathy of the people; and, finally, a hopeful beginning in the winning of souls to Christianity and in the awakening of a spirit of inquiry in a much larger circle.

The most serious problem is the rapid advance of Islam into pagan territory through the aggressive efforts of Moslem traders and the pervasive influence of military posts at which are stationed Moslem troops.

his lineage in the settlement and, if he is a representative of the dyal lineage, he will have a special status as representing the owners of the land and the rain will cease his terrible. The hamlet headman has charge of affairs within his unit and represents his people in external affairs.

The Gol Leader

The owner of a homestead is responsible for the ceremonial welfare of his gol, but has no special status. The correspondence between temporal divisions and their representatives may be charted as below. (After Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7.)

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY
Shilluk Tribe	The Reth
Lath & Gwr Provinces	Chiefs of Gol Nyikang & Gol Dwong
Northern & Southern Northern	Chiefs of Nuem & Tokpa
·····Division (Lath)·····	·····Division or Court Chief·····
Settlement (Fruth)	Fagu
Hamlet (Fur)	Jol county pur
Homestead (Gol)	Jol Gol

(Dotted line indicates permanent administrative divisions with chiefs made by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. Previously, there were no permanent intermediate territorial units between the two provinces and northern and the settlements.)

THE RETH'S POLITICAL POWER

The actual degree of power possessed by the reth has been a matter for dispute among anthropologists. The majority of the early writers stressed his power and authority. Seligman writes, "The Shilluk king is absolute head temporal and spiritual..."(1) Westermann and others have said likewise. Evans-Pritchard and other recent writers suggest that in administrative matters, the reth is not so powerful.

The chiefs of settlements and the hamlet heads are confirmed in their offices by the reth. In no case, however, does he nominate them, for they are elected by the people of the units they represent in either of these positions on heads of lineages dominant in the area. Likewise the chiefs of the provinces and of the northern and southern northern are traditionally determined and persons who are eligible cannot be passed over for reasons of political expediency. On the other hand, the chiefs owe their reth certain duties and are responsible to him for the state of their districts and their inhabitants, for defence of the settlement area and for the collection of tribute. If there is a choice of candidates for any position, each having the necessary ability and lineage qualifications, it is conceivable that the reth might use his influence to have as chief the man most amenable to his wishes; otherwise he appears to have little chance of exerting influence on the choice of his local officials.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.[illegible].

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL.

IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. As isolationism of Shilluk law and authority is one may because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with curiosity and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the Mahdiya and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinances of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the reth.' *Africa*, vol. 1, 1951. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. F. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1951 F323 Shilluk F323

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*kol*), and 'settlements' (*pull*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a contiguous territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*nur*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wad*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial organization of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pur*: pl. *ayer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ar*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwo*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F223 Shilluk F221

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher.

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Lately, the Administration has made attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then discovered with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the status of concubines and prostitutes.* This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and men have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

* Encouraged perhaps by the renewal of customary punishments. The 1948 meeting of the Shilluk Council (1951) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a cut and half decorating her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitoes to bite her.
(3) Breaking her in a closed up house.
(4) Breaking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her non-mortal correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but leaving with a stick is also forbidden.

9.Howell E-A (1937-1950) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

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The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and unseen deity is called Juok. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is Juok but Juok is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he thus exists both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*fawach*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached and is the human intercessor for mankind with God. Voluntarily by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which exert upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fertility of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less closely, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),[3] though some might resist his more mundane powers.'[4]

The Problem of Authority

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The extent of the *reth's* authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedures, especially in the past, and an answer must be attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1821 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, some then it has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called 'Indirect Rule', through the agency of the *reth*. However unsuccessful this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *spirit*[5] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang to Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka cult of Deng has sometimes found favour with mature Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though it has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

9.Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1954 F223 Shilluk F221

is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the rulers of that period were no more than puppets.

Kwoldhier, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish "Mudir" at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwoldhier followed. The south was defeated, and Kwoldhier died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kodok in 1871, Kwoldhier, son of Kwoldhier, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kwoldhier joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kwoldhier was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Tur, son of *reth* Akwa, who had served the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The supporters of the Mahdia, however, did not continue under the regime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Tur was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zaki Tamal near Tonga. He successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Abel, a son of Kwoldhier, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for "unjust and oppressive" actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1907. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Cori, son of *reth* Ajang, Fadiet, son of Tur, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1907 and ruled until 1945. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth-elect*, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fadiet.

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fadiet in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawdo wad Kur, who was exiled in 1916. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the

[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1911, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomas, op. cit., p. 71, i.e. those living in Lasik. The division into Lasik and Gurr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Provincial Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and has some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

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traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with frequent minor adjustments, until 1929 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to formulate definite conclusions on the rath's political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primitive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk community, apart from external influences, represents "politically organized society", and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term "public law".

There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the Mahdia. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute heard by the Turkish "Mudir" or Governor at Fashoda, says: "He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . ." After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bride-wealth, he adds, "This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country".[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

In the Mudir's crowded I also made acquaintance with a Shilluk chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself, "coming to his senses." There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancient men, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the sceptre rules which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a representative of the rath in charge of each, and the rath himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1868.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish pagan Ajang and Nyikwak. Shiquanda later that 'Kaupo' (presumably Kwabbah), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'unreconciled savage' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

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[628] [693] led by the guard, and then moved on to Owai who were similarly marched off, about eight hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly waiting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[65] Two several Chiefs had previously been sent off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and then follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without power, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be coppersmed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerned hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of mounds was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thwono got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owai who had the good manners to remain seated. Owai's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen *Abujok* in Thwono next day. Thwono's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth*'s had been by persons with an active interest in the feast. Lower folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear throws. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander omitted the shouted peace between Fashoda and Fazyldwai in 1906.[3]

[782] [781]

[678] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly centered, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1900 the Rev. D. S. Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimum, Fakoi, Farwom, and Fakir[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawar*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[69] [69]

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then spit-roast and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the ratification of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 5.4.55.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1900.

[5] Rainmaker (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

dissolute gerontic warlord, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled." He adds, "Each side was afraid to make the decision lest it appear weak".

Oyler's account gives us a clearer picture of the ritual performed by the *reth* and also of his function in exhorting the people to make peace. There is nowhere any suggestion that he compels them to do so, he merely "advises". Much of this "advice" is mixed with statements which reflect the *reth*'s official capacity as Government agent. "The king made a talk in which he pointed out that the colour of the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed, should someone break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. . . . " We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the Government to reconcile you".' Though much of the metaphorical aspects of this speech may have derived from the Rev. D. S. Oyler himself, it is not, as a matter of fact, unsupported of Shilluk speeches of this sort.[1] Later we hear that "he (the *reth*) informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang. The king added more seriously: "The flesh of this animal is my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you, if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."' There, after considerable delay because no one was willing to take the responsibility of being first to spear the animal, men of both factions speared it to death and, as described also by Tetherington, were paired with the mamach contents.

One thing is striking. The orderly procedure described in these accounts bears little resemblance to the punitive expeditions carried out by the *reth* in order to suppress internal hostilities, and though this might be expected after thirty years of administration, it seems to me that the *reth*'s role as arbitrator is far more in accordance with his true functions in Shilluk society.

There are also references in District records to these punitive expeditions, but always without the evidence of actual instances. One hears of the "custom of the *reth* of punishing a mischievous or disobedient village by burning and destroying it. This he did either by sending a force of his own, if it was near Fashoda, or else, if it was a long way off, by sending orders to the Chief of the neighbouring village or section to do this. Such a force was apparently not resisted and there was no difficulty in finding it because there was sure to be a community with a feud against the culprit and also the *reth* only kept part of the loot. . . . This system seems to have survived the *Turkia* and *Mahdia*, possibly because there was nothing incompatible in it with methods of these days."[2]

The author of this account might have added that much in the methods employed may even have derived from Turkish example. The Turks were at pains to use the *reth* as an administrative agent and doubtless encouraged such raids carried out on the name of justice and security. The author continues: "However, these methods came to an abrupt end with the removal of *reth* Kur in 1905, the appointment by the Government of his aged successor *reth* Fadiet, and the rules laid down at the time."

From scattered references of this nature we are not able to reach reliable conclusions concerning the *reth*'s executive authority in the past in connexion with homicide and blood-feuds, whether actual or theoretical. There is certainly a strong tradition

[1] Cf. speeches made at the installation of *reth* Anei wad Kur. Howell & Thomson, op. cit., p. 71.

[2] 'A note on Customary Law', dated [illegible] (unpublished). The italics are mine.

among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress internal feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of neutrals, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the enslavement of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are few examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also reminiscent of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions raised in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Titherington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, as a deterrent, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1932) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fafiti when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara *Khamr*: خامر, whereby neutral tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Titherington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1903) too.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[649 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of
682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
783 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical
791 expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwoth*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

To sum up what has been said above we may say that about the second half of the 16th century, a relatively fair complexioned wave of people settled in the present Shillukland, and united the aboriginals under the leadership of Nyikang into the framework of a nation. 174

The Shilluk traditions, as my informants told me, reveal that the ruling class brought with it the system of kingship. Nyikang had taught the people the exact procedure of electing the new kings; a procedure which is followed to the word until our day. If this is true, we can presume that Nyikang, when he taught the Shilluk this unwritten law, was quoting as much as possible the succession law of his own homeland. Some of the important procedures, or let us say a rite performed to know if the deity gives his consent to the new king-elect, is performed under the waters of the Nile. Quite readily this rite would be understood if we remember the Shilluk tradition which says that the original home of Nyikang was situated on the banks of a NAM DOUM , which means a great river or a lake. [173]

Hofmayr tell us that Tugo, the Shilluk king number 10, who reigned between 1690 and 1710, was the first king to introduce new coronation ceremonies. He says: "Tugo führte neue Krönungszeremonien ein, an welchen die Shilluk noch heute streng festhalten". 15) If this is true, and if we reject the story told to me by my informants, and presuming that Nyikang's own family were a stock of nomads, we can say that the present Shilluk kingship was a cultural element among the aboriginal inhabitants of the area, which may have been dormant during the first rule of kings who were still clinging strongly to their own traditions, and most naturally looking down upon the aboriginal practices and cults. A hundred years later, the glorious past of the ruling cast may have dimmed, and mixture and degradation of some of the ruling family members may have ultimately brought about new "shillukicised" generations, thus bringing the old customs into practice. This is a mere conjecture that needs more study to prove or refute it, and this is not the right place to discuss it.

The famous divine kingship among the Shilluk is still in practice. The notion of the kings being the incarnations of the first king, i.e. Nyikang, is still working, and the coronation ceremony of King Kur, in 1951, 17) is an undisputed proof of the existance of such a notion. When such an idea is so strongly adhered to unto now -no matter if they are Moslem or Christian Shilluk converteos- it follows quite logically that the other component of the divine kingship must be functioning, or at least be still vivid in men's mind, and will be readily executed if there were free chances. 18) The other component is naturally 643

15) Hofmayr, p. 77
16) Westerman, p. 163, translates a story about the objection of Nyikang to human sacrifices practiced by some mysterious people of the river, whom he captured and incorporated in his domains.
17) Howell, pp. 189-203. This article contains a good picture of Shilluk kings installation ceremonies. [114]
18) The government does not allow it any more. [648]

643 the ceremonial killing of the kings. Some authors have discarded this practice 19), and alluded some killing of kings to family quarrels and competition over the throne. It is true that some brothers killed each other, but this is still one of the attributes of divine kingship.

According to the information I gathered in Malakal, King Dak, who died in 1951 at the Malakal hospital, was well guarded by the police during his treatment in the hospital, and no Shilluk was allowed to visit him lest he may be killed in the same traditional way as his ancestors. 20) My informants were sorry for the natural death of Dak, but they seemed to have accepted it as they were helpless against the troops of the central government. Just how far the Shilluk nation as a whole accepted it, I could not tell.

[648]

631 The political administration of the Shilluk country and its components may be summarized as follows: 21)

a) The Hamlet:

This is the smallest political unit with a chief at its head. The hamlet is formed by a lineage group of homesteads.

b) The Settlement:

This is a group of hamlets, i.e. a group of lineages gathered into a large area. At the head is a chief, called the Jago.

c) The District:

The Shilluk country is divided into eleven districts; each district is a combination of many settlements. These districts, though said to be organised by Nyikang, are not a permanent political factor. Its importance may have been felt in exceptional periods such as warfare, or to meet a common danger. The Egyptian government, and after it the Anglo-Egyptian government, used such divisions as administrative units. The important districts from the Shilluk point of view were Muome and Tung, that is, the northern and southern marches of the land.

[648]

d) The Province:

There are two provinces in the Shillukland. These are important political divisions, and their importance has been shown clearly above. The chief of Dubale Kwom, and the chief of Golbany are the two chiefs of the southern and the northern provinces.

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19) "Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death of kings (among the Shilluk) is probably a fiction ..." Butt, p. 54.
20) See also Howell, (2) p. 157.
21) Butt, pp. 46-48.

10: Riad E-4,5 (1955) 1955 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

114 and in the hilly offshoots of the Abyssinian highlands represented
174 by the Dar Fung mountains. This shrinkage was due to the everlasting extension of the Hamitic and other Caucasic racial elements towards the south. Secondly, the evidences of similar place names do not mean a Shilluk migration alone, because though the Nilotic percentage in these tribes' languages did reach about 65%, "further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction ... the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%". 67

If the Burun -a tribal group in the Dar Fung area- are included within the Nilotic language group, 68) and if there is a probability that the Dar Fung tribes are similar in their physical attributes to the substratum of the northern Shilluk province, then there is no wonder to see strong resemblances between both areas, and no wonder that many authorities erred in trying to clarify this resemblance by a one-sided Shilluk influence extended to Dar Fung.

On the same ground we can refute Westermann's assumption that "it is possible that this Shilluk population (the Berta and other Dar Fung tribes) in Sennar (probably he means the Fung kingdom) came to political influence and took part in the government of the state". 69) In reality there is need to assume a Shilluk migration, or invasion in this mountainous Dar Fung region, because the Shilluk are a riverain tribe, and on account of a common substratum, physical, cultural and linguistic in both areas.

6) Conclusion:

174 From the foregoing survey it is now clear that there
648 existed a relationship between the Fung and the Shilluk, but it is not a relationship of common origin.

The statement of Bruce about the invasion of the Gezira
114 by the Shilluk is not supported by dates nor by tradition of either
174 the Shilluk or the Fung. The only support comes from the Hamag elders of Jebel Gule, 70) but Mr. Chataway answers this question quite rightly. He states that "The Abu Likeilik family, when trying to oust the Fung, would be up against an obstacle of strong prejudice, seeing that they could not deny their descent from mere 'abid'. It was then too late to provide a satisfactory nisba for the Hamag, and the alternative was to say that the Fung were no better. Why not say the Fung were Shilluk and tack the suggestion on the existing traditions of Shilluk raids? That the Fung were black was added evidence, evidence to which Bruce seems to have given undue weight". 71)

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67) Seligman, p. 422
68) Butt includes the Burun in the Nilotic language group, and treats them as such in his book.
69) Westermann, p. LVI.
70) See note No. 59)
71) Chataway, p. 117.

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry? 174 [725]

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain? [648 533]

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds. 643 174 [114]

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king [171]

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [797] After an outbreak the mamur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Mainam, faction, which included Mainam, Fakoi and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [648] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

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having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble. 628 634

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again." [643]

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony. [789]

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacredness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and 537 628 643 776 [648]

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537 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang.
628 (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour
643 to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal
776 is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or
628 not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and
648 both sides declared they were.

628 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king
643 then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had
782 been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol
628 pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the
782 Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked
[787] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, "If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward
[787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

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After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the inviduals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok. 628 782

To conclude the ceremony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which faction the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy. 628

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men: After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction. 648

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small." He added that was often true of boastful men. 628 643

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

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remnant, *derimo olang*[5]. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Reth*[6] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Reth*. Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fuñ* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Dueim. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the village of Tworokit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[7]

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhker (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[8] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhker was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhker who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years 175 648 669

5. This may be translated "black battalions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Oman* means the descendants of Oman and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

7. "*pathe manyo*."

8. Ali Bey Kurdi.

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175
648
[669]

eluded capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Reth Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1875 Romolo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Reth* Kwiekon a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Reth* Kwiekon and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwiekon.

Kodok then became one of the marooned garrisons. A certain Jok Akoc[9] succeeded Kwiekon, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akoc (father of the present *Reth* Fafiti and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Reth*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Reth* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

9. Jok was never officially *Reth* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

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ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang. 175 648

Kur Nyidhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummal and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbok to Both at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akoc, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bol Ayuel, Chief of Golbañ, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debalo. The Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyaweilo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyaweilo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [669]

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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. 177 643 648

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

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177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

The Grouping of Settlements into Confederacies.

177 639 [648] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[24] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

24. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 63 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

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177 643 648 The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

177 634 It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of £E. 2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry. [648] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed [613] for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division. [613] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as [561] a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong [648] chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder member of the family.

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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

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tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly [775] appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential [669] danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of [648] the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. How much greater then must

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[178] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilization, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[7]

182 643 648 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterized by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth: The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth: A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa: Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak: Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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7. Cf. P. Munro. "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1. pp. 143 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*. Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :--

631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth*'s mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. 644 648 602

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth*'s burial. This 361 766 778

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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766 homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk
[778] *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows,
[411 were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most
727] of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought
439] from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the
[177 anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was
648] emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their 643
chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains 644
potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth*
trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but [669]
an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end
of his days.

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains 643.
an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The
funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, [766]
though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure.

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention 175
of government in this and previous elections. As explained above 643
elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present 648
government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement.

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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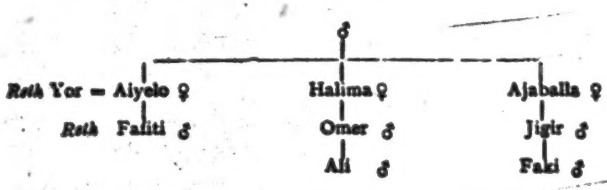
Note to Introduction.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

Notes to Part I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no fuueral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizoutally upon forked sticks.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 648

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4. *jago* Aturwel (Fadit Division) 643
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Olwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[5]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital." [648] [372] [787]

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang[7]." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jung kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision."[8] 114 643

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk 123 643

[5] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*akadh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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195 employed they are being nursed by God (Shil., *mith yi Jwok*). They do
643 not go to, come from or enter a house: they are taken to, brought from
648 or stuffed into a house (as the case may be) by God. God is supposedly
the sole motive power of such ethereal beings. Sometimes this fiction
produces strange complications in the syntax, and another difficulty is
[576] that in replying you must be careful to use the ordinary word in relation
to yourself, thus tacitly deprecating the idea of any divine agency as far
as you are concerned.

195 The *Reth's* head is respectfully designated his "pebble," his pipe is
his "mud," his beer is his "water" and his donkey is his "dog." When
643 he sits on the ground he is said to have "come to anchor" (Shil., *amak*).
When he gets up he is, of course, lifted by God. It seems that the terms
used for royal objects are not, as might have been expected, names of
things superior to the actual object, but that they are inferior substitutes.
An explanation may be that in the magnificence of the royal presence the
objects surrounding him lose half their natural lustre.

195 In the following dialogue the Shilluk expressions which would be
643 used are translated as exactly as possible into English. If there is any-
648 thing comic in it, it must be stressed that this is purely incidental to the
purpose of this note (which is serious).

539 Scene—FASHODA. The District Commissioner stops the lorry
outside the royal houseto pick up the *Reth* to take him to Kodok to
meet the Governor.

D.C. (*by way of greeting*): You have been out grazing, Father?

RETH (*deprecatingly*): I have slept; have you been out to graze?

D.C.: Yes, thank you, I have slept.

RETH: You have been brought by God?

D.C.: I have come.

RETH: You are being nursed by God?

D.C.: I am quite well, thank you; now, are you ready to be taken by God to Kodok? If so, be lifted up by God into the front seat beside me and we will be off; . . . but wait; have you got that thing for your pebble which the Governor-General gave you?

RETH: Oh, I am so sorry. I have forgotten to get it. I will go and fetch it. Meanwhile, you be taken by God in the lorry to that tree, turn

26: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1937)1937
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round, and be brought back here again by God. I will be back here in a second. 195 643

D.C.: Be taken away by God. (*D.C. turns the lorry round and awaits the Reth.*) You have found it? Good. Now we are off. . . . I thought you would be nursed by God in Kodok over the week-end as there are many cases I want you to see. Then you can be taken back to Fashoda by God on Monday on your dog. 648 539

RETH: Yes, I can return on Monday on my donkey.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter V

A LITTLE HISTORY

Before going on to tell of the government and customs of that tribe of the Southern Sudan whose acquaintance we have already made, it might be as well to pause awhile, and briefly to relate what is known of the history of that country of which their land forms a part. 175

The Sudan (Bilad-el-Sudan: The Country of the Blacks) is that great part of Central Africa which lies north of the Equator between the 5th and the 22nd parallels. Nearly 1,000,000 square miles in area, it is bounded on the north by the Libyan Desert and Egypt, east by the Red Sea, Eritrea and Abyssinia, south by Kenya, Uganda and the Belgian Congo, and west by French Equatorial Africa. Since the great river Nile which flows throughout the length of the Sudan and Egypt is the chief means of communication and an easy method of transport between the two countries, it is to be expected that earliest historical records recount instances of trading and raiding from one country to the other. [101]

By about 2000 B.C. the Egyptians with their vastly superior culture had made great inroads into the northern regions of the Sudan, had founded colonies, built a large fortified town and established a chain of fortifications along the Nile. This colonization lasted for some 200 years and about 1700 B.C. the colonists were withdrawn apparently to assist in the defence of the mother country then in the process of being invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes, the Hyksos. The Hyksos' domination of Egypt lasted for over a century, but eventually the invaders were expelled and the Egyptians, once more secure in their own country, resumed their colonization of the Sudan. This second period lasted until about 1000 B.C. when, with the decline of the Egyptian 175 648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Empire, the Egyptians once more disappeared from Sudanese history.

For the next 200 years there is a gap in the records of relationship between the two countries, but then we find that the rôles of conquerors and conquered are reversed, and that Sudanese kings have successfully invaded and taken possession of Egypt and reign there as Pharaohs. The Sudanese dynasty in Egypt came to an end when the Assyrian hordes swept over the land in 660 B.C. but it continued in the Sudan itself in two separate kingdoms for nearly another 1,000 years, the one kingdom being destroyed by the Romans in 23 B.C. and the other overthrown by the Abyssinians in 350 A.D.

After this there is another blank in Sudan history covering the next 200 years until in 540 A.D. Christian missionaries reached the country from Asia Minor, having been sent by the Empress Theodora of Constantinople. Christianity spread rapidly over Northern Sudan and survived in that region in the north until the land was overrun by Mahomedans from Egypt in 1340, and in the south—that is, as far south as the country round the junction of the two Niles—until about 1500, when there, too, it succumbed to the ever encroaching tide of Moslemism. The next 300 years is a record of inter-tribal fighting and internecine warfare, as, lacking a powerful central authority, the various petty sheikhs incessantly preyed one upon another. The country was thus reduced to anarchy and was easy spoil for the organized invasion which came from Egypt in 1821.

This date may be said to mark the beginning of the modern history of the Sudan. The invasion was made by Mohammed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, then a dependency of Turkey, and thus the conquest was made in the name of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Mohammed Ali lost no time in establishing the country on an organized basis. It was divided into provinces and districts under Egyptian and Turkish officers directed from a Governor-Generalate at the newly founded town of Khartoum, built at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. Mohammed

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Ali's conquest of the Sudan was not for the purpose of bringing peace and prosperity to that unhappy country. He looked upon it as a vast milch cow whose yield was to supply him with the means of realizing his great ambition: the establishment of himself and his descendants as rulers of Egypt and the Sudan, completely independent of Turkey. Hence the primary occupation of the new government was the collecting of revenue in the form of tribute to fill Mohammed Ali's war chest, and of slaves to swell the ranks of the new Egyptian Army he was founding to wage war against his Turkish overlord. Frequent raids were made along the White Nile among the helpless pagan tribes for the purpose of capturing slaves both for recruits for the army and for domestic labour. Mohammed Ali attained his cherished title of independent ruler of Egypt and Governor of the Sudan in 1841, but this achievement did not stay his rapacity or that of his successors and their lieutenants. Indeed during the ensuing years the traffic in human lives reached enormous proportions. Better arming of the slavers' private armies and better organization of the raiding parties enabled them to venture further and further south. Huge parcels of land were farmed out to the merchants who found a rich return for their investments among the hapless people of Southern Sudan. Khartoum became the great slave market and clearing house of the Sudan.

With the accession of Ismael as Khedive of Egypt in 1863 the first attempts were made to suppress or at least to diminish the slave traffic and to formulate some kind of progressive policy for the country. He called to his aid such men as Sir Samuel Baker, Colonel Charles Gordon, Rudolf Slatin and Gessi and appointed them as Governors of Provinces with full authority to stamp out the trade in slaves. That the efforts of these men were not more successful (in one year, for instance, Gordon and Gessi captured sixty-three caravans of slaves) was due not only to the strenuous opposition of the slave merchants themselves but also, and indeed mainly, to the corruption in high places among the Egyptian Pashas, most of whom had a keen financial interest in the business

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and had no intention of being deprived of so lucrative a source of wealth. Ismael's schemes for the betterment of the Sudan included the extension of the telegraph from Egypt to Khartoum, the inauguration of a postal system, the founding of a company to develop the agricultural resources of the country and of a steamship company. His reforms, however, were too few and came too late, and moreover he could not implement his authority with sufficient force to remedy the greatest of all the evils under which the country laboured, the slave trade. Whilst Gordon was at hand the traffic had decreased considerably, but with his recall to England in 1879 and replacement as Governor-General by an Egyptian, it revived immediately and flourished with greater vigour than before.

The unhappy Sudanese, crushed by the oppression of their Egyptian overlords and seething with discontent, were ripe for revolt and wanted only someone who would unite them and lead them in rebellion. A leader was found in the person of Mohammed Ahmed, the son of a carpenter, who had gained a reputation as a religious teacher and ascetic. He declared himself to be the Mahdi, the divinely appointed prophet, and proclaimed a holy war against the foreigners in the Sudan. The movement commenced in August 1881, and spread with surprising rapidity. Lack of appreciation of the situation both at Khartoum and Cairo resulted in the small expeditionary force sent to destroy the insurrection being cut to pieces and in the increasing strengthening of the Mahdists. Kordofan and Darfur provinces were overrun, and when at length in the middle of 1883 the Egyptian Government made a supreme effort to stamp out the rebellion, the Mahdist army easily defeated and almost annihilated the force sent out against it. The whole of the Sudan was now open to the Mahdi.

In February 1884 General Gordon returned to the Sudan with instructions from the British Government to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He arrived too late to accomplish anything, however, and lost his life when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists in January 1885. With the fall of Khartoum

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and the death of Gordon all outside influence on the Sudan came practically to an end. But the troubles of the unfortunate Sudanese themselves were by no means over. They had merely exchanged one tyranny for another. Six months after Gordon's death the Mahdi also died and was succeeded by his chief lieutenant, the Kalifa Abdullah; under him slavery, pillage and rapine quickly revived, revolts among the disillusioned tribes were ruthlessly and bloodily suppressed and anarchy reigned undisputed for the next thirteen years.

In 1896 preparations were at length completed by the British and Egyptian Governments for the reconquest of the Sudan. A joint Anglo-Egyptian army under the command of Major-General Kitchener, later Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, invaded the country through Egypt, and in a campaign which lasted for two and a half years drove the Mahdist forces steadily before it and finally routed them decisively at the Battle of Omdurman in September 1898. The years of tyranny and oppression were over at last.

The new government of the Sudan took the form of a condominium, that is, a joint administration by England and Egypt by which the two countries pledged themselves to administer the Sudan primarily for the welfare of the Sudanese. The history of the Sudan during the past half century is an eloquent testimony of how well this object has been achieved.

The first step taken was to establish law and order throughout the land. The Governor-Generalate was restored but with the difference that the new holders of this exalted office had a far different conception of their duties and responsibilities than had their pre-Mahdist predecessors. The system of division into Provinces was re-established under British Governors who administered their charge with the assistance of District Commissioners. A police force was created, and gradually peace, order and security was imposed on a land which had enjoyed none of these blessings in all its previous history. Fully alive to the necessity of training the Sudanese in order that he might eventually

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[505] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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648 solution was mainly found in the large-scale production of cotton.

Since the rainfall in the north is meagre and unpredictable, it was obvious that any large agricultural scheme would have to depend on irrigation, and the most suitable site for this was found to be the Gezira area, the delta formed south of the junction of the Blue and White Niles. The Gezira Irrigation Scheme was initially made possible by the generosity of the British Government which advanced loans amounting to nearly £12,000,000 to cover the cost of the great dam built at Sennar on the Blue Nile, and of the canalization system whereby the cotton and subsidiary crops are irrigated. The Scheme was launched on a large scale with the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1925. Originally the irrigable area was roughly 300,000 acres but has been extended during the years, so that now nearly 1,000,000 acres of land can be brought under cultivation. At its inception the scheme was run on a partnership basis between the Government, the peasant cultivator and a syndicate of experts. The Government supplied the canalization and the water, the cultivator raised the crops and the syndicate provided expert supervision and marketed the cotton. The three partners shared the profits in the proportion of 40% each to the Government and the cultivator and 20% to the syndicate. In 1950 the syndicate's concessions were terminated and its place was taken by a Government sponsored body, the Sudan Gezira Board.

During the years since the end of the war, the Sudan in company with the rest of the world has been going through a period of industrial and political unrest. The former to some extent has been settled by wage increases and improved working and living conditions, the latter is still in the process of working itself out. Once the country had been settled, efficiently policed, effectively administered and set on the road to literacy, the Sudan Government, in pursuance of its policy of eventually handing the land over to self-government, relaxed wherever possible its system of direct administration and called on the local sheikhs and chieftains to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

assist the District Commissioners in the administration of justice and tribal policy among their own people. This system of indirect rule commenced after the First World War among the nomadic tribes where the sheikh still had the status of patriarch and father of his people, was extended in time to the more permanently settled rural areas and eventually to the townships and municipalities. The late 1930's saw the beginnings of the Sudanization of the Central Government. Educated Sudanese found places in Provincial Councils, and in 1944 on the newly formed Northern Sudan Advisory Council. In 1948 a partly elected, partly nominated Legislative Assembly was set up and January 1954 saw the opening of the first elected Sudanese Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. This essay in self-government under international supervision is to last three years at the end of which period the Sudanese will decide for themselves the future of their country; whether they feel secure and strong enough to face the future completely independent, or whether their interests and security would be better safeguarded by union with Egypt.

648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 handing the cares of office to a younger man whilst he spends his declining years in peaceful and happy retirement. He must rule till his death, and if through physical or mental debility he should show signs of allowing the reins of government to slip from his grasp, since nothing but death can divorce him from his office, then he must die. And his loyal subjects will take steps to see that he does die; his women will briskly smother him as he sleeps and so clear the way for the election of his successor. This, then, is the Shilluk idea and tradition of government. Nyikang still rules his people by his immanence in the person of the reigning king, and while all is well with the king, all will be well with the people. It is difficult to understand the dogged persistence of that belief in view of the chronic poverty of the Shilluk, the almost annual failure of their crops, the frequent visitations of pestilence which carry off large numbers of people and cattle, the terror and havoc which was spread throughout the country during the régime of the Mahdists when the tribe was decimated by slaughter and slavery, and all this be the king never so robust in mind and body.

643 648 During the past seventy years the absolute power of the king has been severely shaken, at least in temporal affairs. When the Mahdists stalked the land, the kings were generally in hiding. Two were slain in battle, and one, falling into the hands of his enemies, was hanged and his head ignominiously displayed in Kodok, the headquarters of the Mahdist governor, but a few miles from the royal village of Fashoda.

After the defeat of the Kalifa at Omdurman, Kitchener commenced the formidable task of establishing law and order throughout the whole country. Fashoda, a collection of squalid mud huts on the Nile, blazed momentarily in the international headlines and then sank once more into its former obscurity. It might be mentioned here that the term '"Fashoda" Incident' is something of a misnomer. The historic meeting between Kitchener and Marchand took place, not at Fashoda, but at Kodok, some eight miles north [103] of the Shilluk capital. The name was transferred to Kodok

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognised right of any potential [669]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 648 643 681 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the administration of justice. This is done under the supervision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king and the district chiefs. 643 634

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused, or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to 695 577

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood. 578 628 797 625

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu. 578 628 648 634

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even 578 628 731 648

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphori-
cally tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would
triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

578 he had better restrain his young men before something
628 happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Pabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

578 Poor Detwok! Poor Pabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only
628 wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice',
648 as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 them as to how they were to treat his friends, as he called
[643] the missionaries. Conditions improved after this, and also by the arrival in June of three Sisters of Verona, with Mother Guiseppa Scandola as Superior, to assist in the mission work. When Mother Guiseppa received orders to start for Lul, one of the Sisters in Assuan told her that she envied her good fortune in going to work in the mission. 'Do not worry,' she replied, 'in four months you will come to take my place.' Soon after her arrival in Lul, Father Beduschi became very ill and was at death's door, but Mother Guiseppa, who was herself ill at the time, sent him this message: 'Have no fear, Father; you will not die, you have hard work to do for the Shilluk. I am old and useless; I shall die in your stead.' Two days later, Father Beduschi, completely recovered, gave the last Sacraments to the Sister, and she died on September 1st. Her successor as Superior was the very Sister to whom she had made the prophecy in Assuan. She was a woman remarkable for her devotion and holiness. In this
[643] same year, too, the British Government deposed the king,
• [648] Kur, whose successor, Fadiet, was much more friendly to the mission.

From this time onwards the number of Christians began to grow, and the mud hut which had served as a church was
[346] replaced by a larger brick building in 1911. The priest who was Superior of Lul at that time was Father Banholzer, who was noted for his extensive knowledge of the Shilluk language and tribal customs and the untiring zeal with which he worked among the native people, so that many Shilluk remember him still as the 'Great Father'. One day in 1914 he shot a hippopotamus and was out in the sun for several hours dividing the meat, as a result of which he had an attack of sunstroke. He went to Kodok to be treated by the doctor, but died there in the arms of a native, and the first intimation of his death which his fellow priests at Lul received was the arrival of his body carried by natives in a boat.

A successor of Father Banholzer was Father Kohnen, who
[114] wrote a Shilluk grammar and translated the New Testament and a Bible History into that language.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, 797*
not as a teacher, or an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has vested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile.

Sickness and death do not study the convenience of the missionary either as to time or place, so he must be prepared to go at any time to any place that it is humanly possible to reach, whatever be the risk or inconvenience to himself; and although not usually fraught with peril, sick calls do have the habit of coming in at the most awkward times and from the most inaccessible of places. It may happen that the priest is alone in the mission and is perhaps in the middle of morning school when the summons comes from a village maybe ten or fifteen miles away. A catechist has come across 163
a man, baptized many years ago in Detwok, but long 797*
since drifted from the district, who is sick and dying in a remote village on the other side of Kodok, and now sends in a messenger to inform the priest. Or, as often happens, the mission hears of it only because the pagan relatives of the dying man have sent in, not to summon assistance, but merely to beg a cloth to use as a shroud for his burial. Whatever way the news has come in, the priest acts promptly; 797*
he hurriedly hands over his class to the Sister next door, or gives it sufficient work to keep it busy—if not happy—for the remainder of the morning. From the house he picks up his sick-call case, hurries to the chapel for the Blessed Sacrament and, if the state of the roads permits, is away on his bicycle in a matter of minutes. If the rains are on and cycling is impossible, he changes his shoes and stockings for a pair of rubber pumps and sets out across the fields and through the swamps in the general direction of the main road and Kodok.

He arrives at that important administrative and commer- [632]
cial centre (the Assistant District Commissioner's residence [648]
and office, a prison, a dispensary and half a dozen Arab-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

461 Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his [648] tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be [651] demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, 339 *797 a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ogo*.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

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In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyçi ercĕk* ("men of crime") or *adĕrç*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adĕrç*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adĕrç* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adĕrç* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adĕrç*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

*539 *Kīne: à, dīɔ̄ch, kɛ̄ɩ, kɔ̄lú jwɔ̄k! Ka gɛ bɔ̄ŋɔ. Ka gɛ wapɛ fɔ̄ɩ̣e gɛn, ka būl gɔ̄ch, ka ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ chɔ̄ŋɔ kí bàl. Ka gɛ lɔ̄gɔ: wuna yik ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ, ɩ̄, wɔ́ dúɔ̄k, dɛ bɔ̄t peń mɔ̄ɩ̣.*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyɛk-antelope. And all
224 the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
643 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyɛk-antelope, which belongs
to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then
●651 they pray: "O Nyīkang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us
to have any mishap! You grandfather of man, kill the game well, so that we
may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyīkang!" Then a goat is brought,
it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each
part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed,
the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before
them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals,
and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he
says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins
are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined
them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?"
He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs
assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission
to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They
greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?"
They answer: "Whe have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?"
[576] They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big
[644] steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our
lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now!)". The king answers: "Why, hold
fast (to) God (that is: stay!)" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and
they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with
God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people; "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

28. Making Boats for the King.

*539 *A kɛ̄ɩ ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ bɛ ńwɔ̄t kí yɔ̄ɩ, yɔ̄ɩ̣e kwɔ́r, ka ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ ńùdɔ̄, ka yɔ̄ɩ kɔ̄l, kɔ́ ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ̀ bɔ̄ŋɔ̀, ka ɩ̄ɛ̄rɔ wapí fach. Ka jāgɔ chwɔ́l, ka yɔ̄ɩ ɩ̄yɛ̄r kɔ́ è nɔ̄ŋɔ, ka e kɔ̄pɔ mɔ̄, ka e ko: kwań yɛ̄ɩ ak! Ka kwɔ́ń, ka e ko: mɔ̄k an bo mɔ̄k rɩ̄ɩ̣, ka mɔ̄k an ɩ̄yɔ́ń, ka gɛ kwɔ́ck, ka gɛ bɔ̄ŋɔ gin keau Bachōdɔ.*

[1] The *dyɛk*-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 or survive as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
614 Queen Abudok[17] is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar*
621 *Reth* would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
644 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwok and
[173] Atoadwoi the *Kwar Reth* are already probably more numerous than the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there is no marked *esprit de corps* between different branches of the *Kwar Reth*. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Reth* and others[18] where the *Kwar Reth*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous *Collo* lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave view taken by Queen Abudok is probably unjustified.

556 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Reth*
565 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
614 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
● 651 of their *Reths* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
643 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged unjustified war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order, the *Reth* would raise as a "royal levy"[19] the adjacent settlements, who would go and drive off the malefactors' cattle and burn their villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calculable strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins at the cost of most of their cattle. The participators in the levy got a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Reth*.

THE ORORO.

565 *Ororo* is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Reth*
614 which has been degraded, by act of the *Reth*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
644 described by the Shilluk as being "*Kwar Reth* really, but like *Collo*."
558 Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A *Nyiesh* who ruled the Shilluk country from Dettim in about 1650.

18. *e.g.*, Awarajuok.

19. *Tish mi Reth*.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lau* (sometimes designated as *lan thin*, (minor *lau*,) to distinguish it from the *lau* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the 613 settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for 622 the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he [651] will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has 622 no *lau* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single home- [621] stead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

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Shilluk tribe	*Reth.*
Luak and Ger	Chiefs of *Gol Nyihang* and *Gol Dhiang.*
Division (*luak*)	Division (or Court) Chief.
Settlement (*podh*) ..	Settlement Chief.
Hamlet (*pac*)	*Jal dwong pac.*
Gol	*Jal Gol.*

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Atkurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Atkurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Atkurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

[1] Variously spelt: *Atwrwic*, *Atkudowic*, *Atkurwic*.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

461 Hasn't he been working for the past four months or so planting and weeding and reaping? Hasn't he got enough food now, that eked out with a little not too strenuous fishing will last him for six months or so, that is, if he can get his kids into the school again, and thus be relieved of the necessity of feeding them? And that reminds him, he must get that eldest son of his out of the school. The crop is gathered in now, so the goats can be let out to graze and the lad can mind them; it is time that he did something useful after the nice long holiday he has had up at the foreigner's place during the rains. Now it is his turn to have a holiday, and, by Nyikang, he's going to have one too; he's going to sit around and do nothing but drink beer until the rains come round again. Of course, there is that little matter of his [648] tax that the other unpleasant foreigner from Kodok will be [651] demanding soon. Of the two, he prefers the fellow at the mission; he sometimes gives him tobacco, but the only thing the one in Kodok has ever given him is three months in prison. Well, the tax is easily disposed of. His wife can sell some of the grain, or go out into the forest and collect enough firewood to sell to the Sisters in order to pay the tax. Thus pleasantly musing, he roars to a boy to fetch him his pipe, and to his wife to bring some more beer, and he sinks back against the fence of his house and relaxes gratefully in the warm sunshine.

If such is the general attitude of the Shilluk in the district, the would-be brickmaker and builder finds that his ambitious schemes have to be drastically modified. It is little use his going out, like the king's servants in the parable, into the highways and the byways to compel them to come in. Experience has taught him that if the Shilluk don't want to work they won't, and no amount of persuading will make 339 them. He manages to raise a couple of teams of brickmakers, *797 a moulder and two labourers to each team, and a few thriftless youths who have no money to pay their tax or other means of raising it drift in and are set to work to supply the brickmakers with sand and water. But he is in a sorry plight; he won't get anything like the number of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*797 awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries will have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The 461 rains have failed, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too *797 early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and looks sadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainly won't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if [651] he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and will impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels with horror at the bare thought—one of his [593] cows. His wife keeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from past experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordinary white one is not good enough for her [291] now; she wants one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's wife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is immediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his wife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but which he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to go to work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautiful dream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few months, and reluctantly makes his way towards the *797 mission. The missionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good 339 brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them *797 off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

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Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *orero*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *kawak* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bauholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 12, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. 631
(only seven names are given). 643
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The Electoral College of 1917 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwoi, in place of the chief Bur Nyiliec (6), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abienyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyiliec, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abienyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1917 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy and the Kwareth chiefs of Fadiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed. [662]

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long. 643 778

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom.

643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

182 631 643 Fashoda, which is almost where the halves meet and is the focal point in the ceremonies of investiture.

631 643 666 I wish to emphasize that the procedure of election ensures that the prince selected to be king must have the backing of the whole country. Mr Thomson tells us that 'the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang'[1] and cannot take place unless they agree, and it is clear that agreement does not depend on the personal feelings of the two men but that they are spokesmen for the halves of the country they represent. The other members of what Mr Howell and Mr Thomson call the 'electoral college' and which they say 'is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe'[2] have 'only to listen to the decision'[3] of these two men. The other members are the two influential chiefs of the northern and southern marches, Muomo and Tonga, nine chiefs of settlements who are descended from the original chiefs among whom Nyikang divided Shillukland when he conquered and settled his followers in it, and three important

[1] W. P. G. Thomson, 'Further Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk, 1945' (manuscript).
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 29.
[3] Thomson, *op. cit.*

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have 631
become dominant in powerful settlements in the 643
country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all 666
parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

182
Without the collective participation of the halves 643
of the country the investiture of a king, which takes 631
place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, [614]
the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans [293] [778]
are responsible for performing various parts of the

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Luak, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Duk. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Duk may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The electoral college, in whom rests the responsibility for electing a new *reth*, is a very conscious survival of the traditional structure of the Shilluk tribe, and we believe it to be composed of those who are the descendants of the men who were, at any rate traditionally, the lords-lieutenant of the various counties into which Nyikang divided his kingdom, with the inclusion of three representatives from the large royal clan. 643 666 [174]

Shilluk society is divided into four main classes, the Kwareth, Coló, Ororo, and Bang Reth, two of whom the Kwareth and Colo together represent by far the greater part of the tribe and together provide the electoral college. The Ororo and Bang Reth have very important ceremonial functions in the installing of the *reth*, but no say in his election. As has been explained in the introduction the Kwareth "class" are really an extended clan, they are the descendants of the royal house, and they all trace their ancestry back to a *nyireth* and through him and his father directly back to Nyikang. The Colo are the mass of the Shilluk people divided into many clans, who may trace their origin to a family ancestor who "came with Nyikang" to what is now Shilluk country, or claim to be pre-Shilluk inhabitants of the country, or some of those non-Shilluk accretions, which Nyikang collected to him as he pursued his conquests. 565 666 [614 644]

Nyikang settled the west bank of the White Nile, from "Tonga to Mwomo," (the traditional boundary in the north is Moro some four miles north of the river port at Kaka, and in the south at Fafojo about ten miles upstream of Tonga). As he went he parcelled out the country among his followers, and made eleven of them chiefs[10] of the first degree, answerable to him and looking to him for their appointment and authority. When the organization became complete the lords of the marches of Tonga and Mwomo became even more important than the others by virtue of their duties in connexion with the defence of the Shilluk boundaries and their distance from Fashoda. But although these two were the most important on the executive side of 173 631

10. They were all Colo. Kwareth, who are descended from sons of *reths*, did not, of course, exist in Nyikang's day, for he was the first *reth*.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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the Shilluk themselves for everyday matters of administration.

Apart from these eleven Colo chiefs, three members of the Kwareth are also members of the electoral college. Each *reth* appoints one of his sons to be "responsible" for the family. This son is not necessarily elected *reth*—in fact we doubt whether he ever has been—but he is of considerable importance. The three members of the electoral college are the descendants of the heads of three great lines of the Kwareth. Why these three should be chosen, to the exclusion of other Kwareth branches is not clear. We think they are the most important because the ancestor of each, from whom his claim to membership of the college depends, was the chief son of those three branches of the family nearest to the throne. The chief of Fadiang is regarded as in some ways chief of the Kwareth, and though the other two Kwareth members are venerable chamberlains, all the houses now eligible to produce candidates for the *reth*ship are descended directly from the sons of *reth* Nyakwac, the chief of whose sons was the ancestor of the chief of Fadiang.

Such, as far as we can disentangle it, is the theory of the constitution of the electoral body. In practice there were certain difficulties due, as usual to the fact that Shilluk tradition is nowhere written down and relies upon the memories of the elder men. A comparison of the government files on the elections of 1903 and 1917 shows that the lists of chiefs forming the electoral college were more or less the same as those in 1943 and the variations were mostly accounted for by deaths, absentees etc.

The first thing that happened after the passing of *reth* Fafiti was an unofficial committee on "ways and means", whose main object seemed to be to discover what ought to be done, and who ought to do it. This process went on, more or less consciously till the end of the installation ceremonies. It was a refreshing of the memories of Shilluk tradition and history. At this meeting the members of the electoral college were decided upon and summoned to Fashoda. Certain influential chiefs seemed to think it would be impossible to

643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "canvassing" of one of the sons of *reth* Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, "if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" —presumably to prepare for war. 631 643 666 669

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief of notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying." 631 643 666

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists. 643 669

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos- 643 669 622

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF CHIEFS COMPOSING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

631 The following chiefs composed the electoral college in 1943:-

643 1. Chief of Debalo Kwom (chief of Gol Nyikang).
666 2. " " Golbainy " " " Dhiang).
3. " " Mwomo.
4. " " Tonga.
5. " " Delal Ajak.
6. " " Bur Nyiliec (Athodwoi division).
7. " " Othecogo (Detwok division).
8. " " Fadit (Wau division).
9. " " Owaliny Obwa (Malakal division).
10. " " Adodo Dettim.
11. " " Fanyikang.
12. " " Acago (Detwok division).
13. " " Fadiang (Golbainy division).
14. " " Yoiny (Fashoda division).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are explained adequately in the text.

[173] Nos. 5, 8, and 11 are the traditional big chiefs, whose ancestors held the *lan dwong* or "high robe of office" from Nyikang. They are still in possession of the *lan dwong*.

Nos. 7 and 10 have only recently been displaced by Government from the *lan dwong* owing to inefficiency. The *lan dwong* will naturally tend to revert to their lineages when a vacancy occurs.

Nos. 6 and 9 are chiefs with an ancient claim to the *lan dwong* which their ancestors possessed in the days of Nyikang. They have sunk into unimportance, because of the shrinkage of their lineage.

Nos. 12, 13 and 14 are the three Kwareth members.

Nos. 13, the chief of Fadiang, is looked upon as the chief of all the Kwareth.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 12, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. (only seven names are given). 631 643 666

The Electoral College of 1917 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwol, in place of the chief Bur Nyiliec (6), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abienyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyiliec, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abienyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1917 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy and the Kwareth chiefs of Fadiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed. [662]

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long. 643 778

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 maiden was sealed up alive in the hut along with the corpse, which is also said to be traditional.

Fafiti Yor died in September 1943, and his funeral dance was held in November. Anei Kur died in November 1945, and his funeral dance was not held until October 1946. This longer interval was also more in accord with Shilluk custom, which holds that there should be an [643] interval of about a year between the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor. The installation ceremonies should follow quickly upon the funeral dance for the deceased, and should take place after the harvest is ripe.

Two days before the dance, the remains of *reth* Anei were brought secretly, and by night, from Fadwol to Golbainy where his private village had been, and were buried in his house. The remains were brought by Ororo under the supervision of Gol Nyidhok, the descendants of Nyidhok, the grand father of Anei. The dance took place there and only occupied two days. It was less well attended, and the contingents not so well marshalled as in 1943, but the essential characteristics were the same, and there were the same arguments about how long it should last. The ceremonies were in the hands of the eldest son of the deceased, and of Kwanyireth Bol Acien, the chief of Lul, who had taken a large part in 1943. The chief of the Kwareth, who was senile in 1943, had died in the meantime, but his successor in office, a young man, took no part. The *reth* remained purposely in Fashoda, and did not come to Golbainy at all. It was noticed that, as bulls were slaughtered, the horns and tails were hung on to the palisade surrounding the house where *reth* Anei lay buried, and his cattle bells and other ornaments were displayed by *bangreth* in front of the tomb, spread out upon a bull skin.

The election of Reth Dak Fadiet.

643 On the death of *reth* Anei the electoral college were summoned, 66 as in 1943, by Jago Tabo of Golbainy for Gol Dhiang and Jago 631 Yorleiker of Kwom for Gol Nyikang, the two great ceremonial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom. The composition of the college was the same as in 1943, except that the chiefs of Bur Nyiliec and Owaliny Obwa could not attend owing to illness. It was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. I doubt whether even the chief of the Kwareth has any influence: he and the other members of the college have only to listen to the decision.

643 *Reth* Anei had not lived long enough to adopt a *nyireth*, as *reth*

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, 643
when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that 666
the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A [787]
number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs 643
goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and [669]
not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since 643
with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an 669
armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in [178]
former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installa- 643
tion of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land 642
is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its [775]
habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public [535]
dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time
766 of the early maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth* elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over quicaly; maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a desire to get all the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the *reth* had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty cut down as far as possible

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an interesting gauge, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through
643 various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk
[668] to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of
[669] *reth* Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their
766 men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but
[626] public opinion required that those who could, should help according to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived farther away.

631
643 chiefs of the southern settlements follow their
●669 representative and the issue is fought out. It
would seem probable that when there is disagree-
174 ment it is an expression not of divergence of opinion
631 about the merits of the candidates but of local
643 loyalties in which different members of the royal
644 house are associated with different parts of Shilluk-
land. Whether disputed succession in the past was
a product of local rivalries cannot perhaps now be
determined, but it seems likely in view of the fact
that in earlier times the king ruled from the settle-
ment in which he was brought up or moved from
one settlement to another and did not have a fixed
residence at the central and neutral point of
Fashoda.[1] I would also suggest that the associ-
ation of princes with settlements and districts is
clearly related to the custom by which they are
brought up away from the capital. It is probable
that the backing given by north and south to candi-
dates for the kingship in past times arose from the
fact that some princes were brought up in the north
and some in the south. That this is the case is clear
[114] from Father Hofmayr's detailed notes on each of

[1] Seligman, *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 229, citing information given by Father Banholzer and Dr Lambie; Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 138; Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 76.

the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated
with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
● 669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
546 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

645 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Rut of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint in an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by swelch. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 160–2). Mr. Hussey confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Dowad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Dowad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Dowad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Dowad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyagol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without such interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [702]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [773]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

643 attempt to usurp the throne any time after killing the *reth*. The *reth*'s
644 sons and the sons of previous *reths* are potential rivals and are not
allowed within Fashoda at night. The *reth* takes precautions to avoid
669 this danger. It is not known in which hut he sleeps and he is said to
wander round at night looking for intruders. This practice of regicide
no doubt accounts for the planting out of the *reth*'s sons from the time of
their birth.

The Death of a Reth

643 The *reth* is considered to have some mystic connection with the world
of nature, and the state of his health has an effect on the fertility of
the land, on the rains, the harvests and on the general material and
spiritual welfare of the people. If the *reth* becomes weak, the people
suffer and he must be killed. If he were allowed to die naturally the
spirit of Nyikang might be lost to the Shilluk for ever. There are a
number of traditions relating to the traditional mode of death suffered by
the *reth*. One maintains that the *reth* is strangled or suffocated by his
wives if he shows signs of senility; another that he was walled up alive
in a hut. The *reth* may be killed by a rival claimant to the throne at
[114] any time. Evans-Pritchard considers that the ceremonial putting to death
of kings is probably a fiction; there is no historical evidence for it
and some Shilluk kings seem to have reigned until they were quite old.
Both Howell and Evans-Pritchard consider that there is a close connection
between the tradition of killing the king, because of the bad effects of
his waning vitality, and the tradition that a rival claimant should seize
the throne ".... we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as
indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as
has been suggested, but that any prince may lead a rebellion as the candi-
date of discontent, particularly of the part of the kingdom to which the
prince belongs. If the king has lost support in the part to which he
belongs he will probably lose also both the resulting contest and his life
in it."(1) If this is so, the traditions of king-killing are perhaps an
interpretation, couched in symbolic terms, of the actual course of events
following a rebellion against the *reth*.

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE RETH

Detailed descriptions of the installation of a new *reth* have been
[114] given - apart from information by Nornol - by Howell and Thomson who were
in Shilluk land at the election of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and of his suc-
643 cessor, King Anei in 1944. In the events described by them the political,
ritual and symbolic nature of the *reth* and the importance of the Nyikang
myths may be clearly seen. In addition, the relationships between the
various social divisions and between the territorial and kinship segments
may be perceived in action. The whole tribe participates in some degree,
[644] for a series of ceremonies is carried out by the clans, in which each has
a special traditional role to play.

The interregnum is a period of danger, owing to the war which may
break out over the choice of a successor and owing to the absence of the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.34-5.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *oruru* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *oruru* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Lusk, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Dak. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Dak may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabalo settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
●69 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
171 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
54 organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three
[88] or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

is in accordance with Shilluk tradition, but the kings prior to this period appear to have had a stability of tenure unknown during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[1] The opposition sprang from resentment of an excessive and often oppressive use of the powers accorded to him and also from a reaction to the interference of an alien government, for many of the *reths* of that period were no more than puppets. 177 646 693

reth Kwathker, who was the *reth* of the Shilluk at the time of the first arrival of the Turkish 'Mudir' at Fashoda, was deposed and replaced by a nominee called Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk.[2] A civil war between the north and the Government on one side supporting Ajang, and the south supporting Kwathker followed. The south was defeated, and Kwathker died in chains at Fashoda.[3] Ajang was himself deposed shortly afterwards and the Turks attempted to administer the Shilluk without a *reth* at all. This policy was, however, entirely unsuccessful and, after a clash which resulted in a massacre of Government troops at Kaka in 1875, Kweikon, son of Kwathker, was installed as *reth*. A few years later Kweikon joined the Turkish troops in their attack on the forces of the Mahdi at Jebel Gadir. The Turkish and Shilluk forces were annihilated and Kweikon was killed. Subsequently, after a period of interregnum, Yor, son of *reth* Akoc, who had visited the Mahdi and received his support, installed himself at Fashoda. The support of the *Mahdia*, however, did not continue under the régime of the Khalifa Abdullahi, and Yor was finally captured and beheaded by the Emir Zeki Tumal near Tonga. His successor was Kur, another son of *reth* Nyidhok, who was a Mahdist puppet and called by them Abdel Fadil. During Kur's absence in Omdurman, Akol, a son of Kwathker, supported by the southern Shilluk attempted a *coup d'état*, but was unsuccessful owing to the intervention of the northern Shilluk. The present Government arrived in 1898, and Kur remained in power until 1903, when he was deposed for 'unjust and oppressive' actions against his people. He was replaced by Fadiet, a Government nominee, who died in 1917. After a show of opposition by the southern Shilluk, who supported Coti, son of *reth* Ajang, Fafiti, son of Yor, was finally installed at Fashoda in 1917 and ruled until 1943. He was followed in quick succession by Anei wad Kur, who died less than two years after his installation, and Dak wad Fadiet, who died in 1951. The present *reth*-elect, not yet formally installed, is Kur wad Fafiti. 175 643 648

Throughout this period, administration was carried out through the agency of the *reth*, although there were frequent attempts to increase the authority of local chiefs, formed into Chiefs' Courts. It may be noted also that there were occasional attempts to oust Fafiti in favour of rivals, the most notable of whom was Nyawelo wad Kur who was exiled in 1932. These attempts were, however, severely suppressed by the Government and it is impossible even to guess whether they would have been successful, if the reigning *reth* had not enjoyed an artificial stability of tenure provided by the Government. During this period the policy of the Government was to establish tribunals throughout the country from which final appeal lay to the *reth* himself. The extent of the jurisdiction of these tribunals has varied considerably from time to time, the boundaries being altered, for administrative convenience, to approximate to the 175 631 648 [669]

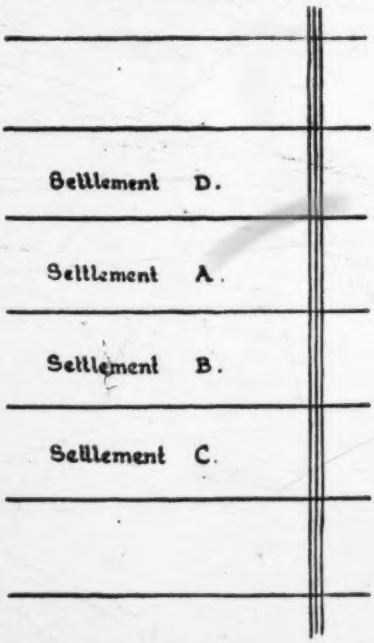
[1] See Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, and also Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, on traditions about the early *reths*.

[2] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 75, i.e. those living in Lusk. The division into Lusk and Gerr has had not only ritual but political significance.

[3] Kodok—Turkish Province Headquarters and called by them Fashoda. Fashoda is in fact the capital of the *reth* and lies some fifteen miles south of Kodok.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Other examples are recorded in the Shilluk District records.[1] Another important factor is the nature of Shilluk territorial organization. Settlements can, in a sense, actively continue a feud only with their immediate neighbours on either side. Thus, if a man of settlement *A* (see fig.) kills a man of settlement *B*, this may be the beginning of a feud which, though sometimes dormant, frequently breaks out again, because both sides are easily mobilized against each other; also it may lead to serious clashes in which the casualties may be considerable. At the same time, the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively greater. A feud between settlement *A* and settlement *C*, and even more between settlements *D* and *C*, is less easily sustained, though the sanctions for peaceful composition are comparatively less effective owing to territorial distance. Moreover, owing to kinship links which stretch across the boundaries of the settlements, there may be a tendency for intervening settlements to oppose further strife, or sometimes, on the other hand, to take sides in the affray, in which case internal warfare on a much wider scale may result. Demographic factors are here important and more easily discernible owing to the peculiar nature of Shilluk country and the way in which it is segmented in a continuous line from north to south, the boundaries being more or less at right angles to the Nile.



This form of sustained blood-feud between settlements in Shilluk society[2] is characteristic and endemic, and there are many instances both during the régime of the present Government and also during the previous Turkish administration, of which no official records are extant, but concerning which references may be found in the literature of early European travellers. Other forms of internal strife are either on a greater scale—widespread clashes often connected with subversive movements against the ruling *reth*—or minor hostilities within a settlement which concern the component lineages; from the evidence available, these appear to have been less prolonged than feuds between settlements. The first type of hostilities cannot really be

[1] The authorities were much exercised over the problem of feuds and homicide—at any rate up to 1935—and the incidence of homicide was until then very high indeed.

[2] I do not here attempt to correlate the Shilluk 'settlement' with similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. If one called the four main provinces 'primary segments', the divisions (*lak*) would be 'secondary segments' and settlements would be 'tertiary segments' as described among the Nuer. The use of similar terms, however, presupposes a similarity of structure which does not exist, for segmentation among the Nuer is based on the analogy of a lineage, but this is not so among the Shilluk. Furthermore, can the Shilluk 'nation' (sometimes called tribe) be compared directly to a Nuer 'tribe'? Similar difficulties arise when we attempt to compare political or social units among the Dinka, although

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described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth'*s Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

On this subject the Seligmans say:

> As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Nyork Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within* a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jage* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor-car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwo* Oman lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwo* Oman are set in Ogod *Bote* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Welcome Report, 1911.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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remnant, *derimo olang*[5]. These blacks in time also became *Collo* and the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Collo* par excellence, became known as *Kwar Reth*[6] in distinction from the remainder. 173

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Wau, Nyikang had disappeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Reth*. Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fun* raided the country as far north as the latitude of El Dueim. In this he met little opposition. The main powers then existing were the kingdom of Tegale to the west and that of the Fung to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have dominated the White Nile until about 1800. The northern boundary of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the village of Tworokit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agha), the country beyond being considered (as it is to this day described) as "raiding country."[7]

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave trader El Fiki Mohammed Kheir in the reign of *Reth* Kwadhker (approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with the Anuak; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west in the reign of *Reth* Tugo (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached Zeraf Island a little later. When the first Mudir of Fashoda[8] took up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Reth* Kwadhker was reigning and the distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day. 175

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this Mudir in the scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a proceeding not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Reth* Kwadhker who had by then been deposed by the Mudir in favour of the Turkish puppet Ajang Nyidhok. At this period there was serious civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the usurper Ajang and the Government, and the southern half, supporting the deposed Kwadhker. Finally after Kwadhker had for many years 175 648 669

5. This may be translated "black battalions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Omon* means the descendants of Omon and *Kwar Reth* means the descendants of the (original) *Reth*, that is Nyikang.

7. "*pahe manyo*."

8. Ali Bey Kordi.

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eluded capture the Mudir lured him into his encampment at Lul and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Reth Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Mudir, Yusef Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1875 Romolo Gessi, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Mudir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Gessi being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as *Reth* Kwiekon a son of Kwadhker. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1400 strong which included *Reth* Kwiekon and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Mudir and Kwiekon.

Kodok then became one of the marooned garrisons. A certain Jok Akoc[a] succeeded Kwiekon, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akoc (father of the present *Reth* Fafiti and brother of Jok) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed *Reth*. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. *Safia* with a large body of Ta'aisha to feed off the country. *Reth* Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummal, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

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[a] Jok was never officially *Reth* and was superseded by his brother Yor almost at once.

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ordered to punish this recalcitrance. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, succeeding finally in arresting *Reth* Yor whom he had beheaded at Fadiang. 175 648

Kur Nyidhok, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummal and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kur to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdullahi. No sooner had Kur gone than Akol, another of Kwadhker sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the sections from Burbok to Both at the battle of Kwom. This attempt was punished by Kur on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettim where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujop on the Sobat. Kur was *Reth* at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fadiet. Fadiet was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yor Akoc, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamur of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Coti, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been *Reth*. Coti's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bol Ayuel, Chief of Golbañ, and Coti by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Debalo. The Chiefs of Golbañ and Debalo are *ex officio* primarily responsible for electing the new *Reth* and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonised by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Coti's cousin, Nyaweilo Kur, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyaweilo improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [669]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the *reth's* divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers. 643 776

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fafiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th *reth* because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hoffmeyer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey. (*Vide* Appendix IV). 173 643

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk *reths* are these: 643

1. That only the son of a *reth* who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a *reth* is entitled *nyireth* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognized that a *nyireth* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the *reth*. [669]

3. For this reason the *reth's* sons or sons of previous *reths* are always potentially in opposition to the ruling *reth*, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the *reth* must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new *reth* Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and [644]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly [775] appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential [669] danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either [648] in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. How much greater then must

643 of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time of the early maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth*
766 elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over quicaly; maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a desire to get all the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the *reth* had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty cut down as far as possible

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an interesting gauge, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through
643 various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk
[668] to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period
● [669] of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of *reth* Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their
766 men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but
[626] public opinion required that those who could, should help according to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived farther away.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, 643 Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which pr[illegible]d civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "canvassing" of one of the sons of *reth* Fadiet never amounted to opposition.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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government intervention in the past. As several of the electors said, "if there had not been agreement between the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, we should have gone home, each behind our leader" —presumably to prepare for war. 631 643 666 669

At the meetings of the electoral college etiquette was very strict, and as far as we could make out, the order, in theory, was that the chief of Gol Nyikang proposes a candidate to the chief of Gol Dhiang; no doubt this is in fact discussed privately by the two chiefs. The chief of Gol Dhiang replies agreeing to the proposal (or not, as the case may be). In fact there is not much more for the other members to say, though they doubtless know before hand, and may even have some say in who is to be the candidate proposed by their chief. Should any chief or notable, outside the electoral college, be sitting at their meeting, as did in fact happen, he would be very careful not to do more than listen. He would feel it quite out of place to express an opinion, however important his position might be. We think that on the surface at least considerable honour was paid to the observance of this etiquette. It would, however, have been odd if there had not been a great deal of "lobbying." 631 643 666

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor and his initial establishment in Fashoda there is an awkward period in which the Shilluk feel a sense of potential danger. Custom requires that all *nyireths*, potential claimants to the throne, should remain at home. Should anyone among them wish to defy custom and try to obtain a following to instal himself in Fashoda, this is his chance. After the electoral college has agreed upon a new *reth* the chances of a pretender become much less, though the period of danger is never quite over till after the installation of the chosen *reth* by Nyikang in Fashoda. The danger from ambush, illness, or disaster attributed to the *reth* always exists. 643 669

The procedure for seizing the throne of Fashoda by force is as follows. A *nyireth* who is living in a section of the Shilluk, and who fancies his chances of becoming *reth*, persuades, or is persuaded by the chief of his settlement or section to start an insurrection; without the co-operation of the *nyireth* and his chief an insurrection is impos- 643 669 622

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 669 [623] sible, for only the settlement chief can call up the necessary force of warriors. Equally an insurrection must centre round a *nyireth*, for only *nyireths* are eligible to become *reths*. (It is for this reason that Shilluk custom enjoins upon all *nyireths* to remain quietly at home, as a safeguard, during an interregnum.) The procedure then varies with the fortunes of war. It seems probable that one settlement—there are some 100 settlements in the Shilluk country—would not of itself be able to start openly a campaign of violence. Should the electoral college fail to agree upon a single choice, then there would be a good chance of a pretender rallying half the kingdom to his cause, as Cuti Ajang succeeded in doing in 1917.

643 When the electoral college has settled upon a choice, the initial formalities take place very quietly, as if to avoid attracting attention. The new *reth* (who will not be *reth* in full sense till Nyikang has installed him) is brought by the chief of Gol Nyikang, traditionally after a mock duel, though we doubt whether this is obligatory. He is brought stealthily and by night, and at early dawn a bull is speared at Fashoda, and he is taken into the house favoured by his father in his life time in Fashoda, where he has to step over a sheep, held prostrate at the entrance to the house, and has a string of beads tied on to his ankle. The spearing of the bull and the tying on of the beads both symbolize his new status of what we may call *reth*-elect. We think the spearing of the bull is the more significant.

It is interesting that on this first day Anei was obviously under the stress of great emotion, natural in one who overnight, finds himself translated into the incarnation of the tribal hero, who is so closely descended from God.

631 643 Immediately on being introduced to Fashoda the *reth*-elect starts to receive the homage, unoffically and without ceremony, of the chiefs of his kingdom. They come from all parts of the country, and for a chief to fail to come would be a sign of disaffection, or at best gross discourtesy. The *reth's* brothers too all come, or should come, to pay homage, and other *nyireths* as well. His brothers appear to bear 643 644

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 to the mound of Fashoda, which is called Aturwic, and with it the shield and spears of Nyikang.

The *reth* was now in seclusion. No one but his most personal attendants might visit him. We were told that he would be stripped, bathed, and clothed in new robes during that afternoon. It was neither seemly nor possible to enquire too deeply into this part of the investiture, for it is conducted in strict secrecy. There is evidence that this ritual bathing takes place within the temporary camp Adul, because the smaller of the two huts is known as the "bathing room." Shilluk say that the *reth* is bathed alternately with hot and cold water, so that he shall not be subjected to extremes of temperature. It is a symbolic rite emphasizing his people's desire that he shall rule them with even temper throughout his reign. The fact is mentioned by [114] Munro in his account of Fafiti's installation (Note 18), and informants confirmed the tradition at the installation of *reth* Anel.

During the heat of the day the main crowds dispersed to their homes, but there were still large numbers of Shilluk sitting in and around Fashoda that evening. Most of these were relatives and friends of the inhabitants of the capital, who provided them with [273] refreshment, since the ban on drinking beer was lifted after the *reth*'s retirement. The Ororo and attendants of the *reth* were putting up wind-screens round the *reth's* camp, under which they would sleep [669] that night to guard him from possible attack. The danger to the *reth's* life was not yet over, a fact which repeatedly appeared from the care and attention of his guardians. The Shilluk describe this period of the ceremonies as "the *reth's* camp *outside* Fashoda", and it was evident that he had not, in the eyes of the Shilluk, entered his capital. His final acceptance by Nyikang and by the Shilluk people still remained in doubt, though one of the most dangerous periods of his initiation from election to final installation had been successfully passed.

The same evening outside the shrine of Nyikang some of the

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24, p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*. [114]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

643 was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reth* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking of the *reth* (c.f. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — [195] "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *reth*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *reth* 643 became more and more worried as the installation approached. There 669 were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *nyiroth* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reth's* party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reth's* nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. 643 It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take [821] place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, [614] carried by Kwanyikwom, the second clan from Akurwa, who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorielker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debalo. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golbainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's army* were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

114 643 669 941

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed [illegible] Both the [illegible] on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anri had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

[775] [783]

643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. [469] Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fadiet. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fadiet was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. *Mr. J. L. Baker*, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following were:

1. *Jago* Yorkiher (Gol Dhiang)
2. *Jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *Awanyireth* Cayo (*jang bowreth*)[2]

[1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fadiet, notably that of Nywemio *wad* Kur in 1932. See Humphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 3.

[2] *Jago jang bowreth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *bowreth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adondo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debolo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debolo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debolo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debolo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the disinterest of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would [illegible] after the arrival of his father. [illegible] Nyikang's arrival at Adondo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debolo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the tractic should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established customs if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debalo run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debalo until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debalo. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in [753 828] their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not [644] allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debalo to Fashoda the coronation [664] is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebajur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango [644] on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Duk are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyeh holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums [775] and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of [illegible]

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of 233 the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debalo. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debalo, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to give his [illegible], upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous ruler. Moreover, it is the recognised right of any potential [669]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the
682 reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is,
669 as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or
731 otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the
[775] country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them: famine, pestilence, invasion, and—during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter a [illegible] effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installation of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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644 [608] born there is brought up in that village under the tutelage of the chief. If the child is a boy he is brought up in much the same manner as other boys of the village but it is not forgotten that he is a Nyireth, and consequently a potential king. He is given a herd of cattle, and on reaching manhood is expected to found his own village, also at a distance from [669] Fashoda, for the fear of assassination is always present to the reth, and hence it is ever the royal policy to keep all the princes as far distant from Fashoda as possible.

* * *

581 583 Marriage is an important affair, not only for those directly concerned, but for the whole community, for among the Shilluk it has many economic implications arising chiefly from the condition of the dowry or bride-price, almost universal throughout Africa. When the Shilluk youth, decorated 584 in his best, goes a-wooing, if the lady of his choice accepts the heart and fortune which he casts at her feet and coyly says yes, she is sure to say that he must 'see father first'. I presume that an English youth in similar happy circumstances would address his prospective father-in-law thus: 'Sir, I wish to marry your daughter. She has done me the honour of promising to be my wife,' and with a brief discussion of present security and future prospects, the matter would be quickly settled. Not so does the Shilluk bridegroom-to-be approach his future in-laws; he does not appear in person, but sends one or two friends to negotiate the marriage for him. Nor must the ambassador come empty-handed, but must bring the traditional gifts as befitting the occasion; spears, hoes, tobacco and firewood for the father and mother of the girl and, as the negotiations proceed, upwards of seven sheep which become the property of her brother or cousins, and finally, and most important of all, the cattle.

583 The bride-price of ten or more head of cattle is an essential condition for every Shilluk marriage. It may be paid in instalments and indeed generally is, and its payment usually extends over several years, but there can can be no question of the young couple living together as husband and wife

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, durra, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [65]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 671 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tygi orgi* ("men of crime") or *adjrg*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjrg*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjrg* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjrg* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjrg*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol 692 leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

643 Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial 692 authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or [676] judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. Accord- [627] ing to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, [682] the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

628 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the 643 form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, 692 sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is [171] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.157.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*, p.162.
(4) Oyler, *S.N.L.* 1920, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 1, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Pumphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*pudh*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*tuic*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wak*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pur*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwa*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *spirith* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *spirith* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *spirith* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *spirths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *spirith* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwareth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

171 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterises unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *wegho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *wunt* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. F. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society,', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kaufir' (presumably Kwathet), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwego*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

Accidental killing (*agwey*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amounts to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwego*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kaw*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwego* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal jur*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal jur* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal jur*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *ruth* or Ghost - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghosts - a form of Witchcraft', *J.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajuogo*, magician, *jal jur*, sorcerer, *yuok*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *J.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *J.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 191.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognised.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuie ji kipa reme*'.

We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the recognised power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sanctions by the present Government.

[1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 19.

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bambacher and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [563]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 110 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite so uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. POWER OF THE KING [65]

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. JURISDICTION 671 673 665

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict becomes the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ŋpi ŋyi* ("men of crime") or *adjŋ*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjŋ*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjŋ* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjŋ* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 569 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjŋ*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

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682
673
DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY
681
[682]

and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a *district chief*; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or *district chief*, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

174
EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is closely reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either dubbed and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of blackish beings who were partly men and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when dubbed, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

565
SOCIAL CONSTITUTION
174

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwo* cf. "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an elusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 133. Probably the name of the Shilluks only means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "black".

[101]

there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the gol of their oldest brother or in that of their father's married brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the gol; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his gol. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (yiw)

Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained there. There is often a gra, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

The Settlement (pudh)

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spatially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognized by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organization, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

The lineage organization within a settlement revolves round two recognized types of lineages: the dyil and the nedh. It is said that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, originally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed dyil to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called nedh. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the nedh lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes dyil. The members of the dyil lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The dyil form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The nedh lineage members are not socially inferior, but the dyil lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the dyil of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

The chief of the settlement, the reg, is taken from the dyil lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the dyil lineage is taken over by a stranger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original dyil lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original dyil lineage remain.

(c) *Nyereth* - The son of a *Nyereth*.
(d) *Ennyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyereth*.

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyereth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *po nyereth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement.

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house.

The Oruro

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The oruro are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the oruro always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the oruro.

The Bong Reth

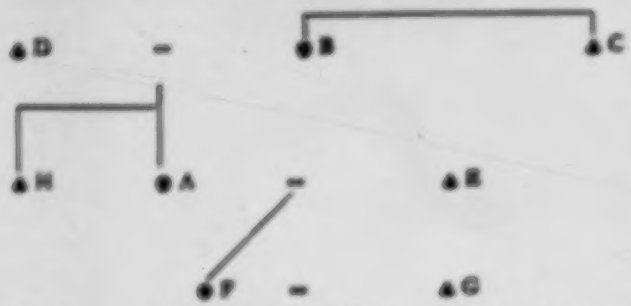
The bong *reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shilluk land, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the bong *reth* also included all those who were outlawed because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang.

The bong *reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the bong *reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer born, "my grand-daughter".

The bong *reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyereth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become bong

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uncle) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually discussed by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uncles and half-brothers within one domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uncles since, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats* are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

* The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instances of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhum*, ' the replacement of a man '. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of ' ghost-marriage ',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be assured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with ' blood-cattle ' is called *nyo wir dhum*, ' the girl in place of the man ',[2] and although she is not married specifically ' to the name of the dead man ', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken in marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

682 [608] [173] 583 613 682 [171]

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: ' To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*a nyom*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

[171] 682 565 614 644

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

682 [562] [672]

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

[171]

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the ' Leopard-Skin Chief ' among the Nuer, and the ' Chief of the Spear ' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the ' blood-cattle ' in return for their services;

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[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–12. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ohir ot ohir* (literally to-me) which means literally ' father dead '.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwar* takes the *yang kwoar* in return for his services; only on the negotiations for peace, the *reath rum* (' bull calf of blood ') and *yang kwar* (' cow of the leopard-skin '), besides two cows which he sacrifices at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern there might

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry 682 a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*ouile ji kipo reno*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the 643 Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 692 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact 114 additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. [671] If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 25.

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The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 751 751 [752]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows. [755]

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine. 692 751 754

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear. 754 826

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person. 626 754 431 736

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye. 751 754 626

11; Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jel yet* (the first *e* as in bed, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yet* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees. 754 [192]

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. These different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful. 754 824

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case. 845 [847]

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He [344] 672 845 847

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
835 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

835 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the hole are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

852 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
835 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

759 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
647 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire
683 of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no man is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

759 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, rotten apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*ñak*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a communal sleep hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gew*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the paterfamilias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwor* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari jasse* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[20]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [593] [621] [622]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613] [614] [612]

20. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to grain.

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

*539 *Jal nijig e nwyng. Ka nen a ɗuchg lijng, e kîng yi; ka jal gwi wîrj, kjne: ò, go yi ag? Yo ly kpk. Ka nen a ɗuchg ka kwîna wgk. Ka gg ngng, ka gg îîrg yi kpk; chama ni lwig fwi, ka ning kkkâ mjji yi kpk.*

*Ka gg hgig lij kwgig ki lygi, ka nen a ɗuchg lîna wgt (ygi), e kîng gin chum. Ka gg lîjng, gg kîig lygi, ka gg yjîka ɗwi; nen a ɗuchg kkchî gîn, nen a ɗuchg pgwg ki ggwe wgt. Ká gi nîmnj, ka ni ka: ì, ɗwi, chg (cha) dwgi e wwk mîgi (mîi), nwîl ɗwi! Ka gg nwîla. Ka gg yîjig ki lygi. Ka nen a ɗuchg fjîhg kjne: nîmîo, a kjki? a go re ma rug? Jal e ka: ì nwng-tjwn! ggi ɗgga! Kjne: kjwwig? Kjne: ckâ re a wîko ga kpk? ka: ì, fatje gîn a kîhj nwn kjne: go yi ag? Ka nal gwi kgjn wgk; ka wgn chwjî, ka e kjng; e ka: ì, pjwrke ma wwn, wîko ga ɗgga! kjne: kjwwig? Kjne: ì, pjwrke gwn! A pgwy nîm gwi, kjne: nîm! ì kjki? A kîp ñnta, cha wîkî gg ɗgg! Kjne: ì, kîchî gîn! Ño tjwn, ii kwîp! Yo kjla yi nwn; a kîhj kjne: ggn a yi ag? Kgî gwi nwn; ɗwn (ygwn) kjjki. Kjne: ìî! A tîre yi kpk, a kjji gg kj kwîla kjji, a kjja gîn chum wgt, gg ɗjk. Fatje kgî gwi nwn? a kjwj, a kîhj kjne: ɗwk, cha dwgi e wwk kjgki! a nîm gîn, ɗwi kîhî, kjne: yî wjn! A kîhj: ma tjwn! ggi ɗgga! A kîhe kjne: kjk! ma gîn a kjgi ɗwk, kjne: go yi ag? Fatje kgî gwi a kjn nwn? A kjla gîn chum; a yjkî. A kîhe wîy nîm ɗwi: yi kwwîn kwjwîg? Aki? ckî kjyjî a kwîl yi gîn! A kîhe kjne: kjwwig? Yî dj, a wîko ga kpk! Yî cha (yi) kîwn! ɗgyi gjîna gîn. A kjla, a kjle wgj, wgn kjyj, a kjyj kwgn ɗrj, a jwwj kwgn.

[56] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him
*539 water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was
593 angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon
581 the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in
● [579] the same house) went to steal corn. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen corn. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the men said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle.*[1] She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

[1] This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder, and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the great antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his overall ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 111. These great district chiefs are known as *Long Dwong*. This is not a reduplicated form rather a contracted form, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are ugo.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shillak F323

643

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Bauholzer and Dr. Gillen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, beans, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [65]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 691 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict becomes the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ngai ovyk* ("men of crime") or *ndipy*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *ndipy*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *ndipy* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *ndipy* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *ndipy*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

4:Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

LEGAL PROCEDURE

According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headmen is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the reth. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the reth's judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the reth's peace, disputing the reth's judgement, breaking the reth's and Nyikang's laws.

Information suggests that in practice in the past the reth's judicial authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or judgement of the reth's court was executed by the reth's bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, the reth kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the reth supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes both by the reth's intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the reth is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the reth is comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.137.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.38.
(4) Oyler, J.A.I. 1930, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Duk and Dimo, in which Duk struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Dwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Duk represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Duk and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Duk, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 230.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 188.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1948 p. 56.
[4] Oyler, 1928, (i), p. 198.
[5] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 98.

8/Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rate of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines and prostitutes.* This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what may be called "active divorce", when both parties are still living, and "dissolution of legal union", which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

* Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 1948 meeting of the Shilluk Council (1949) records: "Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman who fornicates and will be followed by imprisonment:-
(i) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(ii) Tying her up outside a night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(iii) Smoking her in a closed up house.
(iv) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.
The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her non-mortal correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle[30]. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614 422 592

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. [583] [681] [626]

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. [613 614 672]

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 term applies only to the descendants of the original com-
563 panions of Nyikang, but in practice it embraces the whole of the common people and includes those who were probably in possession of the land before the coming of the Shilluk and who were conquered and absorbed into the tribe, and individuals of other tribes who, whatever their origin, have come into the country and settled there, eventually merging with the people.

565 The last class is that of the Bang Reth, the servants of the
644 king. This group is made up of the king's personal attend-
[567] ants, his wives and the wives of former kings, and the descendants of former royal slaves. It includes also those who have taken up special service with the king because of their reverence for his sacred office as Vicar of Nyikang, those who by reason of their utter destitution have been driven to accept the yoke of bondage to the king that they might share the bounty of the royal table, and those who
[567] have been enslaved on account of a crime committed by
[581] some member of their family who himself has escaped the king's justice.

565 Marriage is permitted between the Kwareth and members
582 of the other three classes with certain exceptions. Thus, for example, a Kwareth may marry into the Bareth, but he may not wed the former wife of a king, or the widow of a king. The daughters of a king may not marry at all; since in theory all the cattle in the land belong to the king, no one can offer him a dowry, and so his daughters must go unmarried. In
644 marriage the great rule of exogamy, that is marriage outside
565 the clan, must be observed. Now the Kwareth form only one
582 clan, as also do the Ororo, but the Colo and the Bang Reth are divided into several clans. A member of the Kwareth class may not therefore marry another Kwareth, or a member of the Ororo another of the same class, but members of the Colo and the Bareth may marry into other clans of the Colo and Bareth.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and
• [681] mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is
the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence
permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy
of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native
peoples of the country to administer their own territory
according to their age-long traditions and usages. And in-
deed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner
with only a handful of police to help him in administering
an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed
of the power of being in several places at once, can attend
personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually
come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious
criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[644] and the district chiefs.
577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an
individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these
cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the
African has a strong sense of justice and resents being
treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents
being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being
treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to
tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and
nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing
tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has. 695 693

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested. 681 [683] [684] [685] 682 628

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was 628

643

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Burkhalter and Dr. Gillen her name is not mentioned. [642]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 150 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [643]

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dress, beads, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, to perform also. POWER OF THE KING [645]

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have no unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the case perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. JURISDICTION 647 649 651

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict becomes the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ngai ngai* ("man of crime") or *ndiya*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves of the royal court and are called *ndiya*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *ndiya* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *ndiya* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants becomes also slaves. 651 567 [649]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *ndiya*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a rope round his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 672 672

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

GR2
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[92]

and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 107), every one of which is provided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the morning is cooler, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either dedeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 165 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fairskinned beings who were partly men and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when dedeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a distinctionction being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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174

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa rij* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 133. Probably the name of the Shilluks chiefly means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

when a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

*539 928 578 595 626 one; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 587 788 641 The wives of the dead man are treated (dealt with) thus: the elder brother of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Ëlëp lëpë, gwëlëj, ë bëj wëjë, ka lëjë, ka ëbëjë lëëj, ka ëam gwë ë wëjëj, ka bëj ëg kwëjy: yë wëkë ëlëg ë wëp? Kë bëë pëëb, ka tëpy bëj wëjë, ka tëpë ë wëpë lëjë ëg yëbë jwëm, yë këm. Ka tëpëëg lëpëg, lëë wëj; ka ëëëb yëëb, ëëpë wëëb, ka lëpë lëjë. Ka tëpy lëpëg, ëëb ë lëjë ëëp Jëë. Ka wë ë ëëb lëëë wëj, ka ëëb ëëëb. Ka ëëb wëpëë yëë yë jëëëy, ka wëëjë wëj, ka wëj ë wëëj, ka ë kë: këj, ëëë! Ka tëpy ëëëëj, ka wëp ë këëg ëëwë, ka wëp ë këëg ëëwë, ka ëëb ë ëëwëj, yë yëëëy. Ka ëëwëb wëjë, ka ë lëpëg, ka: bëj yë jëëëy, këë: kwëp lëëë ëë? Këë: kwëf ë yëm. Ka ëëb lëjë, ka yë tëëë, ka yë wëëëy kë ëëëb, wëëb kwëëkë tëpë wëj. Ka tëpë wëj yëëëj, këë: ëëëy wëëb! Ka wëkë kë ëëwë wëëëy, ka ëëb lëjë, ka tëpë wëj ë lëpëg, këpë Ëëëëëëy kë tëpë ëëëy, tëpë ëëëëy ëëëë ëëb ëëëëb. Ka wëj këëëy ëëb ëëëëb, wëëj ëëëëë yëëb ëëë ëëë.*

*539 682 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors comes, the "army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the dove is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two fowls are lacerated by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassador of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Ad wijiŋ, jal Mwomo, jal mokijiŋ, ka ŋiki yi rij Yo. Ka tyak ŋin i yoŋiŋ. Ka ji ŋi lui yi jiŋ bunt, ka yy ŋi mudu, ka yy chipi ŋuŋ, ka ji e lijiŋ ŋyor ahi-bjil, ka ŋuŋ ŋiŋ, ka yy dunji; ka yy rumu dunji. ka yy tyak; ka yy rumu tyak, ka bil bjil ŋuŋ, ka ŋiŋ bjil, ka ŋiki, ŋuŋ yyy bil; ka bil tjil ŋuŋ bj ŋyr, ka bil tjil ŋuŋ, ka ŋiŋ bjil, ka ŋiki; ka yuŋyo yuŋ, ka ŋyor ahi bjil bjil ŋiki, ka yy ŋiki. (ŋin) ŋiŋ e ŋiki yi rij. Ki gui ŋuun, ka Chol e buŋŋ lipu.

A certain man, a man of Mwomo, a very good man, was killed by king Yo. His relations mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), those were caught by the relations of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Bok Dr Ajak Bola Dwayiang, carried on a law-suit. Bok was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Ochangy. He carried on the law-suit with Ayik, in the court of king Nyakwacky. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayik with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwijcy (which was the village of Ayik) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayik) were caught, and Ayik was brought (banished) to Dwang.

539* 692 694 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kyat ceak ncen, ka tjcy kajki', ka tjcy ninij gat, ka kji ndu pam, ka ceak e kjwa, ka kyi mdjyo kj ceak, ka jl tjdu, ka jl ddang. Ko ungu ri, ka mungu kjwa, ka tjcy mdjyg, ka ment ka kjl, ka e mcdg kj gkip. Ko tjcy ryim wajk, ka tjcyi djl e djdg, ka gkip kjl gg wajk, ka ment ajkl. Ko tjcy kl wajk, ka jjdu kjwa, ka gg pjdg: ment e gwijk ark? Kjwa: e ajk! Kjwa: dg g ga kpa? Kjwa: wat. Yark! Ko yark. Ko e ka: ajkl, kl gnk kjgg. Ko kjjr yaark kjgg, ka tjcy kjwa ckij, ka ment djl gi jkjgg, mnie kjgg. Ko e chwgdg jk, ka jjdk dwai, ka e ckim; tjcy ka: ij, ment an dkjrk. Ojakj mjdg ka ment mjdg kwink, ka ckim gi tjcw gam.

539*

Ko gkjgg e chwdjg, ka tjcy kjwa, ka e pjdag kjwa: ucuna gnk jkk, ga gamu gjcka mdjdg, gwl kwkim kj gag ncem kl; kjwa: ñ gim ñdg? Ta gamu kwgl. Kjwa: ñ, kicki ungu? Kjwa: ñ, fiajr ment e ckim kj gag ment? Kjwa: ñ, e ckimg, mangin ment kjwa. Kjwa: ñ, ckkki! Ko e kjgdg, kjwa: ga ka ckmdg. Kjwa: ñ, wa kl Bmkkidg. Kjwa: ñ, ua kadg.

Ko ga kadg, ka ga mdjo Bmkkidg, kl gi gjkwi, kjwa: ucuu (wag), gi gkll gi kwip kwgfo ment; kwgl a chimi gu, kwgl kjgg. Kjwa: ñ, gi chamu ñg, ment? Kjwa: uuu, kicki gim. Ñjg e ka: gg, (yiki), kgj ckkl kj gkjl gi gydwg, kj gkip! Ko e kjwg, ka e chmdg gkjl gi gydwg, kj gkip; ka ga kjl kilo rij, g tjcw kjwi', ka ga ckwg.

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was spotted, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chieh came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chieh said, "Skin it!" And it was

539* 226 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

LEGAL PROCEDURE

According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headmen is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the reth. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the reth's judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the reth's peace, disputing the reth's judgement, breaking the reth's and Nyikang's laws.

Information suggests that in practice in the past the reth's judicial authority was by no means unilateral. Hofmayr maintains that no order or judgement of the reth's court was executed by the reth's bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, the reth kept the cattle but might give one or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

Intervention in a serious feud between two disputes probably took the form of the reth supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the reth's intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the reth is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the reth is comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.127.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.10.
(4) Oyler, S.N.L. 1928, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

Government, with
country as administ
of each, these consi
not necessarily evide
Pumphrey expresses
Justice was ultimate
called conditions chiefly
Justice was probably
each low-caste as their
cases chief or by the
to have had the
unpublished record.

I do not think it is
administration and Co
the heads of provinc
village headmen. ...
used to attract cases to
head men. There was
Lotti and Gore head
of Moomo and Tonga
for invading country
the reth's representative
themselves and used
Beneath these four
'Section Chiefs' are
usually somewhat sub
village has a law (by w
of villages). It was the
country used to be ruled
Fashoda. If a killing
The girl would be
would go to be slave
with another case with
the cattle from the other
consist of one or more
potential enemies. Fo
so instituted were given
consequently there was

Pumphrey's opinion
thinks there was no hi

Evans-Pritchard p
It is unlikely that the
were in any sense admin
kind by foreign govern
influence in the country

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 1
[2] Sic, order of office given

TIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the
tive units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages
g a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself, but this is
ure that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject
the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish inva-
sion was great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which
es them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves.
rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than longstanding
s were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the actual
Reth or Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said
ssess privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an
Pumphrey goes further than this and says:

> ...to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of
> ...ons with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through
> ...s, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the
> ...ntually as one Chief or another attained to hereditary prestige, he would
> ...him, and certainly for a period the predecessors of Dengan used to use
> ...s, however, only four regular officers under the *reth*. The Chiefs of
> ...on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs
> ...were chiefs of the markets whose definite job it was to keep a book
> ...on. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the markets were also
> ...in the two centres of the country and used both to see cases
> ...ing to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see.
> ...Fashoda were the Chiefs (*fuel*) i.e. holders of the *law*.' One person
> ...ly some of them *law* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (over-
> ...ventually formed) contain usually several original villages and each
> ...original village.' I mean the parent village of a group of all throughout
> ...ough these *fuel* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk
> ...d. The *reth* did not wear much, but had the people sent to him as
> ...ered, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy.
> ...ded to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy
> ...to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village was so fight-
> ...ent sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*fuel*) to take all
> ...ding villages, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would
> ...of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of
> ...y number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections
> ...to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and
> ...little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.'

...may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he
...ghly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

...ints out that:

> ...o-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they
> ...istrative departments before they were made into something of the
> ...ments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable
> ...y and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not
> ...p.

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 1
[2] ...by the reth.

[1] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Unsorted: ...since 1936.

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681 682 nominee them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.[1]

My own opinion is in accordance with these views. At any rate, if such terms are used, it should be made clear that they are qualified by the considerations already mentioned. In comparison with modern conceptions of an organized State system, or with such highly developed political institutions as are found in some African kingdoms, such as that of the Baganda, the Shilluk system cannot be said to have reached, without external influences, a high degree of rigidity or efficiency. When compared, however, with the acephalous systems of their Nuer and Dinka neighbours, it is apparent that the Shilluk had, even in early times, advanced much further along the road towards 'politically organized society'.

Homicide and Blood-feud: The *Reth*'s Role as Peacemaker

681 682 A study of the laws of homicide is likely to reveal, not only the nature of the legal system and whether or not a system of public law was in existence in the past, but also whether such law was in fact enforced by the *reth* or his representatives. In an acephalous society like that of the Nuer, and probably among the Dinka as well, we know that homicide was, until the advent of the present Government, treated purely as a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions. Thus an act of homicide would instantly lead to a blood-feud between the two segments of society concerned. A feud could be composed either by retaliation against the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen—which might lead to yet further hostilities—or by payment of an indemnity in cattle equivalent to the life of a man, to restore the equilibrium. We know too that a special functionary existed, the *kwar kwar* or 'leopard-skin chief' of the Nuer and the *kuny de ring* or 'Chief of the Spear' of the Dinka. These experts were invited by the participants to intervene and mediate between them and to supervise both the secular and ritual processes of composition and peacemaking according to accepted and conventional patterns. In no sense did they have the authority to impose their demands for peace on the people or forcefully to intervene between them. They were called upon to do so only when the will to come to terms was already there, largely determined by expediency.

We know that among the Shilluk acts of homicide were followed by feuds, often more bloody and lasting than any likely to occur among the Dinka and Nuer. We know too that blood-feuds could be composed by the payment of compensation and the performance of the ritual which accompanies such payments. But here there is a difference. While in Dinka and Nuer society there were many recognized hereditary mediators, among the Shilluk there was only one, the *reth* himself. The functions of the *reth* in the processes of peacemaking are therefore relevant. Was he, like the *kwar kwar* and the *kuny de ring*, simply a mediator and ritual expert competent to conduct the negotiations only on the demand of the people themselves, or was he able to intervene between them with an independent and neutral force behind him? In collecting the accepted indemnity, did he hand it over to the injured party as compensa-

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 14.

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tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to him self as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was compound before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1869. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connection. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to inter-tribal strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

Blood feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the institution of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[8] Hofmayr on this subject says:

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *bany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and rally forth under the leadership of the eldest *bany* against their powerful enemies.[9]

The *bany* or *bangi* is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connection is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that: 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *bany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[10] Again, in 1947:

> A *bany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for ten years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *bany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *bany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[8] Howell, op. cit., p. 13.

[9] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[10] Cf. the Dinka word *bany* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.

[11] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1954 (unpublished).

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667 691 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly compound that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the feu is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence [631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the lesser form of homicides the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds between adjacent settlements often family survival, as we have seen, but it is at this [628] 693 level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized force.

In the case of civil war over the succession of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of homicides within a settlement, the sanctions were probably [626] sufficiently formidal to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the role of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth's Role in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 692 *As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.*[1]

the Nyakoi Dinka or any very one in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 19.

[2] Lesser hostility between kinship groups within a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jaga* of Ogod *Fur* from his home in the extreme north of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *Ker* Omun lineage living just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *Ker* Omun are not in Ogod Fur which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Fur*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[1] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law.....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Wellcome Report, 1911.

There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes:

Where the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance.

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kor, he says:

Two villages, Ikó and Pabar, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pabar and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the cattle and cattle away from the village, even the chickens of the village. As he favoured Ikó, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that:

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a rope rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.[2]

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the culprit became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ryo* and ("men of crime") or *ahwa* ("slaves" of the Royal Household).

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedure in detail nor record actual instances.

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Dwai and Tiwaro already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Tidwington in 1932. He writes as follows:

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the settlers of Dwai and Tiwaro on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and 2nd. He then went to Tiwaro where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Tiwaro companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a much sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. 160.

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among the Shilluk that he was empowered to suppress immoral feuds, that he actually did so with the assistance of an army of *mawala*, and that, though the punishments inflicted on the guilty sections of the community were severe and included seizure of property and the endowment of the guilty parties, little resistance was shown. At the same time, there are five examples cited in Shilluk tradition which date back to days earlier than the first alien administration. Such methods resemble the methods employed by those who were used as agents in Turkish times to maintain some kind of order. They are also ministerial of Arab procedures, and it must be remembered that the Shilluk were influenced by Arab contacts.[1] They are in keeping also with the methods employed during the *Mahdia*.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the *reth* has always had recognized functions as an arbitrator in blood-feuds. These functions are both purely secular, in the attempt to reconcile warring factions, and ritual, in the removal of prohibitions related in feuds.[2] It is more than probable that in early days the *reth* would take no action unless he was certain that the two parties wished for peace. In Tiberington's account we hear that, 'The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. . . . The taboo on the families at feud eating together, is removed by the *reth*.'[3]

Hofmayr says: 'When the number of the dead and wounded on both sides is equal, they stop fighting. The King will hold court and punish the offender who is in the wrong.' The idea that feuds cease when the participants are tired of fighting and of a perpetual state of insecurity is stressed again and again in reports. It is at this point that the *reth*'s intervention is accepted, and it seems to me doubtful whether he would normally intervene in any other circumstances.

Indemnity for Homicide

The present recognized indemnity for wilful homicide among the Shilluk is ten head of cattle. There have been frequent attempts by the Administration during the course of the last thirty years to raise this number, so a decrease, but these attempts do not appear to have been either effective or generally accepted by the tribe. The traditional number demanded is also in doubt. Thomson, in an unpublished report, says: 'In the past blood-money for a killing was ten head of cattle to the deceased's family and ten to the *reth*. Later it became ten to the deceased's family, five to the *reth* and five to the Government. It is now (since 1931) ten head of cattle to the family of the deceased only.' I have sometimes heard it said that in *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) it was only seven head,[4] but it was raised to twenty, of which the *reth* took half, by orders of *reth* Fadiet when he first succeeded to the throne. It is also said that in the old days a girl was sometimes handed over instead of cattle, and although intermarriage between people at feud is considered wrong unless the full peace ceremonies have been completed, this girl was taken in marriage by one of the kinsmen of the dead man. If, by reason of some kinship relationship with the deceased, she fell within the prohibited degrees of marriage, she would be accepted as a

[1] Cf. The Baggara Khors: *Lolé*, whereby several tribal segments would band together to punish wrongdoers, seizing their possessions, which were handed over to the deceased's family.

[2] Such as the prohibition on eating together and on intermarriage.

[3] Tiberington, unpublished records.

[4] Sometimes quoted as being current in *reth* Kur's time (deposed 1905) too.

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daughter, would marry out of the lineage, and her bridewealth would be used to marry a wife from elsewhere. I can quote no actual instance of this custom, but it is in keeping with Shilluk ideas, and I believe it to have been common in the past. The indemnity is known in Shilluk as *ed dhom*, 'the replacement of a man'. Although the Shilluk do not have an institution comparable to the Nuer and Dinka custom of 'ghost-marriage',[1] they certainly consider that the continuity of the kinship group must be secured and the acceptance of an indemnity is primarily directed to this object. A wife married with 'blood-cattle' is called *nyo ed dhom*, 'the girl in place of the man',[2] and although she is not married specifically 'to the name of the dead man', as would be the case among both Nuer and Dinka, the principles are the same. The primary intention in accepting such payments in cattle is therefore to marry a wife into the dead man's lineage, or to acquire a girl who will either be taken on marriage or received as a daughter from whom bridewealth may be expected. Since bridewealth among the Shilluk is more or less rigidly maintained at ten head of cattle, it is logical that the indemnity for homicide should also be ten.

Among many Nilotic peoples in the past there were different rates of compensation for the taking of human life according to the status of the person killed. Among the Shilluk a greater differentiation might be expected, but there is little evidence of this, though Shilluk themselves say that to kill a member of the royal clan would be a serious offence and in the past was likely to call forth a punitive expedition by the *reth*. It is significant that Hofmayr says: 'To wound a royal prince or princess, or a royal daughter or son of a prince, whether it happens accidentally or intentionally, demands a high penalty for the shedding of royal blood (*e nyom*). In 1912 a boy accidentally injured a royal daughter with a spear and caused only a slight flesh wound. He had to pay six head of cattle (two or three to the King, one to the mother of the girl, and one to the Chief of the village).'

There is normally no distinction in the amount of compensation demanded for the death of a woman. A husband who kills his wife is not expected to pay compensation if he has completed the bridewealth payments. When a woman kills someone, her father or legal guardian is held responsible if she is unmarried; a husband is responsible for the actions of his wife.

As among other Nilotic peoples, when homicide is a joint action, the first man to cause injury to the deceased is held to be responsible for his death.

In the peacemaking negotiations described, the ritual acts and ceremonial procedures are reminiscent of those performed by the 'Leopard-Skin Chief' among the Nuer, and the 'Chief of the Spear' among many Dinka tribes. These similarities are seen in the public ceremonies rather than in the special ritual performed to relieve the killer of the spiritual contamination which is believed to follow an act of homicide; this is not surprising, since obviously the *reth* could not deal individually with every killer. Further, it is customary for these functionaries among both Nuer and Dinka to take a small proportion[3] of the 'blood-cattle' in return for their services;

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, pp. 109–10. Oxford, 1951.

[2] Mr. J. L. Baker tells me that children born in such circumstances are known as *ebir ed ebir* (according to sex) which means literally 'father dead'.

[3] For example, out of a total varying between twenty and forty head of cattle, the Nuer *kwar kwa* takes the *yang kwoai* in return for his services early on in the negotiations for peace, the *reath rowi* ('bull calf of blood') and *yang kwa* ('cow of the leopard-skin'), besides two cows which he carries at the ceremony. In some parts of Northern Dinka these might

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some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual functions in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwagi*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhat*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

Accidental killing (*agwoy*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1954 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

[1] *Ajwagi*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gaar kwath*). *Ajwagi* is a derivative of *Jwal*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

114 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the
121 Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the
671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry
a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name
●682 of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative,
[672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the
[171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo remo*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the
643 Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the
692 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against
114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth*
[671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 23.

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672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire
683 of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: «an accident», and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

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565 614 644 [643] the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 644 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers knowns as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the [727] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times [735] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary [614] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is [682] of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Abogo, *Kwar* Muol, *Kwar* Nyileng and *Kwar* Ojul.

23. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jur, *Kwar* Othou and *Kwar* Okel.

24. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jung (who were originally Dinka).

25. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Oman (of Ogod).

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of these who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my grandaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [756] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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by the Egyptian rulers of the country during the nineteenth 643
century, but it was never accepted by the Shilluk. 648

One of the first steps taken by the new government [103]
towards the settlement of the Shilluk was the deposing and exiling of the king, Kur, whose conception of the royal duties and prerogatives boded ill for the health and well-being of such of his subjects as chanced to cross him in his wrath or thwart him in his desires. Hitherto many a Shilluk Urias or Naboth whose comely wife or humble possessions had aroused envy in the royal breast, had paid for it with his life. The tribal history even recounts that one king killed his wife because she could spit further than he could! With the removal of Kur, however, there went too the King's arbitrary power of life and death over his subjects, and although the government of the country and the administration of justice was still largely left in the hands of the king and his chiefs, it was henceforward to be administered under the eye of the local British officials.

The powerful position and the respect which a Shilluk 643
king enjoys are not, however, without their price. The 682
saying that 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown' may be trite, but it is true; with the pomp and circumstance of the royal state go the cares and worries of government which have undoubtedly caused monarchs many a sleepless night. But although the burden of their office may have been accepted as the price to be paid for its power and glory, and although too there are numerous instances in history of the wearer of the royal diadem dying at the hands of the assassin or the public executioner, still it is not the generally accepted thing that he must thus inevitably perish, and that to assume the purple is in effect to sign his own death warrant. Yet that is the way with the king of the Shilluk. As I said above, upon the physical and mental fitness of the king is deemed to depend the well-being of the whole people, and any weakening of his bodily powers or impairing of his mental faculties means that he must be put out of the way, so that the country may flourish under a more lusty and vigorous
ruler. Moreover, it is the recognized right of any potential [669]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the
682 reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is,
669 as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or
731 otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the
[775] country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them; famine, pestilence, invasion, and—what comes nearer home and is always a potential danger during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
• [682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[166] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be ● 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be [881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal [565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here [683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young 881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man [305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, 881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. [561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

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periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be *ajuago*, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an *ajuago*.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an *ajuago* he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an *ajuago* are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an *ajuago* marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an *ajuago* possesses a 'gourd of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the *ajuago*'s house and is consulted for purposes of divination.(2)

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Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalyat

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The *jalyat*, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the *ajuago*. The *jalyat* is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a *jalyat*, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

[683]

The *jalyat* is thought of as being a monorchid and, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1920, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser [683] may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Yeop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father [847] and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-
846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to
842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nuole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[648 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing
682] of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
791 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*guan kwoth*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *rudh* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls - a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajuop*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *yuob*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
693 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person
754 boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

578 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
754 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish
683 that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: «an accident», and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 754 [683] [845 847]

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 683 754

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 754

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [782]

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 683 754

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

683 754 pay a fine unless he has caught the man actually working a charm. The accused says : « Whom have I injured in your house? ». He does not try to plead that he is innocent of such work, but only that he has not injured his accuser.

754 The malignant medicine man has many means of bringing disaster to people. If he is able to get a bit of hair, the parings of the nails, spittle or any thing else that has been part of the body, or the clothing of the body, he can work a charm on it, so that the owner will die. If he is ignorant of the identity of the owner, he can do nothing with these things. For that reason, when a man cuts his hair or his nails, he either hides the [302] part removed or else puts it on a public road, so that the identity of the owner can not be learned.

A case that illustrated their belief in that power occurred here once. One afternoon a man came in great wrath with his daughter. He said someone on the place had killed his daughter that morning. As she seemed to be in good health, his statement seemed to be a little ridiculous. When asked to explain, he said that she had been carrying water, and that she had laid off her outer garment which was of calf skin. When she returned to get her garment, she found that someone had cut a piece out of it. We was sure a man with the occult power to kill had done the deed. When examined the edge of the marred place was seen to be rough. Others, who had been working were called to see if the identity of the person doing the wrong could be ascertained. At last a boy said that he had seen two pups playing with the skin and dragging it about. He had driven them away, and returned it to its place. The man was satisfied that harm had not been intended against his daughter, and she returned to work.

Over a bit of mud taken from the wall of a house, or a bit of grass from the roof, a charm can be worked that will kill the owner of the house.

When a man's club falls into the hands of one of these evil men, he buries it, which is symbolical of the burial of the owner which will soon occur, or he may kill the man by cutting the club in two, or a hoe may be given to him by the children while the older people are away. He throws the hoe into the river, and the arm of the owner is destroyed so that he can not hoe. He may also steal a cow rope or a spear and work a charm on it that will kill the owner.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
gourd or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomadul. Poor Akomadul was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: «Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him.» Akomadul then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow ambach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: «He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives». Akomadul then took a white sheep, and said: «I will save the man». The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: «The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover». The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, 695
but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it 693
will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of 681
one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth [683]
out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried [684]
girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to [628]
pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the 682
case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is 628
demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive 628
from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

●684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

595 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 582 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *nogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114] [182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwobo nion ajur*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [837] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

> Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [848]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

> Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 171 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28–29.

586 *Active Divorce*: This is simply known as *tay*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *goiny tay*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known [684] as *kwor kwob*. The expression *kwor kwob* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kiec mac*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kwor* [613] *kwob* or *kiec mac* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood [848] of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *oksijo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

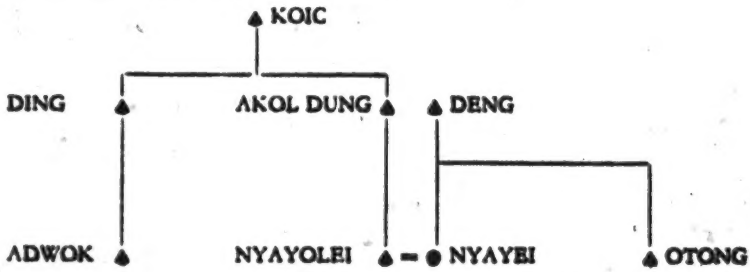
586 Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

69

Kak *wad* Banykwec *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

[583] Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £Ea.300m/ms. in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kiec mac* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



[583] Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .300m/ms. in cash. The marriage took place in *reth* Padiet's time

8:Howell E-4.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *gwitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
848 child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584] *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597] marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836] . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585] marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yar nim ajur* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cie dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yac cie dhano* or *kwor yac cie et*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okejo* (unless legitimisation fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of ruth Kur (1903).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

684 same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (*dwalo*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity
835 would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen farther
[621] removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet
[178] or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

684 The following court case illustrates the procedure.
69

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yac nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bride-
[848] wealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *okeijo*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogeng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yac cie dhano*)

Dogeng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil,
[851] but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is con-
[848] sidered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogeng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yac nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female nyireths

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *nyireth*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nierot* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *nyireths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *nyireths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *nyireths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *nyireths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *nyireths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *nyireth* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwor*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *nyireth* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *nyireth*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyireth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *nyireth* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *nyireth* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *nyireth* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *nyireths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *nyireth* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwareth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

171 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *wuot* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which ●684 case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yat cie dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yat nian a jur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo cie dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo nian a jur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting
627 in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.
[548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a
[547] son.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
696] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

THE INSTALLATION CEREMONIES.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes
643 clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepejur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepejur symbolizes the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

beating the bounds of Shilluk land at Moro, north of Kaka. The details of their progress were similar to that of 1944. 643

The only observed difference between the preliminaries for Nyikang's journey was the embassy to Fanyikang to get *dom* fibre for the ceremonial ropes. This year it was performed by 'Anongo,' one of the uncrowned sons of Nyikang, and not by Dak as in 1944. The embassy this year only went to the *dom* palm forest at Obai Dego, which is 15 miles downstream of Fanyikang.

On 28.12.46 the *reth* was still at Fashoda, and not yet fled to Debalo Kwom. It was expected that he would go before dawn on 29.12.46. Fashoda was full of his personal supporters from the southern Shilluk. I noticed that the *reth* had apparently made friends with the *nyireth* whom he had recently suspected of trying to ambush him.

The *reth* started for Debalo secretly at about 3.00 a.m. on 29.12.46. After resting half way, he entered Debalo, after the village had ceremonially resisted him three times. He stepped over a black sheep, held by Ororo. When he entered, his supporters all broke into one of the songs of Nyikang. This was a mistake, as the whole proceeding should have been secret. The *reth* stayed at the same broken down house as in 1944, and the same royal house was prepared, and left empty.

Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was in charge of the ceremonies. All the fires had been put out before the *reth's* arrival, and preparations had been made to light new fire by the ceremonial method of *pic mac*. This method is later used at Fashoda and is described in our previous article (op. cit. p. 65). A bull was brought by Jago Yorleiker, which was to be speared when the *reth* came out of seclusion to be greeted by the assembled chiefs of Gol Nyikang in the evening. The chiefs of Gol Dhiang had no business in Debalo, and if they came, they would come as observers. Some sheep were brought by self-confessed adulterers. The *reth* insisted that only adulterers whose cases had not previously been opened could avail themselves of this privilege of amnesty, but in the event a few men tried to avoid a judgment debt by paying a sheep. There is some confusion about the ownership of these sheep. It seems clear that they belong to the *reth*, but are presented by him to the chief of Debalo Kwom (himself the chief of Gol Nyikang) as a recognition for his services in sheltering the *reth* in Debalo. In 1944 the chief of Gol Nyikang appropriated the sheep without permission.

That evening the drums of Nyikang were heard from Nyigir, and the *reth's* drums from Debalo. The procession carrying the sacred beads *Ocoro* from Lul arrived at about 8.00 p.m.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
825 sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
787 following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
643 where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
825 this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
553 If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 671 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyɛi orɔk* ("men of crime") or *adʒrɔ*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adʒrɔ*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adʒrɔ* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adʒrɔ* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adʒrɔ*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [797]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table [464]
boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634 solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment
that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of
the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the
missing money and to be held in custody until he did so.
This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box,
since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the
rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that
we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed.
Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the
boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the
money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that
although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his com-
panion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come
forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for
the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for
confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry
was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very
strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a
sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626 finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
789 sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the
courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear
thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the
river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a
sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it
taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its
left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents
are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left
but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet
doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disas-
ter. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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So he continues his tour of inspection, galvanizing the dilatory workers into fresh activity, and then returns to the house and commences the buying of the rope and roofing poles. That occupies the best part of an hour, and then, grown wise in the ways of these children of Nyikang, he makes sure that his purchases are put away, the poles on the flat roof of the house, the rope in a store-room where the wily Shilluk cannot filch them to re-sell them to him. Then it is time to make another round of the workmen, a procedure that he will carry out yet twice more during the morning and another three times during the afternoon. At 10.30 the morning's work is finished, and the labourers go home to reassemble at half-past two. There is no respite for Pooh-Bah, however. The affairs of the mission demand his attention, another group of rope sellers have gathered, the post-boat is due the next day, and he must write to Malakal for cement and to Kodok about the wood for the brick burning. He disposes of these tasks and also manages to find time to finish his Office before lunch. The afternoon's work is a repetition of the morning's; a continual tour of the different groups, the attending to the wants of one here and another one there, with one or two visits to the house to dispose of the rope and pole sellers.

Thus one day succeeds another, and week follows week and still the work goes on. By Christmas there are fifty thousand bricks ready for burning, the foundations of the new classrooms and the teacher's house are dug, the old mud huts have been replastered and the walls of the six new ones are already well above the ground, and everybody, Pooh-Bah by no means among the least, is heartily sick of the sight of mud, whether in its natural state, or made into bricks, or built into a wall, and is only too glad of the few days' respite the Festival brings. As soon as Christmas is over, the work begins on the kiln. The base, a rectangle twenty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide, must be built with care since it has to support the weight of thirty thousand bricks. It is three feet in height and is pierced by six triangular firing tunnels, each two feet wide at the base and two feet

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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one end of the compound bring Pooh-Bah hurrying from the other to add those of peacemaker and judge to his other rôles. Workmen tire of their particular jobs (water carrying is particularly hated) and demand another one. The water-carrying difficulty is not solved until a roster is formed so that everyone except the lordly brickmakers and bricklayers take their turn. Hoes begin to disappear, but that little pastime is effectively put an end to by stopping the price out of the wages of every individual in the squad concerned. After the second one disappears it is found to be too expensive.

Now it is time to fire the kiln. The six tunnels are roughly bricked up on one side and filled with firewood and straw from the other. The fires are lighted at dusk, and once they are kindled must not be allowed to go out until the firing is completed. Soon each fire is blazing merrily, and the draught forcing the fire back through the mass of dry wood and straw quickly turns each tunnel into a roaring cavern of flame. The kiln presents a grand spectacle in the darkness, as great tongues of fire lick out from the openings and billows of smoke from the wood and clouds of steam from the still drying bricks envelop the whole structure. The firing continues on one side for two nights and two days; then that side is bricked up and the other side opened and the process for firing continued for a like period. The interiors of the tunnels are before long glowing white-hot masses of fused brick, and the kiln soon becomes fiercely hot as the flames mount up, searching through each crack and cranny to reach the top of the mass. When the firing is completed, the tunnels are blocked up again, any cracks that have appeared in the walls are plastered over anew and the mass is left to cool down, a process that takes about a week. By now there are sufficient bricks to commence the second kiln and this is built in the same manner as the first. But the priest has noted with concern that the firing of the kiln has consumed far more wood than he had anticipated. The strong north wind which now blows with full force every day has helped on the fires more enthusiastically than he would have liked. He cannot go to the expense of getting more wood from Kodok, and the

539* 643 1173

king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

539*

Kɛ́ń kɛ́ɛ́ jɛ̄ bɛ́ pídù, ka jɛ̄ kɛ́ɛ́ǫ́, ka jɛ̄ pɛ̄ka peń. Ka pān ɛ́ni chǫ́ń, ka ɖāṇ ɩ[1] pɛ̄chù, kíne: yâ pīdǫ́ káché jâm! Kíne: káchè jam kúchè yán![2] Kíne: yi nûtí kɔ̄pǫ́? Kíne: yi mɛ́n an? Kíne: yi wóu. Kɛ́ye ɣɔ́t kúchè yán! Kíne: kipańǫ́ kuche yin? Kíne: jal tɔ́ń amɛ́n? Kíne: jal tɔ́ń ńate. Kíne: kwǎń jâm! Ka jame kwǎn. A, ńate, yi re a pɛ̄m? ɖɔ́k paṭe dyer? Ka jɛ̄ kɛ́ɛ́i bɛ́ ǵǫ́ń. Ka jɛ̄ kɛ́ɛ́ǫ́, ka riṭ́ e yɔ̄t, ka ǵǫ́ń ǵǫ́ń kíne: wuo, wǫ́ chāṭ́i ká ńál àn. Kíne: wu kɔ́ma kwǫ́f ańǫ́? Wǫ́ kɔ́ma kwǫ́fe ɖɔ́k. Atǫ́, ǵōńun! Kíne: ɛ́, wuo, wǫ́ bì, cha wǫ́ pyéjé ɛ́n ki kwǫ́fe ɖɔ́k, dɛ́ ɛ́ kyɛ́t, cha ɖɔ́k kújɛ́. A chǫ́ńà jɛ̀, a chǫ́ń jɛ̀, a kɔ́mà kwǫ́p, a kwǎń jam, ka ɖɔ́k pɛ̄ka káché gɛ́n. Ka jɛ̄ yɛ̄yǫ́, jɔ̀k dɛ̄ń; dɛ́ chaka kɛ́r yau. É, arɛ́ lɔ̄ńé ǵǫ́ń. Kíne: wa ṭou ya ṭɛ̄ṇ; dɛ́ ɖɔ́k kache gɛ́n kújà, dɛ́ nûtí kɔ̄bì. Kɛ́ń ɛ́ní ànàn, a bāń kyɛ́dá. Ka riṭ́ e lɔ̄kǫ́ chyɛ̄, kíne: rɔ̄, kinau, yi ba wéi jàl a kɛ̀r! yi re kɛ́re ɖɔ́k tɛ̄rǫ́? Kwǫ́fí rach! kɛ́ɛ́, chúdí ki ɖāṇ! jal, ka yú[3] múch ki ɖɔ́k abich. Ka e mūjǫ́ ki ɖāṇ, ka gǫ́ kɛ́ɛ́ǵ, ka tyɛ́ń pān ɛ́ni chǫ́ń, kíne: yá chúdì ki ɖāṇ, kɛ́ń ɛ́ni anan. Dɔ̄ch! A kɛ́ɛ́ǵ, a tyɛ́ni mǫ́gǫ́, a chwǫ́l tyɛ́ń ɛ́ni, a bɛ̄ṇ, a ṭyɛ́re ɖāṇ tɛ̄rɛ̀ gɛ́n. Ka gɛ́ yɛ̄i chyɛ̀, kíne: dɔ̄ch, wú bà wât. A kɛ́ɛ́ gɛ́n, a kɔ̄l ɖɔ́k, ka ɖāṇ mɛ́kè gɛ́n.

539* 691 686 692

At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said. "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He aid, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said tho the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I said he owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the old people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After

[1] ɩ is here conditional: "when".
[2] "the place, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".
[3] < *yí ɩ́* "you will".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

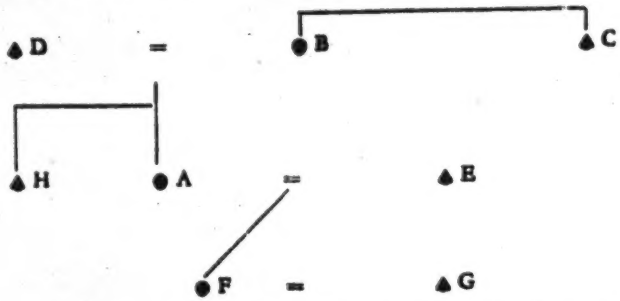
that the king said (turning to the accused one), "Well, now you also tell your talk!" He said, "My father died while I was a little child; but the cows, I do not know anything about them. I was not told; that is the reason, therefore I refused to give them." Then the king gave his judgment thus, "Well, so it is, you are a man who refused (to give what is due); why did you refuse to give the people their cows? Your matter is bad. Go, and pay a girl as amends, and you (turning to the accuser), man, give him five cows!" The debtor gave the girl, he brought her to the village (of the accuser). When the people of the village had assembled, he (the accuser) said, "I have been indemnified with a girl; thus is the matter now." The people say, "All right." Then he goes to strain beer; and he calls the people. They come; he presents the girl to the people to be examined (whether it is a sufficient pay). And they consent, saying, "Very well, we are friends now."

They go away, the cows are brought, and the girl is recognised by them.

[A man has married somebody's daughter; after some time the girl, his wife, dies; now the father of the girl has to return part of the dowry which has been paid to him for his daughter. But in the meantime the father of the deceased wife has died too, and his eldest son has become his heir. The husband of the dead wife goes to this man, the brother of his dead wife, and wants his cattle back. But this man denies knowing anything about the matter, pretending his father did not tell him before his death. They therefore go before the king, who decides: the heir has to give his brother-in- law another girl instead of the deceased one; and in return the brother-in-law is to give the heir five five head of cattle, which is about half the usual price for a wife.]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

583 of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a [171] recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the [686] number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts [672] are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create [178] reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one [582] domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally 592 expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number 583
has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations.

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when 583
the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has 585
been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and 583
claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the 586
law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find 686
himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian [797]
family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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583 break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
586 woman and children were not returned to their home within
686 three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
797 we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

583 And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he
602 assume the airs and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippon. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
231 few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dē Jǫk Buin Dānyimǫ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayīk, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayīk with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwōrǫ (which was the village of Ayīk) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayīk) were caught, and Ayīk was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kgń mak nam, ka tḕrǫ kędǫ[1], *ka tḕrǫ nīni gat, ka bǫ́i mǎn peń, ka rech e bḕnǫ, ka bǫi mūgo ki rech, ka jē ṭūḍǫ, ka jē chāmǫ. Ka wǫu rū, ka maye bḕnǫ, ka tḕrǫ mūgǫ, ka ńań ka kḗl, ka e makǫ ki ḍāṇ. Ka tḕrǫ rgńa wǫk, ka tygń tḕk e dǭńǫ, ka ḍāṇ kūl gę wǫk, ka ńań nḗké. Ka tḕrǫ ká wǫk, ka jāke bḕnǫ, ka gę pḕchǫ: ńań a gwǭk edi? Kīne: e nḗk! Kīne: dę ę ya kgń? Kīne: nut. Yech! Ka yech. Ka e ko: ńǫ́lé, bā gik lūgǫ. Ka kīte pach lūgǫ, ka tḕrǫ bḕnǫ chḕ, ka ńań ṭūl yi jāgǫ, ńańe lūgǫ. Ka e chwǫtǫ jē, ka jāk dwai, ka e chām; tḕrǫ ko: ō, ńań an dǭch. Ḏuki mḕkǫ ka ńań mḕkǫ kwáń, ka chām yi tḕre yau.* 539*

Ka jāgǫ e chwǭtǫ, ka tḕrǫ bḕnǫ, ka e pḕchǫ kīne: wuna yik jāk, ya peńa giche mḕkǫ, gnd kwāńu ki yey nam kâ; kīne: á gin ńǫ̀? Ya peńa kwǫ́l. Kīne: ḗ, kúchè wǫ́n! Kīne: ḗ, fate ńań a chām ki pay ńate? Kīne: ḗ, e chāmǫ, ńwǫle ńań ṭǫṇǫ. Kīne: ḗ, chǫ̀lá! Ka e kyędǫ, kīne: ya·ba chudǫ. Kīne: ḗ, wa kā Bachōdǫ. Kīne: ḗ, wa kędǫ.

Ka gę kędǫ, ka gę wiṭa Bachōdǫ, ká gę̀ gǫ̀ńǫ̀, kīne: wuo (wuę), yá ḍálè yi kwǫ́p kwǫfe ńate; kwǫ́l a chámè ḗn, kwǫl lūgǫ. Kīne: ṭ̀, yi chama ńǫ, ńate? Kīne: wuo, kúchè yán. Riṭ e ko: gręṭ, (γędḗ), kęṭ chōl ki ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍāṇ! Ka e bḕnǫ, ka e chudǫ ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍāṇ; ka gę kḗl kōle riṭ, ṵ tḕre líńe[2], *ka gę rūmǫ.*

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was 539* [226] 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

*539 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate."
622 So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came;
●687 the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the river there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ka jāk riṭ Tugò, jāk a pārḷ, chwǫla Ńewājǫ. Ka wūṭ ka gɛ ńí bɛ̄nǫ, gɛ bɛ̄r*[2] *ga wūṭe chôt, ka gɛ ńí gwǫtǫ wiy pach ki chāńǫ. Ka riṭ e kōbǫ kine: bụ́h, gɛ rɛ ru wūṭ, a réi gèn gwɔ̄tǫ? Kine: tygre pān gni. A gɛ̄r pān gni, a Pachōdǫ; a dɛge Tugǫ yejɛ, a kōbi Tugǫ kine: fān gni y chɔ̄k á pà rɔ̄ń! A bāne ńi rɔ̄ń ɖdǫ yejɛ. A rūm é jàgò, a kōbi kine: ka wūda y rɔ̄ń, a rɔ̄ńé.*

*539 King Tugǫ reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyewājǫ.
643 And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen
173 without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Pachōdǫ. Tugǫ moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the

[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate,") nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief.

[2] From *bɛ̄dǫ* "to be".

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *ruth* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

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[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 191.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Fafiti had done. Opinion was decided that the succession lay with the sons of Fadiet, and as the electors gathered at Fashoda, so the sons of Fadiet left their homes and came within easy reach. This was a breach of tradition, which demands that all *nyireth* at such a time should remain quietly at home. It gave rise to certain fears among the chiefs that some *nyireth* might try to instal himself in vacant Fashoda by force. There was no evidence in the event that any *nyireth* had had such an intention. 643

The sons of Fadiet were not well known to the chiefs; unlike the sons of Kur, they had a reputation for being quiet and unassertive. There was no obvious choice designated, as Anei had been designated by Fafiti. The two king-makers reduced the sons of Fadiet to a short list of four names, and waited for a lead from me, as they could not decide upon any one of these four. After my suggestion that Dak Fadiet of Falo, one of their short list, would be a good choice, the chiefs at once agreed to him. There had been rumours of bribery, as in 1917, and two bribes were known to have been offered to, and refused by, Jago Tabo of Golbainy, the chief of Gol Dhiang. One had been offered by *nyireth* Nyikang Kur, a "princess" of evil repute, who wished her uterine brother, a son of *reth* Fadiet, to succeed. It appeared from a discussion with the two kingmakers that bribery on such a solemn occasion would result in certain death for the recipient at the hands of Nyikang and was out of the question. This may be so, and would be a reasonable tribal sanction to ensure an unbiassed choice. There was a suggestion from the southern Shilluk, where most of the sons of Fadiet live, that the electoral college with its northern bias would choose a *reth* from the north. There was no sign of this, because it was agreed at once that a son of Fadiet must succeed, and no one of these sons lived north of Fashoda. The feeling in the south that the north has more influence in Fashoda probably arose because the lines of *reth* Yor and *reth* Kur both come from the north and only that of *reth* Kwathker and his son Fadiet from the south. Fashoda itself is considered to be in the northern half of the kingdom. 643 666 [648] 662 643 666 [687] 643 666 631

Dak Fadiet was initially installed, and ceremonially washed and shaved by Ororo girls in Fashoda on 18.11.45. He was followed by a large crowd of some hundreds of armed men from Gol Nyikang and particularly from his own area of Fanyidwai and all the Colo chiefs present. His following was much larger than that of Anei in 1943. The crowd may have been expressing simple gratification that at last a *reth* had come from the south; they may have been there to try and prevent a candidate from the north being installed. But the ceremony 643

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
643 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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soon find the king's wrath heavy upon him and his cattle 224
taken to satisfy the outrage on the royal dignity. Hippo [643]
hunting is done by night as well as by day. At night the [687]
hunters lie in wait for their victim as he emerges from the river to eat and sleep. On the morning of the day of the hunt, one or two men will go out early to look for the place where the hippo has lain up during the night, and from it they trace the path he has made through the tall grass and reeds to the water. In the evening four or five hunters go to the place and lie hidden in the grass. As the beast comes up from the water they stab it with a short, heavy harpoon, and if it falls, hamstring and then kill it. To the shaft of the [411]
harpoon is attached a long line with floats of ambach wood tied at intervals. If the wounded animal is able to plunge back into the river the hunters will follow its flight in their canoes, provided there is a good moon. When the hippo surfaces for breath they attack him again with a harpoon, trying to strike him in the back of the neck and in the nose, and this second attack usually finishes him off. He submerges again, but in a couple of hours floats to the surface like an enormous balloon and is easily pushed into the shallows, and there left to be cut up at leisure the next day. The hunters in the meantime go off in search of another victim, and thus in one night may take three or four beasts. If the night is too dark for them to pursue their victim, they leave it till the morning when they search the river carefully for the floats which are sometimes found tangled up in the long grass on the bank. In the daytime they will boldly strike at a hippo from their canoe, as he surfaces to breathe, and pursue him, attacking constantly until he is killed. The people of the village nearest the spot where the carcase is [628]
floated ashore assist in cutting it up, and receive a portion of the meat and hide as their reward. The choicest parts, [643]
including most of the fat, belong to the king and must be sent to Fashoda; the chief, too, levies a generous share for himself, and the rest belongs to the hunters.

Of course a hippo hunt is not always such a one-sided affair, for occasionally the wounded animal will turn on its

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final 643 installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The same evening, outside the shaine of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual 643 decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of 783 Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom [372] cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim them blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang. [688]

The Making of New Fire at Fashoda.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather 643 near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of 372 fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire- 643 making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added 643 and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty [787] had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting [376] nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Analyst]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Meanwhile the army of the *reth* was gathering below Aturwic, and the *reth*, dressed in white with a Mrs. Gray skin draped round him and five ivory bracelets on each arm, descended among them. Armed with millet stalks, they began to move slowly forwards in a threatening manner towards the army of Nyikang. When only a hundred yards separated them, a violent argument broke out about the bull, which should have been provided for the occasion to be tied down and walked over by the combatants (Note 21). Both parties retired and the *reth* went up on to the mound again, where he could be seen standing at the central entrance, a long millet stalk in his hand. Nyikang, Dak, and Cal retreated to a point just outside the shrine. After a long delay the bull was brought and placed between the two armies, who advanced, and the *reth* in front of his army walked forward to throw the first spear (millet stalk), which fell at the feet of Dak. Millet stalks began to fly, and in the general mêlée, the *reth* rushed forward with a small escort and wrested *nyakwer* from Nyikang, and hustled her away through the ranks of his warriors up to the mound behind them. Three furious counter-attacks followed by the Kwa Nyikwom, who dashed forward waving and whirling their ropes and whips. Finally, with Nyikang and Dak and Cal, at their head, they reached the bottom of the mound and went up to the huts on top. Shortly afterwards Nyikang and Dak descended from the mound. It was said that all hostility between Nyikang and the *reth* was now at an end, and that Nyikang had accepted him as his successor. Then they started on a tour of all the huts in Fashoda. This was considered an inspection of the houses, and those sections of Shilluk who are traditionally called upon to repair them were fined by Nyikang if they had not done so. The fines were one head of cattle each, and one chief was fined for initiating a song, the privilege of the Kwa Nyikwom. This part of the ceremonies was taken lightheartedly, and the victims subjected to much witticism.

Nyikang, Dak and Cal then retired to the shrine. They took no further part in the ceremonies and did not appear in public until

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm up- [644]
wards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their [773]
daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

628 raided in turn, his father speared to death and his brother so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards in Malakal hospital. The fact that one of the dead was the chief minister of the king did not deter the attackers from taking his life in retribution for the outrage they considered done to their family. In Detwok, over thirty miles away, we felt the repercussions of this awful tragedy. One of the teachers was a relative of the first aggressor, and he went in fear of his life for weeks after the unhappy event, and despite my assurances that no one would dare raid the mission, he insisted on carrying his spears around with him, even to the schoolroom and the chapel. The affair took place during the school holidays, and the boys from Lul who attended the Central or Teachers' Training Schools at Detwok did not return for some weeks after the new term had started, refusing, until the culprits on both sides had been arrested and security had been restored, to leave the safety of their villages, lest they be ambushed on the road and killed.

628 578 Sometimes a feud develops between two villages originating perhaps in some trivial incident now completely forgotten in the passage of time, but the principle is always the same: some injustice, real or imaginary, was suffered by one individual at the hands of another and such a thing can never be permitted to go unrequited. Reprisals follow from one side and the other, and a bitter rivalry springs up between the respective villages of the original antagonists, trouble breaks out periodically resulting in a little bloodletting and a few cracked skulls on both sides, police are [689] called in to restore order and to whisk the offenders off to prison, the village responsible for the breach of the peace is fined a number of cattle and both sides settle down to an uneasy truce until the next outbreak.

Such an antagonism exists between Detwok and its neighbour Pabiu. The quarrel originated over half a century ago when one village or the other—I could never discover which—destroyed or damaged or in some way desecrated the war drum of the other. The bitterness between the two villages grew with the passage of the years and there were

586 *Active Divorce*: This is simply known as *tag*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *goiny tag*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known [684] as *kwer kwob*. The expression *kwer kwob* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kiec mac*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kwer* [613] *kwob* or *kiec mac* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood [848] of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *okeijo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

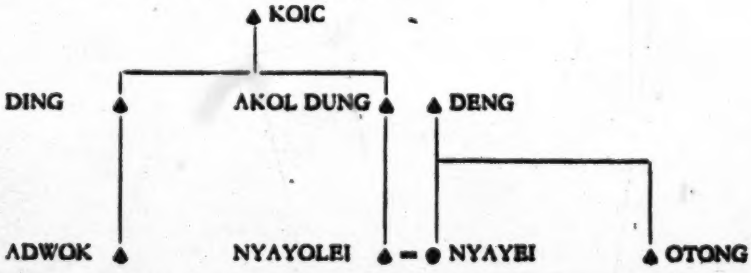
586 Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

● 69

Kak *wad* Banykwec *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

[583] Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £E2.500m/ms. in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kiec mac* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



[583] Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .500m/ms. in cash. The marriage took place in *reth* Padiet's time

(*circa* 1915) Nyayei bore no children and ran away with another man. All the cattle have been returned since then, but not the sheep and the goats nor the grain. Adwok then claimed one bull in place of the grain. The Court in the final instance decided against Adwok on the grounds that no cattle as *kwor kwob* (*kirc mar*) had been retained by Otong and the sheep, goats, grain and cash must be held to represent them. 586 69

Dissolution of Marriage owing to the Death of the Wife

This is known as *tag jwok*.[1] Pumphrey says: 586

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister known as *kai ot*, or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals), making deductions for the children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death.[2] [587]

This statement requires qualification:

(*a*) If the wife dies soon after marriage and without issue, all cattle should be returned to the husband or, in some cases, another girl from her family might be given to replace her. The Shilluk refer to this as *kai ot*, which, as Pumphrey states, means literally 'substitute of the house'.

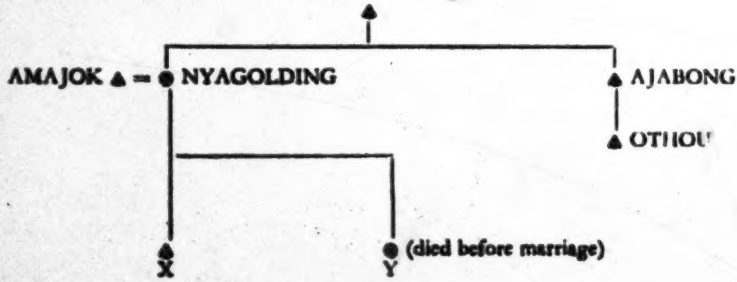
(*b*) If the wife dies a long time after marriage and after giving birth to children, thereby fulfilling her procreative obligations to her husband, *kai ot* may still be claimed, but is recognized as being only two head of cattle. *Kai ot* in this sense is intended to assist the husband to marry again, but it is often claimed, not by the husband, but by the wife's male children many years after her death. In fact, it frequently happens that a man claims *kai ot* on the death of his mother or of his father's wives. It is also a subject of frequent litigation in the Courts.

(*c*) If the wife dies in childbirth, the child dies too, and she leaves no other children, then all cattle should be returned with the exception of two known as *dhok wic dan* or *dhok remo*. *Dhok wic dan* means literally 'cattle in the place of children' while *dhok remo* means 'cattle of blood'.

It should be noted that the deduction known as *kwor kwob* would not be claimed in addition to *dhok remo*, and only applies if no children are born to the wife. 69 586

The following disputes settled before the Court provide examples:

Amajok *wad* Deng *v.* Othou *wad* Ajabong



[1] *Jwok* means God: hence dissolution by act of God.
[2] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 32.

●69 586 Amajok married Nyagolding for ten head of cattle and ten sheep. Nyagolding gave birth to two children who died as adults, while she herself died some twenty-eight years ago. No cattle were returned to Amajok on her death and no claim was made so long as *X* and *Y* were living. Amajok now claims *kai ot* from Othou. This claim was upheld by the Court and two head of cattle awarded to Amajok. It is, as a matter of fact, unlikely that Amajok would have claimed *kai ot* if his daughter *Y* had lived and married, though *X* might have done so.

Anger *wad* Nyang *v.* Kanker *wad* Ming

[583] Anger married Kanker's sister, Aciethgwok, for eight head of cattle and five sheep. This was in *reth* Fadiet's time (*circa* 1909). Aciethgwok died in childbirth leaving no other children. Kanker returned six cattle and all the sheep. Anger (in 1949) then claimed the return of the remaining cattle. This claim, made some forty years after the event, was regarded by the Court as a frivolous one. It was held that the two head of cattle stood as *dhok rwo*, to which Kanker had undisputable right.

586 587 [613] *Kai ot* therefore has various meanings, the most precise being another daughter of the dead wife's house handed over by her family as a 'substitute'. The custom is not confined to the husband as an individual, but applies to his kinship group, for Shilluk say that a girl might be handed over as *kai ot* even in a later generation, if no bridewealth had been returned in the interim. Again, if the wife died after fulfilling her procreative obligations, her family might allow the widower to marry her sister at a reduced bridewealth (eight head of cattle instead of ten). This, however, is really only an application of the general rule that *kai ot* (here meaning a payment of cattle) can be claimed by a man from his maternal uncle when his mother dies, provided she dies [571] at a ripe old age and has borne several children. In this sense *kai ot* does not depend on the termination of the union, but is rather confirmation thereof and is not paid unless the two lineages wish to maintain the close relationship which marriage in a previous generation has secured. This claim is now nearly always upheld in the Courts [178] and provides an example of how a payment depending on a variety of circumstances has become enforceable at law.

Further Rules Concerning Cattle Returnable on Divorce

586 Shilluk sometimes say that in the old days on divorce all the original bridewealth cattle and all their offspring were returned. There is little evidence for this statement and the rule is certainly not applied today. The wife's kinsmen are not expected to return any cattle which have died in their possession, though they may be expected to produce the hides as evidence of death. On the other hand, cattle which have been sold for cash, slaughtered for meat, or paid in execution of debts (other than direct marriage) or as compensation for wrongs committed, must be replaced by substitutes.

Writing on this subject in 1935, Pumphrey says:

583 586 Cattle paid as marriage payments in Shilluk country are an exact substitute for cash in that they are treated as negotiable instruments. A claim for the identical cows when, owing to divorce or death, the marriage payment is reclaimed, is never supported. Cattle paid are in fact usually negotiated immediately, just as cash. The recipient will almost invariably pay the cattle away either in satisfaction of his debts or else in the marriage of one of his near male relatives.[1]

[1] Pumphrey: from unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (*dwale*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen farther removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

The following court case illustrates the procedure.

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yac nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwel for a full bridewealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *oktijo*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogeng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yac cie dhaw*)

Dogeng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil, but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is considered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogeng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yac nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

539* 643 173

king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

539*

Kɛ́ń kɛ́ţ jē bɛ́ pídò, ka jē kɛ́dǫ, ka jē pɛ̄ka peń. Ka pān ɛ́ni chǫ́ń, ka ḍāṇ ɩ́[1] pɛ̄chò, kíne: yā̂ pīdǫ káché jâm! Kíne: káchè jam kúchè yán![2] Kíne: yi nū̂tí kōpǫ? Kíne: yi mɛ́n an? Kíne: yi wóu. Kɛ́ye ɛ́ɔt kúchè yán! Kíne: kipaṇ kuche yin? Kíne: jal tɔ́ń amɛ́n? Kíne: jal tɔ́ń ńate. Kíne: kwā́ń jâm! Ka jame kwân. A, ńate, yi re a pɛ̄m? ḍɔ́k paţe dyer? Ka jē kɛ́ţi bɛ́ gǫ́ń. Ka jē kɛ́dǫ, ka riţ e yɔ̄t, ka gǫ́ń gǫ́ń kíne: wuo, wǫ chāţi kā ńál àn. Kíne: wu kɛ́ma kwǫf aṅǫ? Wǫ kɛ́ma kwǫfe ḍɔ́k. Atǫ́, gōńun! Kíne: ê, wuo, wǫ́ bì, cha wǫ pyéjé ɛ́n ki kwǫfe ḍɔ́k, dɛ́ é kyɛ̀t, cha ḍɔ́k kújɛ̀. A chǫ́nà jɛ̀, a chǫ́ń jɛ̀, a kɛ́mà kwǫ́p, a kwā́ń jam, ka ḍɔ́k pɛ̄ka káché gɛ́n. Ka jē yēyǫ, jɔ̀k dɔ̄ń; dɛ́ chaka kɛ́r yau. É, arɛ́ lɔ̄ńé gǫ́ń. Kíne: wa ţou ya ţɛ̄ṇ; dɛ́ ḍɔ́k kache gɛ́n kújà, dɛ́ nū̂tí kōbḷ. Kɛ́ń ɛ́ní ànàn, a bāń kyédá. Ka riţ e lōkǫ chyɛ̄, kíne: ɛ́ţ, kínau, yi ba wéi jàl a kɛ̀r! yi re kɛ́re ḍɔ́k tɛ̄rǫ? Kwǫ́fí rach! kɛ́ţ, chūdí ki ḍāṇ! jal, ka yú[3] múch ki ḍɔ́k abich. Ka e mūjǫ ki ḍāṇ, ka gǫ kɛ́lé, ka tyɛ́ń pān ɛ́ni chǫ́ń, kíne: yá chúdì ki ḍāṇ, kɛ́ń ɛ́ni anan. Dɔ̄ch! A kɛ́ḍé, a tyɛ́ni mɛ́gǫ, a chwɔ́l tyɛ́ń ɛ́ni, a bɛ̄ṇ, a ţyêre ḍāṇ tɛ̄rè gɛ́n. Ka gɛ yēi chyɛ̀, kíne: dɔ̄ch, wā bà wāt. A kɛ́ţ gɛ́n, a kōl ḍɔ́k, ka ḍāṇ mɛ́kè gɛ́n.

539* 691● 686 692

At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said, "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He aid, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said tho the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I said he owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the old people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After

[1] ɩ́ is here conditional: "when".
[2] "the place, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".
[3] < yí ɩ́ "you will".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

+539 that the king said (turning to the accused one), "Well, now you also tell your
●691 talk!" He said, "My father died while I was a little child; but the cows, I do
not know anything about them. I was not told; that is the reason, therefore I
686 refused to give them." Then the king gave his judgment thus, "Well, so it is,
692 you are a man who refused (to give what is due); why did you refuse to give the people their cows? Your matter is bad. Go, and pay a girl as amends, and you (turning to the accuser), man, give him five cows!" The debtor gave the girl, he brought her to the village (of the accuser). When the people of the village had assembled, he (the accuser) said, "I have been indemnified with a girl; thus is the matter now." The people say, "All right." Then he goes to strain beer; and he calls the people. They come; he presents the girl to the people to be examined (whether it is a sufficient pay). And they consent, saying, "Very well, we are friends now."

They go away, the cows are brought, and the girl is recognised by them.

[A man has married somebody's daughter; after some time the girl, his wife, dies; now the father of the girl has to return part of the dowry which has been paid to him for his daughter. But in the meantime the father of the deceased wife has died too, and his eldest son has become his heir. The husband of the dead wife goes to this man, the brother of his dead wife, and wants his cattle back. But this man denies knowing anything about the matter, pretending his father did not tell him before his death. They therefore go before the king, who decides: the heir has to give his brother-in-law another girl instead of the deceased one; and in return the brother-in-law is to give the heir five five head of cattle, which is about half the usual price for a wife.]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in the courts are of a kind which in the past were mere matters of convention and usage and could not be defined as law even in the most extended definition of that term. The tendency is for the most intimate personal relationships to be governed by legal processes. This is a feature of the Nilotic world under the influence of modern administration which, while present among the Shilluk, is even more marked among Nuer and Dinka. There is a danger in this, because intervention in almost every sphere of human activity may tend to inhibit the normal readjustments which might otherwise naturally emerge to meet changing conditions. It is therefore all the more necessary to record something of present practice for comparison in later years.

The vast majority of cases which appear before the courts concern kinship obligations, marital relationships and the violation of rights in women. This article is therefore largely a description of the normal processes of marriage: the payment and distribution of bridewealth, divorce, and the infringement of legal rights in women. It is also in the nature of a commentary on previous articles published by Mr. M. E. C. Humphrey and myself[1] on the subject of kinship and social organization among the Shilluk. From time to time reference is made to Nuer and Dinka institutions by way of comparison.[2] A few examples of actual disputes as heard and recorded in the Shilluk Courts are given in the text.

Shilluk Social Structure

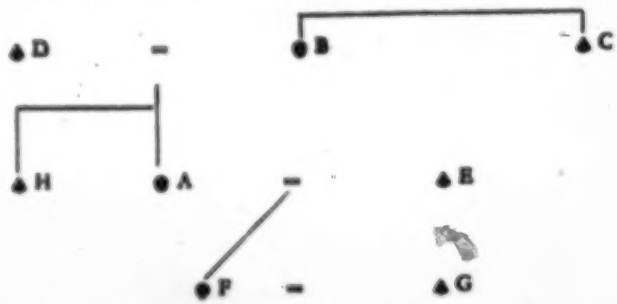
Shilluk society is divided into 'provinces', 'divisions' (*lak*), and 'settlements' (*pudi*). These are territorial and political segments, but it is really only the settlement which has any permanent political significance. Each settlement has a common territory, the boundaries of which run at approximately right angles to the river. Such territory includes a section of the highland ridge which runs roughly parallel to the Nile and on which the permanent dwelling-houses and cattle-byres are built; a section of the river front (*tuir*) which provides green grazing for the cattle when the river drops, and finally a more extensive section of the hinterland (*wad*) which is subjected to varying degrees of rain-flooding during the wet season but is dry and waterless for the rest of the year. Each type of land is essential for pastoral and agricultural activities according to the season, and the territorial segmentation of Shilluk country could not be arranged otherwise.

A settlement is an economic, political, and social unit, but is not a kinship unit since it contains representative lineages of several of the many Shilluk clans. Within the settlement there is, however, a tendency—not always effective for purely topographical reasons—for each lineage to occupy its own 'village'. Each village (*pur*) is made up of a number of 'hamlets' (also *pur*: pl. *myer*) which comprise several domestic units (*gol*), each such unit consisting of a group of dwelling-huts (*ot*) occupied by a man, his wives, and children. The village is therefore also a kinship unit and, as a general rule, the closer the territorial proximity, the closer the kinship relationship. Clans (described by giving the name of the founder with the suffix *kwu*, meaning 'descendants of') are patrilineal descent groups which are theoretically exogamous, though separation in space, coupled with considerable distance of relationship within the kinship structure, may allow modifications of this rule. The

[1] *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xxiv, 1941.

[2] The reader may consult the works of Professor Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer. The Dinka are less well documented.

583 [171] [686] of the bride. Among the Shilluk no such obligation exists except in the form of a recognized debt, nowadays enforceable in the Courts, which is dependent on the number of cattle which remain outstanding in the bridewealth of the bride's mother.



Thus, in the diagram, from the bridewealth paid by *E* for *A*, no portion will be set aside for *C*, unless the full bridewealth of ten head of cattle was not paid by *D* on his marriage to *B*. Since few Shilluk can afford to hand over ten head of [691] cattle at once, and because there have been periods when there were few cattle to pay, this is the source of much litigation in the courts. At the same time, such debts [672] are not carried forward a further generation. Thus *C* could not claim cattle outstanding from *B*'s marriage on the marriage of *F*, though *H* might do so from the marriage of *A* to *E*.

The pattern of distribution among paternal kinsmen of the bride is relatively simple, which is perhaps natural when bridewealth stands at so low a figure. If alive, the bride's father's father should receive one cow (which would go to his sons by another wife); the bride's father's brothers (her paternal uncles) and even his half-brothers are also entitled to a share. Speaking in conventional terms only, Shilluk say that where a full brother (uterine) gets two cows, a half-brother only gets one. In fact none of them are likely to get anything more than a sheep or a goat, for if a man has many brothers and half-brothers there would be little or no cattle left for the bride's father or his sons. Distribution is usually dictated by circumstances prior to [178] the marriage and the pattern of previous bridewealth distributions which create reciprocal rights. From an analysis of some fifty Shilluk marriages, my impression is that this form of distribution is quoted as a convention only and is rarely if ever [582] followed now. As among other Nilotes, uterine and half-brothers within one [592] domestic group are expected to marry in strict order of age. A man will generally expect to marry with the cattle brought in by the marriage of his younger uterine sister, if he has one, and, after any deductions which may be necessary to complete the bridewealth payments of the bride's mother and the fulfilment of other debts which may be pressing, he will probably get all the remaining cattle. Though large numbers of sheep and goats[1] are brought in by the marriage, these are not distributed among the bride's paternal kinsmen according to definite claims, nor are they regarded as paid to meet claims which could be interpreted as a survival from times when the

[1] The average seems to be somewhere between fifteen and thirty.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [548] and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [839] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1935) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:
(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitos to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.
The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden' [177 648 681]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [177]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kwor*. *Kwor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

643 kann, und Herr sogar des Eigentums seiner Unter-
114 tanen'.[1] These statements would seem to require
642 some modification. As Mr Pumphrey has pointed
[177] out, it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the kind by foreign governments.[2] Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed settlement chiefs in office, he did not nominate them. They were heads of settlements in virtue of their position as heads of lineages dominant in those settlements and although they had certain duties to the king it is, I think, wrong to describe them as being in any sense administrative officials. To use such terms as 'state', 'government', and 'administration' in speaking of the Shilluk political system would appear to me, in the light of what is now known of it, to be a mistake.

643 It is true that the more recent authorities imply
114 rather than explicitly state what in their opinion
is the position of the king. Mr Howell and Mr
●692 Thomson speak of 'the theoretical omnipotence' of the king and of a 'theoretically omnipotent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 150–1.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 18–19.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[65] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ogo*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[776] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

782 The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
796 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

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[692]

The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

174

EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly man and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendency from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwo rig* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 233. Probably the name of the Shilluks *chōlo* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

[101]

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dō Jǫk Buin Dānyimǫ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayīk, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayīk with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwōrǫ (which was the village of Ayīk) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayīk) were caught, and Ayīk was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kɛ́ń mak nam, ka tɛ̄rǫ kɛ̨dǫ[1]*, ka tɛ̄rǫ nīni gɛ̨t, ka bǫ́i mɛ̄n peń, ka rech e bɛ̄nǫ, ka bǫi mɛ̄go ki rech, ka jɛ̄ ṭɛ̄dǫ, ka jɛ̄ chāmǫ. Ka wǫu rū, ka maye bɛ̄nǫ, ka tɛ̄rǫ mɛ̄gǫ, ka ńań ka kɛ̨̄l, ka e makǫ ki ḍāṇ. Ka tɛ̄rǫ rɛ́ńa wǫk, ka tyɛ́ń tɛ̄k e dɛ̄ṇǫ, ka ḍāṇ kɛ̨l gɛ wǫk, ka ńań nɛ́ké. Ka tɛ̄rǫ ká wǫk, ka jāke bɛ̄nǫ, ka gɛ pɛ̄chǫ: ńań a gwɛ̄k edi? Kīne: e nɛ̄k! Kīne: dɛ ɛ ya kɛ́ń? Kīne: nut. Yech! Ka yech. Ka e ko: ńǫ́lé, bā gik lɛ̄gǫ. Ka kīte pach lɛ̄gǫ, ka tɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄nǫ chɛ̄, ka ńań ṭɛ̄l yi jāgǫ, ńańe lɛ̄gǫ. Ka e chwǫtǫ jɛ̄, ka jāk dwai, ka e chām; tɛ̄rǫ ko: ō, ńań an dɛ̄ch. Ḍuki mɛ̄kǫ ka ńań mɛ̄kǫ kwáń, ka chām yi tɛ̄re yau.* 539*

Ka jāgǫ e chwɛ̄tǫ, ka tɛ̄rǫ bɛ̄nǫ, ka e pɛ̄chǫ kīne: wuna yik jɛ̄k, ya peńa giche mɛ̄kǫ, gná kwānu ki yey nam kâ; kīne: á gin áṇò? Ya peńa kwɛ́l. Kīne: ɛ́, kúchè wǫ́n! Kīne: ɛ́, fate ńań a chām ki pay ńate? Kīne: ɛ̂, e chāmǫ, ńwǫle ńań ṭǫṇǫ. Kīne: ɛ́, chɔ̀lá! Ka e kygdǫ, kīne: ya ba chudǫ. Kīne: ɛ̂, wa kā Bachōdǫ. Kīne: ɛ̂, wa kɛ̨dǫ.

Ka gɛ kɛ̨dǫ, ka gɛ wīta Bachōdǫ, ká gɛ̀ gɔ̀ṇò, kīne: wuo (wuɛ), yá ḍálè yi kwǫ́p kwǫfe ńate; kwɛ́l a chámè ɛ́n, kwɛl lɛ̄gǫ. Kīne: ɛ̀, yi chama ṇǫ, ńate? Kīne: wuo, kúchè yán. Rīt e ko: ɛrɛ, (γɛ́dɛ́), kɛ̨t chōl ki ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍāṇ! Ka e bɛ̄nǫ, ka e chudǫ ḍǫk gá pyàrǫ, ki ḍāṇ; ka gɛ kɔ̨̄l kōle rīt, y tɛ̄re lɛ́ńe[2]*, ka gɛ rūmǫ.*

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was 539* [226] 622 687

[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".
[2] that the people might hear.

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king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected.

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

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Kgń kgţ jē bg pídọ, ka jē kgḍọ, ka jē pēka peń. Ka pān gni chộń, ka ḍāṇ y[1] pēchọ, kịne: yā pīdọ káché jám! Kịne: káchè jam kúchè yán![2] Kịne: yi nūtí kōpọ? Kịne: yi mgn an? Kịne: yi wóu. Kgye rọt kúchè yán! Kịne: kịpańọ kuche yin? Kịne: jal tọń amgn? Kịne: jal tọń ńate. Kịne: kwāń jám! Ka jame kwân. A, ńate, yi re a pḗm? ḍọk paţe dyer? Ka jē kgţi bg gộń. Ka jē kgḍọ, ka rịţ e yōt, ka gộń gộń kịne: wuo, wọ chāţi ká ńál àn. Kịne: wu kọma kwọf ańọ? Wọ kọma kwọfe ḍọk. Ató, gōńun! Kịne: ê, wuo, wó bì, cha wọ pyéjé ḗn ki kwọfe ḍọk, dḗ é kyḗt, cha ḍọk kújḗ. A chộńà jè, a chộń jè, a kọ́mà kwọ́p, a kwāń jam, ka ḍọk pēka kúché gḗn. Ka jē yēyọ, jòk dḗń; dg chaka kgr yau. É, arg lōńé gộń. Kịne: wa ţọu ya ţēṇ; dg ḍọk kache gḗn kújà, dg nūtí kōbḭ. Kḗń ḗní ànàn, a bāń kyḗdá. Ka rịţ e lōkọ chyē, kịne: rọ́, kịnau, yi ba wéi jàl a kḗr! yi re kḗre ḍọk tēṛọ? Kwọ́fí rach! kḗţ, chúdí ki ḍāṇ! jal, ka yú[3] múch ki ḍọk abich. Ka e mūjọ ki ḍāṇ, ka gọ kḗlé, ka tygń pān gni chộń, kịne: yá chúdì ki ḍāṇ, kgń gni anan. Dọ́ch! A kḗḍé, a tygni mọgọ, a chwọl tygń gni, a bḗn, a ţyêre ḍāṇ tḗrè gḗn. Ka gg yēi chyḗ, kịne: dọ́ch, wā bà wāt. A kgţ gḗn, a kōl ḍọk, ka ḍāṇ mḗkè gḗn.

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At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said, "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He aid, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said tho the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I said he owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the old people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After

[1] y is here conditional: "when".
[2] "the place, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".
[3] < yí ý "you will".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that the king said (turning to the accused one), "Well, now you also tell your talk!" He said, "My father died while I was a little child; but the cows, I do not know anything about them. I was not told; that is the reason, therefore I refused to give them." Then the king gave his judgment thus, "Well, so it is, you are a man who refused (to give what is due); why did you refuse to give the people their cows? Your matter is bad. Go, and pay a girl as amends, and you (turning to the accuser), man, give him five cows!" The debtor gave the girl, he brought her to the village (of the accuser). When the people of the village had assembled, he (the accuser) said, "I have been indemnified with a girl; thus is the matter now." The people say, "All right." Then he goes to strain beer; and he calls the people. They come; he presents the girl to the people to be examined (whether it is a sufficient pay). And they consent, saying, "Very well, we are friends now."

They go away, the cows are brought, and the girl is recognised by them.

[A man has married somebody's daughter; after some time the girl, his wife, dies; now the father of the girl has to return part of the dowry which has been paid to him for his daughter. But in the meantime the father of the deceased wife has died too, and his eldest son has become his heir. The husband of the dead wife goes to this man, the brother of his dead wife, and wants his cattle back. But this man denies knowing anything about the matter, pretending his father did not tell him before his death. They therefore go before the king, who decides: the heir has to give his brother-in- law another girl instead of the deceased one; and in return the brother-in-law is to give the heir five five head of cattle, which is about half the usual price for a wife.]

LEGAL PROCEDURE

671 According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the *gol* 692 leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

681 In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

643 Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial 692 authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or [696] judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk [627] and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, [682] the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

628 Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the 643 form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, 692 sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is [171] comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.157.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*, p.162.
(4) Oyler, *S.N.R.* 1920, Vol.III, No.3, pp.296-99.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

CUSTOMARY LAW: MARRIAGE AND THE VIOLATION OF RIGHTS IN WOMEN

P. P. HOWELL

175 648 IN a previous article on the Shilluk[1] I discussed the laws of homicide and the legal and ritual functions of the *reth* or King. An interpretation of Shilluk law and authority is not easy because, apart from early contacts with the peoples of the northern Sudan, they have been subjected to external influences and some kind of Government since the early years of the last century. These contacts began with cursory and not altogether happy encounters with the Turco-Egyptian Government which were followed by the establishment of a provincial headquarters at Kodok in 1867 under the authority of a *mudir*; later came the turbulent and dismal years of the *Mahdia* and finally the occupation by the present Government in 1898. It would be 177 idle to suppose that the political system of the Shilluk has remained unaffected by these influences. The Shilluk are by reputation an exceptionally conservative people and certainly the effects of their relations with outsiders are, to the casual observer, hard to detect. Profound changes have taken place none the less, especially in the sphere of customary law, and these changes are undoubtedly gathering momentum.

671 692 [648] By 'law' I mean simply those customary rules governing human relationships from which there has developed a body of rules classed as 'customary law' (sometimes 'native law and custom') administered under the Chiefs' Court Ordinance of 1931, and more or less consistently applied in the tribunals established by the Government.

These courts have now largely taken the place of the ultimate sanction for conformity with accepted rules of conduct, for the fulfilment of recognized duties and the composition of all disputes, which was formerly the resort to force by the injured party and his supporters. It is my opinion that the ordered indigenous administrative [114 648] system of the Shilluk, so enthusiastically described by some writers, and the organized repressive measures alleged to have been undertaken by the *reth*, are not only exaggerated, but also, in part, derive from contacts with alien governments. At any rate it is more than probable that no system existed among the Shilluk whereby all wrongs were righted by the direct intervention of the *reth* and his representatives.

671 We are not here concerned with political systems, but with the nature of customary law as it is applied today. This law is at basis derived from customary procedures in which arbitration and compromise prevailed; but in recent years it has [648] acquired a consistency, and in some cases a rigidity, probably unknown in the past. A body of case law has arisen from precedents made in the courts, and although some laws may derive from the direct intervention of the Administration, others are part of a purely spontaneous process. It is also noticeable that many claims now upheld

[113] [1] 'Observations on the Shilluk of the Upper Nile: The laws of homicide and the legal functions of the *reth*.' *Africa*, xxii. 2, 1952. I am again indebted to the Sudan Government for permission to quote from official reports and to Mr. W. P. G. Thomson and Mr. J. L. Baker for comments and suggestions.

175 traditional divisions of Shilluk country. From the early years of administration, with
631 frequent minor adjustments, until 1949 these divisions were eleven in number,[1] but
648 they were recently amalgamated to form five.

These historical factors have been summarized here to show how difficult it is to
643 formulate definite conclusions on the *reth*'s political authority. According to tradition and to what the Shilluk will often themselves say, he has absolute powers of intervention to suppress public disturbances, to give judgement in certain disputes and, moreover, to execute those judgements. In fact, in recent years, and possibly at times during the latter half of the nineteenth century, this theoretical authority has had the
[177 backing of an alien government and may for this reason have been exaggerated
648] beyond what was actually enforceable in earlier times. There is, therefore, throughout Shilluk history in the last hundred years a divergence of theory and fact, and one does not know how much of the theory has been created by external influences. It will be realized that this problem is also of some importance in a theoretical study of primi-
[671] tive legal systems, for we wish to know whether the laws were, in fact, enforceable, whether the Shilluk monarchy, apart from external influences, represents 'politically organized society,', and whether certain laws were enforced and legal sanctions applied in such a manner as to justify the use of the term 'public law'.

648 There is little evidence of legal procedures during the Turkish régime and none during the *Mahdia*. Schweinfurth writing, in 1868, a lucid account of a Shilluk dispute
● 692 heard by the Turkish 'Mudir' or Governor at Fashoda, says: 'He (the Mudir) was continually being called upon to adjust the disputes of natives, who appealed to his judgement even in their most private concerns. . . .' After describing the unsuccessful plea of a Shilluk girl for permission to marry her lover who had not enough cattle to pay the bridewealth, he adds, 'This was not a very comforting decision, but it showed me plainly how that it was ever his rule to recognize the customs of the country'.[2] Schweinfurth also gives a vivid picture of the Shilluk king at this period.

643 In the Mudir's verandah I also made acquaintance with a Shillook chief, who had entirely surrendered to the Egyptian Government, and was now, as the Governor expressed himself,
648 'coming to his senses.' There was no external indication whatever of his rank. . . . He retained now but a shadow of his former power; his better days were gone, days in which, attended by a council of ancestral state, he had swayed the sceptre of patriarchal dignity. Of all the negro races which occupy the entire district of the Nile, the Shillooks used to uphold the most perfectly regulated government. . . . But now this condition is all changed, and everything has disappeared which gave this independent and primitive people their most striking characteristics.[3]

631 There are, of course, other references to the indigenous administration of the Shilluk based on the division of the country into provinces and settlements with a
643 representative of the *reth* in charge of each, and the *reth* himself as the ultimate authority. Many writers therefore assume that there existed a highly organized system; more highly organized than the evidence warrants. It is natural that the present

[1] See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Schweinfurth, G., *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1878.

[3] Schweinfurth, op. cit., p. 19. He is here referring to the Turkish puppet Ajang wad Nyidhok. He mentions later that 'Kasgar' (presumably Kwathker), another descendant of the ancient reigning family, still maintained himself as an 'uncontrolled sovereign' in the southern part of the Shilluk country.

Government, with periodic modifications, has utilized existing divisions of the [631] country as administrative units, and has drawn its agents from the dominant lineages of each, thus creating a hierarchy of chiefs responsible to the *reth* himself; but this is 643 not necessarily evidence that such a system was a reality in the past. On this subject Pumphrey expresses the opinion that, 'The power of the *Reths* before the Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, [692] such law-suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda.' He adds in a footnote that 'The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.'[1] In an unpublished record Pumphrey goes farther than this and says:

I do not think it is true to say that as far back as Shilluk tradition goes, there is a system of 631 administration and Courts with the *reth* at the head of it and powers descending through the heads of provinces, whom we call Court Chiefs, to heads of sections down to the 692 village headman. . . . Naturally as one Chief or another attained to local prestige, he would 642 tend to attract cases to him, and certainly for a period the princesses of Dettim used to see local cases. There were, however, only four regular offices under the *reth*. The Chiefs of Luak and Gerr lived on either side of Fashoda and were his right-hand men. The Chiefs of Muomo and Tonga were chiefs of the marches whose definite job it was to keep a look out for invading enemies. Apart from this, however, the Chiefs of the marches were also the *reth*'s representatives in the two extremes of the country and used both to see cases themselves and send along to Fashoda those cases which they thought the *reth* should see. Beneath these four officials were the Chiefs (*jyak*) i.e. holders of the *lau*.[2] Our present [197] 'Section Chiefs' are only *some* of them *lau* holders, for the reason that 'sections' (occasionally somewhat arbitrarily formed) contain usually several original villages and each village has a *lau* (by an 'original village' I mean the parent village of a group of off-shoots of villages). It was through these *jyak* and through these four senior officials that the Shilluk country used to be ruled. The *reth* did not tour much, but had the people sent to him at 643 Fashoda. If a killing occurred, the offending lineage would have to produce a girl and a boy. 682 The girl would be handed to the brother (or near relative) of the dead man and the boy 692 would go to be slave to the *reth*. If the case was not settled, or if one village went to fight with another one without sufficient cause, the *reth* would send his army (*tick*) to take all the cattle from the offending village, or, if necessary burn their villages. This army would consist of one or more of the adjacent villages, its strength depending on the amount of potential resistance. Any number of sections could be raised and it seems that the sections so instructed were glad to go, since the *reth*'s army was seldom, if ever, opposed and consequently there was little bloodshed, but a certain amount of booty.[3]

Pumphrey's opinions may seem somewhat contradictory, but it is clear that he [114] thinks there was no highly efficient State system with an all-powerful *reth* at the head.

Evans-Pritchard points out that:

it is unlikely that the so-called 'provinces' were in fact more than districts or that they 631 were in any sense administrative departments before they were made into something of the 642 kind by foreign governments. Moreover, though doubtless the king exercised considerable influence in the country and may have confirmed-settlement chiefs in office, he did not

[1] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 19.
[2] *lau*, robe of office given by the *reth*.
[3] Pumphrey: Unpublished records. Undated: *circa* 1936.

669 621 described as feuds, for they amount to civil war; the latter are usually so quickly composed that the feud is soon over. The ultimate aim of the first is successful deposition of the monarch by one side or his retention by the other, and there is evidence [631] of a traditional, almost institutionalized, opposition between the north and south.[1] In the latter form of hostilities the desire for peaceful composition after an outbreak of violence or an act of homicide was presumably fostered by expediency, for within so compact and densely populated a territorial unit the continuance of a feud would be intolerable.[2] Local lineages within a settlement are sufficiently united by common interests in economic activities, by marital ties, and above all in common defence against aggression from other settlements, that these sanctions were, and indeed still are, particularly effective. These distinctions are important, for not only are feuds [628 between adjacent settlements often fiercely sustained, as we have seen, but it is at this level of internal disruption that the intervention of the *reth* is most obvious, if we are 643] to accept the evidence of recorded instances. This is true whether we take the view that in the past, before Government influences were effective, the king's intervention took the form of arbitration demanded by the participants, or whether we take the opposite view that he took repressive or even legal action as the head of an organized State.

In the case of civil war over the tenure of the monarchy itself, the *reth* was the leading participant defending his personal position against a rival. Action against him was *ultra vires*, though this was no longer true as soon as his rival was established on the throne. In the case of hostilities within a settlement, the sanctions were probably [626] sufficiently forceful to secure amicable composition without either external arbitration or repression. We must, therefore, consider homicide in the context of inter-settlement feuds in which, as we shall see, the *reth* was more particularly involved in the rôle of peacemaker. It will then be necessary to consider the more individual aspects of the laws of homicide.

The Reth'*s Rôle in the Composition of Inter-settlement Feuds*

643 On this subject the Seligmans say:

682 As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, 692 but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry, but would keep the bridewealth; or a girl and a boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.[3]

the Ngork Dinka at any rate are in this respect closer to the Shilluk than to the Nuer.

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] Latent hostility between kinship groups *within* [621] a settlement sometimes prevailed. I recently drove with the *jago* of Ogod *Par* from his home in the extreme south of that settlement to his northern boundaries. He insisted that I should drive him back, presumably because he preferred the comfort of a motor-car to his own feet, but he gave as a reason that his people were at feud with the *kwa* Oman lineage lying just to the north of his own village (an act of homicide had occurred two years before). It may be noted, however, that the villages of these *kwa* Oman are set in Ogod *Bata* which is, in a sense, a separate settlement territorially but not politically within the boundaries of Ogod *Par*. It is doubtful whether a feud between these people would be long sustained.

[3] *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, p. 46. The authors make no reference to the evidence from which these deductions were made. It must be remembered that Seligman supported the view that the king had absolute power. 'In the old days his word was law....' *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Welcome Report, 1911.

There are also scattered references by Hofmayr, who writes: 643

When the number of dead and wounded is equal on both sides, they stop fighting; then the king will hold a Court and punish the party who is in the wrong. . . . In the case of mortal wounds, the penalty is an ox. In the case of deaths, ten head of cattle have to be paid and formerly a maiden instead of the cattle. This heavy fine is paid to the king who in return would give two or three oxen to the family of the deceased for the mourning dance. 692 682

Later, talking of the reign of *reth* Kur, he says:

Two villages, Bol and Pabur, were fighting over a beautiful maiden. There was much blood shed on both sides. The king went to Pabur and at night time he occupied the village. Next morning he sat in Court and took all the ornaments and cattle away from the village, even the clothes of the village. As he favoured Bol, he never did anything there.[1]

Westermann, whose information is least reliable, states that: [114]

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If a man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

and also that:

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tyen orok* (' men of crime ') or *adro* [' slaves ' of the Royal Household]. [567]

Apart from a description of a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* published by the Reverend D. S. Oyler, which will be discussed later, there are few references in published literature to homicide and the settlement of blood-feuds among the Shilluk. Naturally enough, administrative records contain frequent references to the subject because the Administration has been much concerned with the matter. Pumphrey, who was perhaps best qualified to weigh the evidence, unfortunately does not describe the procedures in detail nor record actual instances. 114

A full description of a peace ceremony between the warring settlements of Owaci and Thworo already mentioned was recorded in the Shilluk District files by Major G. W. Titherington in 1932. He writes as follows: 643 628

A peace ceremony was celebrated by the *reth* of the Shilluk between the sections of Owaci and Thworo on their traditional battle-ground on 2-3-32.

This feud is the most bitter and bloody of modern times and in about twenty years probably some fifty casualties have occurred in fighting and by retaliatory murder, and the numerous attempts to stop it have failed. Peace had been in the air since the Shilluk Chiefs' meeting in January, and, all preliminaries having been agreed to, the *reth* arrived to stay with the local Chief on February 29th. He saw all Chiefs and Headmen concerned on March 1st and and. He then went to Thworo where the Court Chief brought a guard of about one hundred spears. These were in formation and fully armed, but in undress and without shields. The four Thworo companies took about an hour and a half to get assembled. There were about five hundred men on parade and (by then) all fully equipped, drums and kudu horns were in full blast and everyone in a muck sweat and vast excitement. The *reth* addressed them briefly and they replied that they wanted peace. He got them on the move,

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. xlvii.

114 121 a basis for definite conclusions. It is, however, probably safe to say that among the Shilluk homicide is a private delict requiring the restoration of equilibrium by the 671 payment of compensation in cattle. The main object of such payments is to marry 682 a wife into the kinship group of the deceased—rather than individually to the name of the deceased—and thus ensure its continuity and increase, which have been interrupted by the removal of one of its members. Retaliatory sanctions are also operative, [672] in that the duty to take vengeance on the person of the killer or one of his kinsmen is recognized.[1] In principle, there are here no profound differences between the [171] Shilluk and their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The rate of compensation is governed by the relationship between the parties and thus the offence is subject to social range. Patricide and fratricide, regarded as the gravest possible offences against the integrity of the kinship group, are subject only to supernatural sanctions. These apply within the local lineage in lessening degree according to the relationship between the persons concerned, and the ritual expiation is known in Shilluk as '*cuila ji kipo rwo*'.

628 We cannot, however, entirely ignore the strong tradition which prevails among the Shilluk and the views of early writers, that the *reth*, as ultimate authority, had the 643 recognized power to intervene, to enforce such payments and, moreover, to exact 692 additional payments in person and kind amounting to fines which he seized for himself. If we are to believe these traditions, we must conclude that public action against 114 warring factions, whose continued enmity was disturbing the peace of Shilluk society as a whole, was sometimes undertaken. This does not, in my opinion, alter the argument that individual acts of homicide were treated as private delicts involving primarily the restoration of equilibrium between the units of society concerned. If, however, the portions alleged to have been taken regularly by the Shilluk *reth* [671] are regarded as 'fines' paid to the head of the State (though in my opinion this is a wrong interpretation), then homicide among the Shilluk appears to be in a transitional stage between a private and a public delict, and was so even prior to the introduction of penal sactions by the present Government.

[672] [1] Pumphrey observes: 'It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due (in contrast to compensation for lesser wrongs) the net is cast wider and not only the lineage, but even members of other lineages of the same clan are expected to contribute.' Op. cit., p. 23.

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631

c) The Capital:

This is Fashoda where the king resides, and where the highest native court of appeal is held under the presidency of the king himself. [692]

The meaning of such a political organization is quite clear. The chief of every division is not selected or appointed by the king, but elected by the group concerned, and is formally invested by a dress from the king as a symbol of his authority. The basis of the Shilluk political system is lineage or clan, and has nothing to do with blood relationship to the royal family. 631 642

The present Shilluk country, it is said, is only a part of what was the Shillukland before. Just how far the Shilluk expansion did reach is controversial. My informants insisted on the fact that Nyikang reached the confluence of the White and the Blue Niles, and built a village there; and he sent messengers northwards to scout the area, but those messengers returned after reaching the site of the present Wadi Halfa (22° north latitude), informing Nyikang of the poverty of the area. After receiving this report, NyiLang did not consider another expedition, and returned to Akurwa where he was last seen. This is quite clearly an exaggeration, because at that time the state of affairs in the central and northern Sudan was just beginning to take its present shape. Moreover, the Fung kingdom and the Arab state of Gerri were in their first phases of formation, i.e. politically and militarily strong enough, and on the watch against newcomers and adventurers. 173

What may have been the case is that probably the Shilluk, taking advantage of their capacity as good river-farers, descended the White Nile in their canoes. 174

Now the White Nile is an interesting water course from the geographical, geological and hydrological points of view. The life story of this river, though controversial, is an interesting one, but what concerns us here is that the river is very weak, shallow and broad, with many islands, many curves, studded with swamps on each side, full of grass vegetation, fords, an ill defined basin, and in the flood season the water inundates large stretches on both sides. Such a geographical environment provides an economically poor land, with no attraction to wealthy agricultural states. But, on the other hand, it provides a paradise for fishermen, refugees, and to a certain extent a good grazing and watering area for nomads during the dry season. Such a state of affairs is well described in the following quotation: 133

"Le Bahr el Abiad (the White Nile) arrose ce territoire, à divisé, soit par l'art, soit par la nature, en un nombre considérable de petits canaux, il forme autant de petites îles, sur chacune desquelles il y a un village ... Les habitans sont tous pêcheurs, à ont des canots avec lesquels ils remontent à descendent (le fleuve) ... " 22)

22) Bruce, 448.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 634 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Raths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Rath* at Fashoda[19]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Rath* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Jwok*) and man, and each *Rath* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Rath* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

19. The *Rath* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177 634 648

THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622 [631] [692 177] [177] [631]

The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct [613]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and
[681] mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is
the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence
permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy
of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native
peoples of the country to administer their own territory
according to their age-long traditions and usages. And in-
deed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner
with only a handful of police to help him in administering
an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed
of the power of being in several places at once, can attend
personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually
come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious
criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[634] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an
individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these
cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the
African has a strong sense of justice and resents being
treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents
being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being
treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to
tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and
nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing
tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's [578] family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the [692] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 581 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loses the right to the throne. 643

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite an uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 671 693 685

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *ŋgɔ̄ ɔrɔ̄* ("men of crime") or *adīŋŋ*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adīŋŋ*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adīŋŋ* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adīŋŋ* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 567 [644]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adīŋŋ*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the "army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the dura is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

539* 682 539* 643 682 693 696

19. Blood Revenge.

Jal mẽkǫ, jal Mwǫmǫ, jal mádǯch, ka nɨkè yi riɨ̱ Yǫ. Ka tyɛ̱n gɛ̱n ɛ́ ywǫ̀nǫ̀. Ka jẽ ni lui yi fõte bwoń, ka gɛ ni makɛ, ka gɛ chǫń wǫt, ka jẽ e lǫ́gǫ̀ pyar abí-kyɛ̱l, ka myke ɖãn, ka gɛ dwǫl; ka gɛ rumǫ dwǫl, ka gɛ tyɛ̱n; ka gɛ rumo tyɛ̱n, ka bũl kɛ̱l wǫk, ka ɖãn kɛ̱̂l, ka nɛ̱̂k, mɛn gǫy bũl; ka bũl tɨń wǫt kɨ bɛr, ka bũl tɨń wǫt, ka ɖãnǫ kɛ̱̂l, ka nɛ̱̂k; ka ywǫge ywǫk, ka pyar abi kyɛ̱l kɛ̱̂l wǫ̀k, ka gɛ nɛ̱̂k, (kɛń) ɖãn a nɨkè yi riɨ̱. Kã gni anan, ka Chǫl e buǫgǫ bẽne.

539*

A certain man, a man of Mwǫmǫ, a very good man, was killed by king Yǫ. His relations mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), these were caught by the relations of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

539* 628

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reth* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reth* was confirmed [693] as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all [202] the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At [778] the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reth* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reth* was led down [644] the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached [293] the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, 565
however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way dis- 644
tinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to [857]
the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a 565
peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of 173
royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They [693]
used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to [687]
death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this 565
563

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, 695
but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it 693
will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of 681
one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth [683]
out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried [684]
girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to [628]
pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the 682
case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is 628
demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive 628
from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was called Duwat *(Duwgt)*. The name *Dimo* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ńíkàńò*, but the final *o* is often omitted: *Ńíkàń*; the form *Ńdkàń* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakam, Nyekom. *Ńíkàńò* is a composition from *ńí*, *ńa* "son" and *Kāńo*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ńíkàńo* means: "son of *Kāńo*." The name *Kāńo* occurs also in *Okāńo*, which is composed from *O* and *Kāńo* and means "descendant of *Kāńo*; *Okāńo* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kāńo* the traditions, as far as they are kown, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rit* "king".]

776 Nyakayo *(Ńakāyo)*, the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This 775 is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Ńakāyo*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being lacerated by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Duwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Omgi*, his brother, and his half-brother Ju (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Duwgt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

[1] "acquiring wings and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. E. S.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Ñikaŋ ŋkgt!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Ñikaŋ anan!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Ñikaŋ a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Ñikaŋ a Ñelwal*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ajuŋgo* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the forms of certain animals, as ichneumons, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, terror fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 782 643

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the nearest descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rōr*, which is the plural of *rit* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rōr*". [778]

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the sublime model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obǒgo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ɔ̀jwɔ̀gó*, and what is connected with him; *ɔ̀jwɔ̀gó* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwɔ̀k* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms: Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 648 [643] [681] A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the administration of justice. This is done under the supervision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king and the district chiefs. [643] [634]

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused, or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to 695 577

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will 695
bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements 577
and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native 691
courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are 583
usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a 422
dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithful- [586]
ness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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691 but he now makes it plain that he wouldn't have her as a
583 gift, and indeed has made overtures to another lady, so
422 please may he have his cattle and—just to make things a little more complicated—the calves that they have had, and can he have them at once since his new prospective father-in-law is getting a little nasty about the lack of dowry, and hinting that his daughter's affections may easily be bestowed elsewhere. 'Not quite so fast,' says number two, 'those cows are mine and mine only and quite obviously their calves are mine too, so kindly arrange for the immediate delivery of the same.' Father pours ridicule and scorn on both claimants to the calves. It is true, he admits, that both young men have some sort of a claim to cattle—which he will settle by and by when he gets a bid for his youngest daughter at present crawling round the floor—but for either of them to claim the calves is preposterous; surely they belong to him who has had all the trouble of herding the beasts; to his skill and industry in nursing the cows through the difficult time of calving is due the fact that there are any calves at all! And so the arguments and counter arguments, taunts, recriminations, insults and threats will be tossed back and forth. Tempers will rise and maybe sticks will be flourished and spears flashed. It can happen that one of the parties will work himself into a blind passion and regardless
[682] of the consequences may break his adversary's skull or thrust his spear into him, but generally, fear of reprisals from the clansmen of his opponent and the justice that will certainly be meted out to him by the white man in Malakal, should he survive long enough to be arrested, advises caution; and since none of the contestants is strong enough to take by force what he considers to be his by right, the dispute is eventually, albeit reluctantly, brought up before
[634] the district chief.

● 695 Reluctantly, I say, because the litigants know full well
693 that whoever is going to lose by the decision of the court, the judge isn't. The plaintiff may marshal his facts with unassailable logic, clothe them in masterly oratory, and present them with crystal clear lucidity. He and his witnesses may even

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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be telling the truth, and therefore be quite unimpeachable, 695
but he is aware that if the verdict is given in his favour it 693
will be, not so much because of the justice of his claim and his forensic skill in presenting it, but rather because he has promised the judge a bigger 'fee' than his opponent has.

Among the Shilluk the Christian precept of forgiveness of 681
one's enemy does not obtain, but they follow rather the old Jewish principle of retribution for injuries inflicted, and although they will not literally demand 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', there is a recognized scale of payment for all such injuries. The penalty for knocking a tooth [683]
out is especially severe, the aggressor having to pay the injured party a cow. For an offence against an unmarried [684]
girl, her father will claim three cows, and for adultery the fine is four cows. Woe betide the offender who refuses to [628]
pay up; he will be wise to keep clear of the district in which the injured party lives, for the relatives of the latter will most surely wreak their vengeance on his person. In the 682
case of homicide, blood payment of ten or more cattle is 628
demanded, quite apart from any penalty that the law may inflict, but sometimes the grief-stricken relatives of the dead person will fulfil quite literally the commandment 'The kinsman of him that was slain shall kill the murderer' (Num. 35: 19), and if perchance he is already in custody and out of their reach will exact vengeance on one of his male relatives. Then the family of the second victim will strive to vindicate their manhood by a raid on the other village and more killings may take place and the feud develop into a minor war, till such time as police can be got to the place and the culprits are arrested.

A grim instance of vendetta occurred in the Lul district a few years ago. A quarrel arose among some youths, tempers rose, a blow was struck and the unlucky recipient died. The aggressor was arrested and sent to Malakal for trial, but a few days later his home was raided and his father murdered as he sat defenceless at his supper. Before police could arrive 628
from Kodok or Malakal, the village of the dead youth was

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
[825] sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
[787] following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
[18] The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
[643] where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
[825] this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
[553] If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the "army of the king"; they rob the villages, all the fowls are seized, and the dura is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay (greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place. Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: "How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Jal mjiŋ, jal Mwynq, jal mddjiɔ, ka ŋjiɔ yi rij Yo. Ka tyɔ́ pjo i ywjɔ́. Ka ji ɔj lui yi fiip lunt, ka yy ɔj mɔŋ, ka yy chɔ́ wɔ́, ka ji ɔ lj(y) pyur ɔbi-bjɔ́l, ka ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ, ka yy dwɔ́; ka yy rwɔ́ dwɔ́, ka yy tyɔ́; ka yy rwɔ́ tyɔ́, ka lɔ́l lɔ́l wɔ́, ka ɔ́ŋ lɔ́l, ka ŋjiɔ, wɔ́ɔ yyy lɔ́l; ka lɔ́l tjɔ́ wɔ́ lj lɔ́r, ka lɔ́l tjɔ́ wɔ́, ka ɔ́ŋ lɔ́l, ka ŋjiɔ; ka ywyyɔ ywɔ́, ka pyur ɔbi lɔ́ɔ́l lɔ́l wjɔ́, ka yy ŋjiɔ. (Ipɔ́) ɔ́ŋ ɔ ŋjiɔ yi rij. K'ii gui ɔnɔɔ, ka Chɔ́l ɔ lwɔ́yy lɔ́ɔ.

A certain man, a man of Mwynq, a very good man, was killed by king Yo. His relations mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), those were caught by the relations of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Dé Jɔk Buin Dɛŋyimɔ, carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was Oshangɔ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayɪ̈k, in the court of king Nyakwachɔ. And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master), and was stabbed by Ayɪ̈k with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for this misdeed) the village Ogwɔ̱ŋ (which was the village of Ayɪ̈k) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayɪ̈k) were caught, and Ayɪ̈k was brought (banished) to Detang. 539* 692 696 682

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

*Kɔ́ mak nam, ka: ɔ̱ŋ kɔ́ŋ'; ka ɔ̱ŋ ɔ̱ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́; ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ a ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ɔ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ. Ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ka ɔ̱ɔ́, ka a ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ. Ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ a ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ ka ɔ̱ɔ́. Ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ka ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ka: ɔ̱ɔ́ a ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́? Ɔ̱ɔ́: a ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́! Ɔ̱ɔ́: ɔ̱ɔ́ a ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́? Ɔ̱ɔ́: ɔ̱ɔ́. Ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́! Ka ɔ̱ɔ́. Ka a ka: ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́. Ka ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ, ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́. Ka a ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́, ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ɔ́, ka a ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ. Ka ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ́ ɔ̱ɔ

LEGAL PROCEDURE

According to Hofmayr, Shilluk law "...is a law of tradition based on decisions of Nyikang and of previous kings."(1) He maintains that justice is very arbitrary and depends much on individual interpretation and custom. The settlement chief has a court to which are brought cases which the gol leaders and the hamlet headmen feel unable to settle or which are too serious for them to judge. The accuser and accused appear before the settlement chief and the headman is often called as witness, while the elders assist. In major disputes, or if the settlement chief's decision is appealed against, the matter is brought before the *reth*. Hofmayr further states that important cases are treated by him and his judgement is final.(2)

In the courts compensation is awarded for homicide and fines in cattle or goats, according to the seriousness of the offence, are imposed for disputing the *reth*'s judgement, refusing to pay royal tribute, wounding a royal prince or princess, for theft, robbery and sexual offences. Apart from minor offences it would appear that offenders were brought to court and tried, not so much for private wrongs as for public delicts or crimes coming under the general category of breaking the *reth*'s peace, disputing the *reth*'s judgement, breaking the *reth*'s and Nyikang's laws.

Information suggests that in practice in the past the *reth*'s judicial authority was by no means undisputed. Hofmayr maintains that an order or judgement of the *reth*'s court was executed by the *reth*'s bodyguard, which consisted of a number of youths who followed the king everywhere. According to the same authority "blood revenge is well known among the Shilluk and feuds do exist between persons, between families and also between villages."(3) The fine for homicide is 10 head of cattle; formerly a girl was taken instead of cattle. According to both Seligman and Hofmayr, the *reth* kept the cattle but might give two or three cows to the family of the deceased as compensation. This practice is comparable to similar legal procedures in communities in which feuds still flourish and the central authority does not exercise very extensive political powers.

Intervention in a serious feud between two districts probably took the form of the *reth* supporting one side against the other, and self-help, sometimes back by the *reth*'s intervention, was possibly the means of obtaining compensation and settling disputes which were not willingly submitted by the two quarrelling parties to arbitration and the judgement of a court. On the other hand, a description of the settlement of a feud by Oyler suggests that the role of the *reth* is essentially that of peacemaker, but that his functions can only be exercised if the disputants are willing to make peace.(4) In this respect it would appear that the role of the *reth* is comparable to that of other ritual and peacemaking functionaries among the Nilotes, such as the leopard-skin chief of the Nuer and the Dinka spear-chiefs.

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.157.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p.162.
(4) Oyler, *J.R.A.I.* 1930, Vol.LXI, No.2, pp.296-99.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
646] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes
643 clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepejur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepejur symbolises the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old 643
days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale 114
fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, 692
feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We 643
are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifi- 114
able' war on another or refused persistently to 721
listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from 701
the adjacent settlements and with this force and his 692
own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage 114
resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, there- 643
fore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes 692
backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy. 171 682

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was compound before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature. 682 114

Blood feuds and inter-settlement fighting

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says: [621] 581 701

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially dressed, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *hany* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and rally forth under the leadership of the oldest *hany* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *hany* or *hangi*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the minutes of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that: 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *hany* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947: 701 578 624

> A *hany*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for ten years in Shilluk country, and the law is well known. . . . The *hany* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *hany* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency so it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[3] Cf. the Dinka word *hang* or 'rapper'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.

[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1950 (unpublished).

have no value in defence.[1] The *bay* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bay* himself is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bay*, like the *ejwith*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bay* and the Chief failed to report the matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *bay* into Golbaiey, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bay*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud existsbetween Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (circa 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwarith*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know fromexperience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

I have quoted this incident,as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had he incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Basholzer relates: 'A man from Owaci had been bewitched in Troro and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace ceremony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. F. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear [101] that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might [102] cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually 881 goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (win). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. 593 The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too 881 small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jiqa*[1] and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organisation does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilised into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his cousins and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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1. Chief.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.* Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

* The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Lwak*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common enemy arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do today when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are unknown when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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The Funeral Dance of Reth Fapul.
(Second day)

291
411
766
701

3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late reth.

766
516

4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late reth.

[FACING p. 26]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[411] [703] The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and [535] danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *wuo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 781 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Duk, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 and Dimo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being dissected to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal[1] and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Acietagwok.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyilual where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anuak near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anuak in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zeraf Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyilwal and built his own village at Dedign.[2] Since his son Duk made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wau, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuā*[3].

Exactly who these *Fuā* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Domoth[4] and driven over the river into the Maban country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Funj Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves *Collo* too. At the same time the *Collo* army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the *Collo* and the *Fuā*

1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1550. Hofmayr (*Die Schilluk*) however thinks that Gaalo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600-1650.

2. In the settlement of Fangidwai Pan.

3. In the course of this battle the Sacred Stool of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stool *Kwoo* is still in the *Fuā* country.

4. A village some 25 miles north of Kodok where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Ceng*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajuego* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Ceng* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

The *Ceng* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal "*Lew*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Ceng* has no military associations. Some have small shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

631 segments of an organization. It seems that in pre-
Turkish times there was a tendency for contiguous
[721] settlements to combine for war against other settle-
631 ments or under the leadership of an outstanding
619 personality, but such combinations were not
permanent, or even consistent enough for us to
[m 648] speak of them as political groups. The Turkish
Administration tried to give greater consistency to
them so that they could be used as administrative
units, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government has
done the same and calls them divisions and appoints
a chief for each. Previously they appear to have
been little more than districts or localities, and the
only chiefs between the king and the chiefs of
settlements were those of Ger, northern Shilluk-
land, and Luak, southern Shillukland, whose
functions had, as we shall see, a ritual rather than
an administrative character, and those of Muomo
and Tonga, the settlements which are the northern
and southern marches of Shillukland, whose
functions were also partly ritual. In Shilluk
speech Muomo and Tonga correspond exactly,
Professor Westermann tells us, to the expression of
631 the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba.[1]

[1] Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People. Their Language and Folklore* (1912), p. xx.

monarchy'.[1] Mr Pumphrey says that in the old days 'justice was probably rough and large-scale fighting more prevalent than litigation'.[2] Indeed, feuds appear to have been rampant in the past, and it is not very clear how they were composed. We are told that major disputes were sometimes brought before the king, but he can hardly be said to have tried such cases. If he intervened at all it was to support partially one side to a quarrel. We are told that when a settlement waged 'unjustifiable' war on another or refused persistently to listen to the king he might raise a 'royal levy' from the adjacent settlements and with this force and his own retainers raid the recalcitrants, seizing their cattle and burning their homesteads. He kept some of the cattle for himself and the rest were taken by those who supported his action. The raiding force would generally be strong enough to discourage resistance.[3] Compensation for injury seems, therefore, to have been obtained by self-help, sometimes backed by royal intervention. Without confirmation I am not inclined to accept Father Hofmayr's statement that compensation for homicide was

[1] Howell, *op. cit.* p. 57; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N. and R.* (1946), p. 8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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769 Mr. Henry, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A supplicant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's house to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally credited with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 91), by the kingdelt and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 91). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
787 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
[illegible] prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[illegible] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

[illegible] deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the man. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the ear offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep screams]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the bosom of the mother, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you about my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes dead (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You were in the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the unlucky beasts are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the beasts). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 787 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are entered, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

*Lôt kpe i ôkîjô, ajwaŋŋ aj de dwôl, bô jîlô gîn, bo o kpwŋ, bo ôjwâ gwôch, bo tjwâ gwôch, bo gwô kpwŋ, bô ôkîjô kîl. Ko tjwâ wôu gîn, bo tjwâ ôkîjô wôu gîn; bo ôkîjô twôkôl aj. Ko gwô o kpwŋ, bo kpôu jî ôkîjô; ôkpwo yo wôl, o twaŋŋ bwjî tjô. Nwaj wôl jî ôkîjô, bo aj ôkîjô wôl, bo nîwo o aj wôl aj ôkîjô wôl. Ko jî ôkîjô bî dîjwâ. Ko nîu, bo gwô bîjî: ŋîjôu ŋîu. Ko ŋwaŋô bwôu, bo tîjô ŋîu, bo ŋwjô bôlî, bo wôjô ôjî, bo wôl ôjî wôjô, bo aj îjô kpôu jî. Ko wôch ŋwaŋô bo bwôu jî ajwôŋŋô, bo aj îjô ŋîŋ gwô bî nîwo gîn. [1] yôjô wôdo ŋwaŋô a wôjwj bwôu ŋîŋ gwô, bo yî kpwo: ŋîŋ gwô do ôkîjô, bwaj ajwôŋŋ. [1] yôjô wôdo ŋwaŋô a wôjwj bwôu wôl îîn, yî kpwo: îîn wôch! Ko ajwôŋŋ o ôkîjô kîjô, bo gwôl kîjô, bo îîn, bo wôjô ôkîjô kîjô, bo ajwôŋŋ kîjô, bo ŋwaŋô wôjô kîjô, bo wôjô, bo wôjô ôkîjô (ôkîjô) wôjô, kî îîj yî ajwôŋô gwô, bo o bo: ôkîjô! Dwôl tjwâ kpwŋ! Ko tjwâ kpwŋ. Ko wôl bwôwô, bo yî ôkîjô wî tjwâ. Ko o kpîjô. Ko wôch wôjwôjô bo a bwôwô jîn. Ko yî ôkîjô, kî yî ôkîjô wî tjwâ. 539[a]

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are lamented (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Then the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539[a] 721 787

[1] g.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the
●721 talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own
787 army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery
once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again;
then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is
again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now),
he says, "All right! Let all the people come!" The people come, the contents
of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then
the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water
is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated.
[727] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another
sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he
is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes
*539 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that
728 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a
royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people
make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to
loosen them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; those amends consist in a number of cattle.

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and
•[721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Okat, he was also called
*539 Agwarstyep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his steer fell under the dom palm.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agwarstyep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwgk' chwgla Agok, mpéj tyó jal yaj. Jal mjkg kjdo ajwgyg, ka ɡaná ywgla, ka ɡaná yg tupi fin. Ka ji rgin kol, ka ji ko: ł, Agjk, ɡaná a tgu. Kjna: e mpk yi ag? Kjna: kójk. Chjó jó! Ka ji chjó; ka e ko: ánél, fatje yin a ywgp ɡaná? Kjna: yan! Kjna: kjpaag? Kjna: yó pdéj yin! Kjna: kł, yi ka pyjla, wat tgan, ajjó lick! yi re ahlá yi yhlj kj ɡó tgrg? Yá fate yin ów, ané kjok. Kjna, ł, de wł pam! Kgj, ahlí! A ahlí kj ɡok dójk.*

Ka jal gni e kjɡj, ka kj gite yi pwagla. Ka jal gni tók yi Agok, kjna: ánél, kgj jal yaj chinł! Ká à kjdo, chwgla ggn a kjk. Ka mwgl ka e kjdo, ka gin gni ywada yi fwagla. Gg ɡół fin, ka bin pack. Ka e kóbg kina: gicka mjkg e ɡół yi fwagla yi jal yaj. E ko: dápjółj pypjí ydn? Yi aha kbpg kbpj kjna: kgj, jal yaj a yip pwagla! Kjna: kgj! Kjna: yi re bint? Kjna: chwgla ga lika yan! Kjna: ł, chjó tprj! A chjó tprj, a pjchj kjna: jal ydj, yin rgka ag jó? A tygk

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the burning.
[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They
[754] are called here "ja pyg" "men of medicine", as opposed to the ajwlgya, who is supposed to
[756] work for good. [3] vide Introduction.

3:Westermann E-S (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

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A chip tuá Ño, lot a chip ahin Ádjáq; Bul lipáq! Yuna bbá Ñikuá; ché ya djá á lipi; lifá yin lí ungk jungk; ríj a kpl jungk. Wera ñeiq lunun lót! Yuna bbá Ñikuá! Lot a chip ahine kudjá, lí Otyya tuá lun Ñukjáq. Ñikuá a yjiú, bere yjk Jun.

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Ádjáq*. Bul is strong. I am a servant of *Ñikuá*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the tidings of God; the king comes against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Ñikuá*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Otyya*, as far as *Ñukjáq* war is raging.

Fiwi a lubi ungu, ou Ñikuá? fiwi a yjr lí ujá!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Ñikuá*? Your village will be built by spears!

Wui yjiyi yjiyi! Fu Ñikuá fu ií yimá, kudyá á kyjk, lí Wyrukuar á kyjk; kudyá fu tiyy! ubyyi a djuiq, ku ijiq bbá yjn, Anunjjjk, fu wjjú Gjjjuijk, fu wjjú Ábél! uui yiyyi yjiyu, fu Ñikuá fu ií yimá.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Ñikuá* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wyrukuar* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Anunjjjk*, from the village of the children of *Gjjjuijk*, the village of the children of *Ábél*. Let them carry away, the house of *Ñikuá* will never be finished.

Agjyjáá Anjk-uún, uy tuun djirdk. A uuyi, a uuyi yu, dy kjlá Fjjj. Mirki rj fu djyi rj, uuche rj fu djyi ry. Aldli-Ñikuá, a kpl junjk. Mucha yy fu djyo ry.

Agugjang Anongwan is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the Sobat. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Akole Nyakwa he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Yá fjt kyá fi, yo fjt lyo fid, Ñikuá, yo fjt lyo fu, yo fjt lyo fu, jal dugk, yo fjt lyo fi.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Ñikuá*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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Kè di bpè Ayuŋ, ŋat Jɔ̀, ya ro (de) Ɔ̀ŋ̀ ping, yé yíŋ̀ Kɔ̀ŋ̀ Alɔ̀l, yé yíŋ̀ yi kɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ, kpè Alɔ̀l, wòrò Wɔ̀r.

But for *Ayuŋ*, the son of *Jɔ̀*, I should have left my country, and gone far away; I have been saved by the strength of *Alɔ̀l*, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful *Alɔ̀l*, the son of *Wɔ̀r*.

Nè Dìò, yi kwacho ŋ̀ŋ? Yo kwacho ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ! Ché ya kɔ̀ŋ̀ kon, fowo pón. Yo yíŋ̀ yi kwè Ayòŋ̀. Wòŋ̀ Nɔ Dìò ŋ̀ŋ̀ pwòk kí ɔ̀ŋ̀, ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ fo lìò ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ.

You son of *Dìò*, what do you ask for? I ask for a hoe, for wherever I go I hoe the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather *Ayòŋ̀*. The mother of the son of *Dìò* has built us a house under the dolob palms; the branches of the dolob are like an army.[1]

Mìò kyè Nɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ, yo ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ, yo yòŋ̀, ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ kyè Alwòk, nwo Dìò, yo ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ yé yòŋ̀.

By the dura-hour of *Nɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ* I walk, I am filled with it, by the hour of Alwok, the mother of *Dìò*, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Alɔ̀l a dwè mal; yé ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ ɔ̀ŋ̀. Kì ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀ pwòk, ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ yíŋ̀ ɔ̀ŋ̀. Dìò a ɔ̀wòŋ, ɔ̀wòŋ ɔ̀wòŋ Dìŋ̀.

Alɔ̀l has returned. I live through him free from oppressors. The anxieties of my heart were many. But *Dìò* reared, he reared the white people away to *Dìŋ̀*.

Mòŋ kí yòŋ̀, mòŋ kí yòŋ̀, yòŋ̀ŋ Dìò yè, mòŋ kí yòŋ̀ŋ . . . .

Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to *Dìò*.

Yo ŋ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀! gwè pin ŋ̀ŋ̀? bwòŋ̀! Tìŋ̀ ŋwòŋ̀ŋ̀ mal. kyè a kɔ̀l yi ɔ̀wòŋ. Kwòŋ̀ fo ɔ̀ŋ̀, ɔ̀ŋ Dìò a kɔ̀l jòŋ̀. Nè yɔ̀l kwòŋ̀ kɔ̀t ɔ̀n, ɔ̀ŋ kyè wòŋ̀ ŋ̀ŋ̀! Ɔ̀wòŋ̀ ɔ̀wòŋ yòkè yón. Tìŋ̀ kɔ̀n ɔ̀ŋ̀ yɔ̀k ɔ̀n. Nòn a ɔ̀ŋ̀ yòk? Yòn a ŋ̀ŋ̀ ŋ̀ŋ̀ŋ. Ɔ̀kòŋ̀, ɔ̀ŋ̀ kwòŋ̀, yi ŋ ɔ̀ŋ̀ kí ɔ̀ŋ̀ ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀.

I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dura is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of *Dìò* is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your hoes, fight another tribe!

[1] The rustling of the leaves of the dolob palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

Kwar (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar* Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

18: Howell E-: (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch of the clan is not sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineage, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[1] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

1. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Leek*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do today when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 881
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may 881A
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wîn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajôdo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [472]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 681
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

In fact, the traditions of the Shilluk bulk so of hostile relations between them and the Funj, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Funj extended their dominion across the White Nile to the Dabi mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also drawn a time- incorporated in the Funj dominion. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Nuqra and Nugrid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Funj armies. It is presented that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Funj Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Funj army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country on an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organised enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organised armies with cavalry?

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the labor they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancestors to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Funj, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Funj would forget their origin and lost their relatives, subjecting them to slaves or servantries? And if the Funj did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Funj domain?

The other aspect upon which Arkell found was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds.

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practised among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Funj, a king

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72) Arkell, (D), p. 17. He states that "The Funj Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Kassala in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on [684] 751 a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in [224] the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [724] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The [752] 755 power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 789 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F323 Shilluk F323

The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
787 approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and thus a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[751] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
789 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest. The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear [701] that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might [726] cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually 881 goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (wīn). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. 593 The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too 881 small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726] into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kōk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-
561 divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, partici-
561 pates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this proces-
[578] sion enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
[574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
[476] of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name,
[726] usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881 535 831 [622] 858 [626] 881

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.[9] Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

9. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Lueh*, which are described in Mr. Pumphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is 756 merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

*539 enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the
721 talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own
army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery
787 once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again;
then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is
again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now),
he says, "All right! Let all the people come!" The people come, the contents
of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then
the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water
is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated.
●[727] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another
sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he
is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes
*539 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that
728 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a
royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people
make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to
loosen them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; these amends consist in a number of cattle.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 735 567 672

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

565 the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can
614 intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other
644 than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among
[643] his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers knowns as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
● [727] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[735] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary
[614] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle
[682] with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Abogo, *Kwar* Muol, *Kwar* Nyilong and *Kwar* Ojul.
23. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jur, *Kwar* Othou and *Kwar* Okel.
24. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jung (who were originally Dinka).
25. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Oman (of Ogod).

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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766 homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk
[778] *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most
[411 727 439] of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the
[177 648] anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the
721 talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own
army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery
787 once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again;
then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is
again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now),
he says, "All right! Let all the people come!" The people come, the contents
of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then
the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water
is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated.
[727] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another
sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he
is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes
*539 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that
●728 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a
royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people
make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to
loosen them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; these amends consist in a number of cattle.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Dervishes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this. [197] [177]

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die. 643 [731]

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation 643 766

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus Nyikang emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Onger where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwom are stored. Both Nyikang and Dak entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,[27] was with them. Cal was the brother of Dak and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *laus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of Nyikang and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First Nyikang would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of Nyikang. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for Nyikang to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.[28] Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of Nyikang. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Athurwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by Nyikang. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of Nyikang and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although Nyikang had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of Nyikang, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Athurwic*. Nyikang, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Dak, Col and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Athurwic* surrounded by the *ororo* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis there, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

[27] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[28] *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 682 669 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is, as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 731 [775] Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them; famine, pestilence, invasion, and—what comes nearer home and is always a potential danger during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might 578
have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly 628
after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent [797]
a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another [625]
to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner 578
chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortu- 628
nate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple 648
of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not 634
merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment 578
and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The 628
rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even 731
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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578 more severe than usual. The government set up a grain
628 distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village
[737] of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok
[648] snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the
[535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages
[535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* [576]
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a [753]
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the [731]
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. [782]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in [782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Comboni thereupon began two Congregations, the Verona Fathers and the Missionary Sisters of Verona. In May 1871 he was made Pro-Vicar of Central Africa, and on January 26th, 1873, left Cairo for Khartoum to take up residence there. He had been preceded by some of his missionaries, and immediately opened stations at Dilling, El Obeid and Berber. In 1877 he was consecrated Bishop and made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, but returning to Khartoum from Rome he found the Sudan desolated by a terrible famine which caused the death of hundreds of thousands of natives and many priests. He was thus forced to abandon his cherished project of the expansion of the mission. Dr. Matteuci, the famous explorer, wrote concerning this:

> Mgr. Comboni sees in the sad loss of nearly all his missionaries the delaying, for who knows how long, of the realization of his vast projects. In the last few months he had begun an agricultural station on the Blue Nile at Gadaref destined to have a great future; he had made arrangements for the establishment of a station at Fashoda, the capital of the Shilluk country, one of the most barbarous and unhealthy places in Central Africa, and was then preparing an expedition to the Equatorial Lakes which would have gone down in history as one of the most important achievements of Daniel Comboni.

Comboni always had in mind the poor Shilluk whom he had encountered on his journey to Holy Cross, and it was to help them that he planned to open a mission at Fashoda, but the famine postponed indefinitely this design, and the trials of the mission reached a climax with the death of the great apostle himself in 1881. It seemed that shipwreck was near, but the mission weathered the storm, only to come to grief a few months later. In 1881 the Mahdist revolt broke out, and as Dilling, El Obeid and Berber fell to the Mahdi, the priests, brothers and nuns became their prisoners. Many of them died as the result of the treatment they received when they refused to deny their faith and become Moslems;

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 confession was an easy task now, and I gave her Holy
* 797 Viaticum and then proceeded to anoint her. As I did so she stirred feebly, tried to raise herself up and twisted her shoulder towards me. 'Father,' she said 'put some there. That's where the pain is.'

*797 Epidemics sometimes visit the district and then the
[731 missionary is very busy indeed. Devastating though they
164] may be, carrying off both young and old, the strong as well as the weak, they can have a chastening effect on the lazy, indifferent and careless. On one occasion I stood in the dark behind a hut, whilst mosquitoes in their thousands whined and buzzed and bit, hearing a panic-stricken man's confession. Within the hut, his wife, his little daughter and infant son, all newly baptized, lay dying. The sickness had not touched him, but its visitation to his home did what years of coaxing, prodding and reminding had failed to do.

164 A primitive people like the Shilluk fall an easy prey to
744 whatever sickness is going. Not overclean in their persons and insanitary in their habits, they huddle together at night in small windowless huts with the doorway blocked by a heavy grass mat; hence disease quickly spreads from person to person, from hut to hut and from village to village. Medical facilities are limited and an epidemic can get a good hold before effective reinforcements can be sent from Malakal, sixty miles away, to help the overworked Medical Assistant. During my first years at Detwok, cerebro-spinal meningitis was a regular annual visitor. It came when the rains ceased, and with the first showers of the next rainy season it disappeared again, but during the intervening months it did its deadly work and scarcely a day passed without some village mourning its dead. An effective remedy was found, however, in a spinal injection of the famous 'M & B' drug, and the scourge lost much of its terror. After 1942 it failed to put in its annual appearance, and to date Detwok and district has been free of it altogether, although yearly it makes its presence felt in the southern end of the province, and takes a deadly toll in other provinces in the Sudan.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter XIV

FAMINE AND FLOOD

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the majority of the Shilluk live in a state of chronic hunger. The poverty of the land they till, their primitive methods of husbandry, the elements which seem to fight against them in their annual struggle to raise a crop all contribute to make this so. And if despite all these handicaps, if perhaps in an occasional year the fates relent a little and send neither deluge nor drought, but a supply of rain liberal enough to nurture a plentiful field, then the weaver birds will descend in their millions to lay waste the great heads of mature but as yet unripened grain. The damage that these tiny predators can do is incredible. In the early dawn they swoop like a black cloud on the unprotected fields, settle and after a short time, rise again. But they leave behind them ruin; the heads of grain are in rags and tatters and the ground is carpeted green with the unripened grain. In three or four days the former flourishing field is laid waste.

Once, at daybreak, I saw a migration of weaver birds. They were flying up the Nile from north to south. I did not see the beginning of this great army, neither did I see the end, but for half an hour it flew in an unbroken mass which seemed to stretch across the entire breadth of the river and to be about a foot deep. Its passing boded ill for the luckless cultivators in the south.

Despite these misfortunes the Shilluk usually manage to garner something from their impoverished fields. From October and for the next few months they generally have sufficient to eat and after that, if they have money to buy it, grain imported from more prosperous parts of the country is available in the merchants' stores. But occasionally the whole country is stricken. The failure of the rains is

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. [535] Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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unhappy task to try to choose fairly so that, if not every individual, at least every village should be given a turn. It was an even more difficult and unhappy task to send the disappointed ones away; to turn a deaf ear to their pleadings; to close one's eyes to the mute appeal in theirs.

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But in actual fact the ones who worked were little better off than those who didn't, for although they had a little money there was no grain to buy. In view of the opening of the new school we had been forming a reserve of grain, but the scheme had to be abandoned in the face of such complete shortage. We doled out what we had and by dint of careful and stringent rationing we were able to keep about twenty families, I will not say 'fed', but at least from starvation from October until February when our store was exhausted and we could do no more.

The Government stepped in and took control of all the grain in the country in order to ensure a fair distribution. We had at that time about 120 people—schoolchildren and permanent employees—to feed every day, and normally used a 2-cwt sack of grain per day. We were allotted ten sacks per month, one third of our usual consumption, and so had to make a proportionate reduction in the food bowl. But there was no question of the Shilluk schoolboy being thankful for small mercies in receiving a little every day whilst his less fortunate parents and brothers and sisters at home got nothing. There were protest meetings among the boys generally followed by an indignant procession carrying the meagrely filled bowls so that the Father—myself—who in their eyes was responsible for this shortage could see for himself the result of his gross neglect in not cornering the entire grain supply for their benefit. In vain I pointed out that the famine was no fault of mine and that they were better off than their brethren in the village. They replied in effect that such arguments were beside the point. Since they had done me the favour of coming to the mission to be fed, clothed, housed—and incidentally taught—for nothing, the least I could do in return was to see that the feeding was adequate, and since I had so obviously failed in this respect,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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731/797 they might as well go home again. And go home many of them did, regardless of the fact that whilst at the mission they would get some sort of a daily ration, there would be nothing for them at the parental board, not even a welcome.

Those who remained got a little extra in consequence of the defection of their fellows, and in order to supplement their slim diet still more I divided the school into two and on alternate days sent one half to fish for the benefit of everybody whilst the other half had class, and bought a bull each week to provide them with a couple of meat meals.

And so we struggled on from month to month until in June the importation of beans from Egypt eased matters considerably, and eventually with the arrival of the new crops in mid-September the crisis was passed.

731 The unfortunate people outside the mission did not fare so well. True, periodic allotments of grain were made at various central villages that boasted a shop or two, but it was impossible to devise an equitable system of rationing, and since many people were several miles from these centres, the possession of money did not guarantee that there would be grain left by the time they had tramped the hot and dusty road to the shop. For the most part they subsisted on roots [261] and grass and occasionally a decent catch of fish would enable them to forget their misery for a time.

We heard of many instances of suffering and endurance during these dreadful months; how a young mother alone in a hut with her newly-born baby, in trying to lift herself up to reach for a drink of water fell on the infant and killed it; how a woman in search of food walked from Detwok through the Shilluk country to Kaka some fifty miles to the north, there crossed the river and continued her quest among the equally stricken Dinka tribe, and making a huge semi-circle through rough country, eventually recrossed the Nile opposite Detwok and came home empty-handed, having covered about 150 miles on foot.

731/797 One morning when I was going across to the school I saw two little children in the Sisters' compound trying to pick out the few grains of millet seed that had fallen into the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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cracks in the soil. As I approached they fled and I continued with a heavy heart across the compound. The Reverend Mother came from the house to meet me. The tears were streaming down her face as she told me that the two children had been abandoned by their parents who had gone away in search of food. Near to tears myself I told the weeping nun that I could not and would not take any more children into the school, that I could not and would not feed all the destitute children from the villages and that I could not permit her to give of our scanty ration to any of the hungry folk that daily haunted the mission. But, I hastily added, as the tears flowed faster, if she was a wicked and disobedient nun and chose when I was safely out of the way to disregard these strict orders and give a little food occasionally to two small hungry children, then of course I could not prevent her from doing so. It took her a moment to grasp my meaning, and then brightening, she dried her eyes and cheerfully promised to disobey me each morning when I was in the classroom and unable to see what was going on. And so the two children were given a meal every day while the shortage lasted and until their parents returned to provide for them.

731 797

The rains of 1946 bade fair to make amends for their sad failure of the previous year. And that the heavy downpours we experienced in Detwok were no mere local affairs was soon made evident from the rapidity with which the Nile rose. The mission is half a mile from the river and is reached by a road built some four feet above the swamp level and lined with trees by our energetic Italian predecessors. By the end of September the swamp waters had overtopped the road and had flooded it in parts to a depth of nearly a foot, and by Christmas the accepted method of going to collect mails and stores from the fortnightly steamer was to paddle the mission boat down the road until it grounded in the mud and then to wade the rest—and this generally at about 2 a.m.

During this time Mgr. Wall, the Prefect, paid one of his periodic visits to the mission. He did not travel on the ordinary fortnightly boat but by a casual northbound tug,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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so that his arrival was unawaited. As usual the boat arrived at Detwok in the small hours of the morning, and after manœuvring round in the inky darkness managed to put Monsignor ashore on what was thought to be the road, but which turned out to be the garden. Since this was locked he could not get out, so the tugmaster obligingly took him on board again and then backing his craft a few yards down to where the path was, told a couple of sailors to carry Monsignor ashore and escort him up to the mission. They managed to land him without mishap on the only piece of dry land that remained—a patch about the size of a tablecloth—but after splashing a few yards through the watery waste the boatmen prudently refused to proceed further and lifted Monsignor up to carry him back to the tug. Unfortunately they dropped him in the river. However, he was quickly fished out, and spent the rest of the night in a chair, in pyjamas and dressing-gown, while his sodden garments dried out in the engine-room.

On another occasion the unfortunate Father whose duty it was to attend to whatever boats should call at the mission was aroused from his slumbers by a mournful hoot from the river which heralded the arrival of a steamer. Reluctantly dragging himself from his snug bed he went out on the verandah and to his relief saw the lights of the boat receding in the distance. He decided that either the hooter had blown in mistake or else whatever had been dumped on the bank could wait until morning. 'Whatever had been dumped on the bank' did wait until morning; it was Mgr. Wall once more, making another unexpected visit to the mission. Finding no guide coming to assist him and not daring in the dark to attempt the perilous passage of the waters alone, he was marooned and had perforce to await the coming of daylight, sitting on his suitcase and wrapped in his dressing-gown for protection against the hordes of mosquitoes that delightedly hastened to the place to keep him company during the long hours of his vigil.

When at length the river began to subside the floods receded rapidly, so rapidly indeed that they carried away a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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great portion of the road and of the embankment that we had repaired and built up at no inconsiderable cost and labour only the previous year. 731 797

So passed our trial by famine and flood. We have been visited by both misfortunes since then but not again in successive years nor on so large and widespread a scale.

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 756
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, [539] who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their child- 756
ren are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [737]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [556
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 595]
usually only has a few children.

(c) *Nyareth* - The son of a *Nyireth*. 565
(d) *Kwanyireth* - The grandson of a *Nyireth*. 614

In some regions the members of the royal clan have become more numerous than commoners and have supplanted them in the chieftainship of the settlements. This has been possible because the members of the royal clan are richer and tend to marry more wives, and also because of the system whereby the offspring of a *reth* are planted out in various settlements away from Fashoda. When one of the *reth*'s wives is about to give birth to a child she leaves Fashoda and goes to her own village. As soon as the *nyireth* is weaned he is placed in charge of some trustworthy settlement chief, often the mother's brother, and is brought up among his mother's people. When the child grows up and marries he builds a separate hamlet called *pa nyireth* (unless he is called on to become *reth*), and thus becomes the founder of a local lineage branch of the royal clan which may eventually grow powerful enough to overthrow the dominant lineage and assume the political aspects of its position in the settlement. 644 644 614 591 565

Daughters of a *reth* are not allowed to marry and therefore cannot start lineages which would count as sister's sons to the royal house. 644 582

The Ororo

This clan is separate from the royal clan and consists of the descendants of a disinherited branch. They are few in number and may intermarry with the royal clan. It is said that the *reth* still has the right to disinherit lineages of the royal clan but, apart from one traditional instance, it is not certain whether the right has been exercised. The *ororo* are indistinguishable from the commoner clans except for the special functions they perform for the *reth* at his investiture and at the time of his funeral. Traditionally, the *ororo* always smother the *reth* when he is ritually killed. The *reth* always takes some of his wives from the *ororo*. 565 614 643

The Bang Reth

The *bang reth* are the personal attendants of the *reth*. Originally they were captives from other tribes but later, volunteers from the commoner clans in Shillukland, if they were poverty stricken, might leave their own clans and become the *reth*'s retainers. In return for receiving cattle to marry with, they tended animals, engaged in building and cultivation and performed all the duties connected with the upkeep of the royal household. Apart from these and their descendants, the *bang reth* also included all those who were enslaved because their brothers were homicides and those who became possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. 565 644 727 735 567 672

The *bang reth* are a fictitious clan; they cannot intermarry even though there is often no blood relationship among them. The *reth* never marries into the *bang reth* clan and, as an indication of the impossibility of this, he calls the daughter of a retainer *kwara*, 'my grand-daughter'. 565 614 608 644

The *bang reth* live in a hamlet of their own near the capital in which the *reth* resides. When he dies they, together with his elderly widows, go and live near his shrine and look after it. When a *nyireth* is planted out, his father sends some of his retainers to live with him; these become *bang* 565 644 614

105 year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the riverain pastures, which [361] are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their riverain pasture is not extensive.[1]

614 Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

565 (i) The *kwareth*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom 614 the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

644 (ii) The *ororo*: a disinherited branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, [558] during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous clan, though they may intermarry with the *kwareth* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *collo*: the name refers collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

[567] (iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to [792 serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who 735] volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were enslaved because their close kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically later.

[564 There are no real caste distinctions between *kwareth*, *ororo*, *collo*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they 582] intermarry freely. The *kwareth*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang [554] and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though 171 there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and 643 stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary [161] campaign against trypanosomiasis gives a figure of 23,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1946 233] and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 30 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate at any rate within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 110,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 110·5 and 110·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 112·5 and the lowest 111·2.

[2] *kwa*: Literally 'descendants of', prefixing the name of the clan. '*kwa* Okelo'—the descendants of Okelo—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very 751
fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil 754
eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it [556]
be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it 672
for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry 751
when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the 754
child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones 754
that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do 826
not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, 626
they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the 754
man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear 431
someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going 735
to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has 751
the evil eye. 754
626

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

788 735 241 If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

425 556 It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 the rules of exogamy the *Ororo* are considered as a *Collo* clan and can
614 intermarry with the *Kwar Reth* as well as with any *Collo* clan other
644 than their own. The *Reth* always has some *Ororo* women among
[643] his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers of procreation are failing.

THE COLLO.

565 The *Collo* comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Wau.[22] Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's collateral relatives.[23] Many claim a mythical origin. Others[24] are avowedly accretions, others[25] again being descendants of the prior inhabitants of the country.

BANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the *Reths* used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers knowns as *Bang Reth*. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
[727] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[735] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary
[614] cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became *Bang Reth*, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the *Reth's* men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building, tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle
[682] with which to marry. One method of recruiting *Bang Reth*, which is of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

22. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Abogo, *Kwar* Mual, *Kwar* Nyilong and *Kwar* Ojul.

23. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jur, *Kwar* Othou and *Kwar* Okel.

24. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Jung (who were originally Dinka).

25. *e.g.*, *Kwar* Oman (of Ogod).

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the [743] hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

648 871 797 648 743 648 648 505 648

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 by the *ororo* and *kwareth* of Fashoda, a ceremony which I did not attend, though I had seen it done at the installation of *reth* Anei.

If there are any observations to be made on this day's events, they are that the whole occasion was carried out in a much less serious manner than previously. The participants appeared to be light-hearted and the dangers to the *reth*, though carefully stressed, were obviously not taken so seriously. If there is any explanation of this, it is probably that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in the last seven years, are now used to these events and do not regard them with such awe as before. It is also possible that Kur, as the son of a successful and popular father, was a candidate accepted with a greater degree of unanimity and calm than either of his two immediate predecessors. The number of participants seemed much less than before, possibly for the reasons already given, and because many people from the south were barred from coming owing to cerebro-spinal meningitis. One had the impression that the number of Nyikang's followers was much greater than those of the *reth*, no doubt partially due to the latter's unexpected decision to stay only one night in Debalo and the fact that this affected his own followers rather than those of Nyikang who had marched through the northern Shilluk. Also, perhaps, because Kur, as son of Fafiti, is popular in the north while he may be less so in the south.

I was not able to attend the final ceremonies. In the account by Mr. Udal which follows, it will be seen that *reth* Kur spent only one night up in the mound of *Athurwic*, with the result that the ceremonies of installation from the point where he fled to Debalo had taken only five days instead of the customary nine.

THE FINAL CEREMONIES

(By J. O. Udal)

The Battle for Nyakwer

643 541 The *reth* was anxious to avoid any further delays and decided to spend only one night in *Athurwic*. The battle for *Nyakwer* thus took place on the third day of the installation ceremonies, not on the fourth as is usual. I arrived at about 8 a.m. on the morning of the third day and was able to exchange greetings with the *reth* from a distance although he could not leave *Athurwic*: *jago* Yorleiker *wad* Ajang thought that the battle would begin very soon, but the inevitable delays followed and it was not until about 9.15 a.m. that Nyikang's drum was heard being beaten in his shrine. The *kwa* Nyikwom began to assemble outside the shrine from which Nyikang and Dak soon emerged and with them *Nyakwer*, dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin. *Nyakwer* is the central figure of the second battle. In the morning, the *reth*, remembering *Nyakwer*, whom he had forsaken for a girl of the *ororo*, sent for her. The news was brought that Nyikang had abducted her and an ultimatum was forthwith sent by the *reth* to Nyikang demanding her immediate return. Both sides then prepared for battle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 confession was an easy task now, and I gave her Holy
*797 Viaticum and then proceeded to anoint her. As I did so she stirred feebly, tried to raise herself up and twisted her shoulder towards me. 'Father,' she said 'put some there. That's where the pain is.'

*797 Epidemics sometimes visit the district and then the
[731 missionary is very busy indeed. Devastating though they
164] may be, carrying off both young and old, the strong as well as the weak, they can have a chastening effect on the lazy, indifferent and careless. On one occasion I stood in the dark behind a hut, whilst mosquitoes in their thousands whined and buzzed and bit, hearing a panic-stricken man's confession. Within the hut, his wife, his little daughter and infant son, all newly baptized, lay dying. The sickness had not touched him, but its visitation to his home did what years of coaxing, prodding and reminding had failed to do.

164 A primitive people like the Shilluk fall an easy prey to
744 whatever sickness is going. Not overclean in their persons and insanitary in their habits, they huddle together at night in small windowless huts with the doorway blocked by a heavy grass mat; hence disease quickly spreads from person to person, from hut to hut and from village to village. Medical facilities are limited and an epidemic can get a good hold before effective reinforcements can be sent from Malakal, sixty miles away, to help the overworked Medical Assistant. During my first years at Detwok, cerebro-spinal meningitis was a regular annual visitor. It came when the rains ceased, and with the first showers of the next rainy season it disappeared again, but during the intervening months it did its deadly work and scarcely a day passed without some village mourning its dead. An effective remedy was found, however, in a spinal injection of the famous 'M & B' drug, and the scourge lost much of its terror. After 1942 it failed to put in its annual appearance, and to date Detwok and district has been free of it altogether, although yearly it makes its presence felt in the southern end of the province, and takes a deadly toll in other provinces in the Sudan.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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In September 1944 a new sickness swept through the 164
country. One evening I received a sick call from a village some four miles to the south of Detwok. Just as I was setting out another message came in from a village equally distant from this mission, but to the north. It so chanced that I was alone in the mission at the time so that the two calls from opposite directions put me in something of a quandary, since the rains were on and I could not use a bicycle. However, the call from the south appeared to be the more urgent of the two, so I went there and sent a catechist north to do whatever he could. When I arrived at my destination, I was appalled at what I found. It was not one person who was ill, but a dozen or so, including three in the house to which I had been called. (It was on this occasion that after [797] * I had baptized his wife and children the terrified husband asked me to hear his confession on the spot.) I found the same in the other villages nearby, and when I met my catechist that night he had a similar tale to report from the north. I immediately sent a runner to Kodok to wire the news through to Malakal, surmising that the outbreak was one of cerebro-spinal meningitis, since the symptoms seemed to be similar, though I was puzzled at its appearance during the rains. Prompt help was forthcoming from Mala- 164
kal. The following day a launch brought a doctor and a 744
team of assistants, and the outbreak was diagnosed as relapsing fever. It is a disease carried by lice. The person infected becomes ill and is very seedy for about a week; then he recovers and apparently is as well as ever, but after a short interval he is stricken down again, and unless medical assistance is at hand, death generally follows. Fortunately, medical assistance was at hand, and although, owing to the sickness becoming widespread so rapidly, many succumbed to it, very many were saved thanks to the immediate action taken by the medical authorities.

The major problem was how to stamp out this plague which had originated somewhere round Kaka and advanced south with great rapidity. Squads of soldiers and public health workers were sent to the district and they toured the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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164 villages, boiling, disinfecting or burning anything that could
744 harbour the deadly lice. It was a long struggle, and the sickness had spread south of Lul and managed to get a hold on the Malakal side of the river before it was finally destroyed.

*797 In the mission, we fought long and unceasingly, and
164 happily, not unsuccessfully, to keep the fever at bay. Natur-
744 ally in the school we had always maintained a very high standard of cleanliness. A morning bath for the children had
[515] always been enforced, their clothes had to be washed every Saturday, and classrooms and dormitories were swept and dusted daily. But we multiplied our efforts; the pupils' heads were kept shaved, and their clothes, blankets and mosquito nets were boiled. They were deprived of all beads, bracelets and trinkets—anything indeed where lice could find refuge. Stripped of their adornments for the first time, they appeared to be really naked, and they, and we, lived in a perpetual cloud of D.D.T. powder. As far as possible the villages were put out of bounds and the children's activities confined to the area between the mission and the river. Thanks to all these precautions only two boys went down with the sickness. These were promptly and rigorously isolated and, receiving immediate medical attention, both recovered.

164 Since the passing of the relapsing fever epidemic the district has been free from any serious outbreak of sickness. Every year, however, from November to March, when the really cold North wind comes howling across the country, many people, particularly among the old folk, get pneu-
*[797] monia, and the priest is ever on the alert for the knock on his door and the summons which may take him but ten minutes to answer, or on the other hand may mean a journey of twenty miles or more, and occupy him the best part of the day.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113. INHERITANCE

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517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn. DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

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On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
683 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person
754 boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

578 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
754 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very 7 51
fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil 7 54
eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it [556]
be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it 6 72
for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry 7 51
when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the 7 54
child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones 7 54
that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do 8 26
not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, 6 26
they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the 7 54
man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear 4 31
someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going 7 35
to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has 7 51
the evil eye. 7 54
6 26

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

626 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front,
751 for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.
754 When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

754 Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person
[761] with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

.. 11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

[513] In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

751 764 After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

751 754 When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their [515] backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [484] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on 751 a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [224] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [726] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [752] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The 755 power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 789 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
787 approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and thus a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[751] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house
789 by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest. The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The
782 walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the
821 mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deń. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deń present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deń. While the servants of Deń put the higlig branch (ȳk Deń) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has
821 been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer. One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deń. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An
778 object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deń is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deń's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

> *tere kwaje mayegen*
> "The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
> *tere kwaje tiengen*
> "The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.

[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawng's place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [484] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on 751] a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [224] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [726] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The [752] power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it 755] are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 789 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deń rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deń, and that it is an honour to be called by Deń, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deń. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deń will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 342 782 821

Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, [539] people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773] as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector [539] (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely [775] associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753] general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
775 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
825 fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular develop-
825 ment, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the [753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into [787] the river.

[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
784 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, [778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron [782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [833 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

142 516 147

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [481]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

304 [753]

[1] Five feet ten inches.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ̱ jwɔ̱k* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not
[761] think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of
[576] salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yí kɔ̱l jwɔ̱k* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi nɩ̱ɛ̱ jwɔ̱k*" you may hold fast
[753] Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114] [In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG, AND THE ORIGION OF THE SHILLUKS The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɡean aduk,* came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɔ̱lɔ̱; Kɔ̱lɔ̱* begat *Omarɡ,* who begat *Wat Mɔ̱̃l* ("son of *Mɔ̱̃l*"); *Wat Mɔ̱̃l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat *(Ñakāyɔ̱* and *Oñwāt).* One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Omɔ̱i;* the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Bwarɡ.* Okwa married

*539 755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a certain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medecine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *γēro*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the [756] gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the hoe, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

24. Sicknesses.

●753 827

dwālǫ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
tǫ́ń heart-ache, pulmonary disease.
dńḑńò cold, catarrh.
dńfkò insanity, lunacy.
owin wich giddiness.
dtḑgǫ́ teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
àlùt dropsy, hydropsy.
àdòń pains in the buttocks.
dkágǫ́ rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
ḑḑu guinea worm, Ferendit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
àmwòl swelling of knees and elbows.
lḑi leprosy
ńóńò a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.
ajańkobyɛt the skin peels off.
lēr caries.
wàń a kind of light leprosy.
kwḑm kwḑm swelling of the shinbone.
kamîr salt-rheum, "lupus".
ajḑgò small-pox.
àbíp a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
gi bwǫńǫ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.
kàjéjò inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.
dńḑch inflammation of the joints; of the toes.
ànḑn gonorrhoea.
bòr boils.

753
827

shǫltík the same as *àmwǫ̀l*, but it is curable, *amwǫl* is uncurable.

dwâdǫ a kind of leprosy on the foot, takes a long time to heal.

mígm the skin becomes rough, squamous.

ʈàwó-shín diarrhoea.

ràm diarrhoea.

chǫ̀rò blindness.

ńgi-ńgń eyelashes get red, fall off.

ńǫ̀lǫ lameness.

díkǫ̀n thigh-bone is affected, it is mortal.

duoń disease of the outer ear, chiefly of children.

gwǫ̀ńǫ itching.

àdwàń "a cripple who never walks".

àtàkò hunch-backed.

byér a disease of cattle and men, pains in the back.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

582 613 835 would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary *ora* relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is *ora* in the second degree. B, C and D may have an *ora* relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an *ora* relationship between the two [753] lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwalo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

601 Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

771 There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

776 The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups al- [771] though beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang. [782] The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind; 776
Juok *Nan*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acweci*, " creator;
Jane Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tim*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayim*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically [753] associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail.

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important 346
being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two 778
or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which 778
projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and 793
priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bareth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine.

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices 778
and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making 782
ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Protector, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common [753] explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its [643] interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

182 Nyikang and Dak were the most important Shilluk kings and may be 643 regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account 776 of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of 173 the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to 776 kill Dak, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Dak's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Dak is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Dak was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Dak show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Dak particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Dak made the effigy, though [114] in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 159, Nyikang made the effigy.

141
304

Card No	C.I.	N.I.	F.I.	U.F.I.	S.(cm)	incisors	marks L	R	B	A	dots	C.I. m.	C.I. m.	N.I. m.	N.I. m.	S m.	S m.
B 7	73.6	88.0			180.8		+		+		26						
C 8	73.4	96.2			175.1			+	+						+		
D 7	67.0	88.7	89.7	49.6	174.6	+		+			28	+					
B 1	71.3	87.7			184.8		+				21						
D 9	67.4	79.2	93.0	70.4	181.1		+				31						
	71.5	87.9			179.2												
D 13	70.2	83.1			165.7	+	+										

The sign + means that the people practice knocking out lower incisors, or body marks.

L = Left upper arm and shoulder

R = right upper arm and shoulder

B = Back

A = Abdomen

m = minimum

m = maximum

Tribal Marks.

304 The most important tribal mark among the Shilluk is one row of
619 dots or scars on the forhead called TAI which extends from near the ear to the other ear, crossing the temples. The old generations have three rows of these dots.(12) Butt writes that "Shilluk men and women have three to five rows of dots or scars....(13) but I was unable to discover any Shilluk man or woman who had
[114] these five rows of TAI. Butt may have confused this scarification with that of the Bari and the Dinka who make five to seven deep cuts on the forehead. A profile of a Shilluk man or woman will betray a strong resemblance to someone who has a necklace of black or white beads stretched across his forehead. These dots are of no fixed number.(14) They vary according to the breadth of the face and the forehead. No Shilluk is excepted from this mark, but in my study I found one old fellow from the royal family (15) who happened to be born in Metema, north of Khartoum, as his mother was taken captive during the Mahdi - Shilluk war. He lived about twenty years in the north, then he came home, even having lost his Shilluk tongue. He had no TAI.

The most important tribal mark is the knocking out of the lower
114 incisors. Seligman wrote (16) that the royal offshoots till the fourth generation
184 "... follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead
304 of having them knocked out as commoners do..." Butt also says: " Among the Shilluk
619 the royal family alone keep their teeth intact." (17) From the results I have obtained and illustrated in table "C" we can make two observations:

a) that not a l l commoners practice the knocking out of their incisors,

b) that some royal members practice it.

304 The Shilluk told me that this practice was universal among the commoners in the
197 past, but now it is practiced at will. The old belief was that the failure to knock out teeth caused sickness. It must have been contact with the Arabs that changed this belief, and with this contact the habit is going to die out.

[753]

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [753] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [233] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's 753
idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the [754]
evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every accident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly discussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visitation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hidden power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to 755
the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the 754
same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will 755
happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and beseeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a hoe, and after the case is cured he

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.
624

431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
513] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

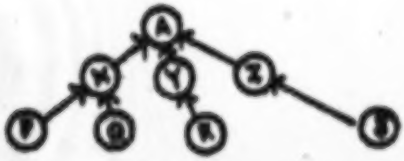
After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
426 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *par* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182
having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582
that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607
It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613
Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835
and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by spitting a guard, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the guard in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." 753 755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *par*.

25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debalo run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debalo until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debalo. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in [753] their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the 828 spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not [644] allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debalo to Fashoda the coronation [669] is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebajur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango [644] on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyek holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums [775] and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with 233 the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debalo. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debalo, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [754] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* [576]
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a [753]
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the [731]
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. [782]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782]
to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753]
taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755]
to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787]
bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825]
of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782]
washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362]
meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417]
spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358]
repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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[Since different authors assign variant functions to the ajwogɔ, jal yat and bareth, for full information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 791 and 793.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[826]

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

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The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

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[826]
[847]

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

[826]

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

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We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 134-6.

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yaŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwōŋŋ*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

ECSTASY 781

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149.

MYTHOLOGY 773

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1].

SOUL, SPIRIT 774

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipo*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipo* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anpko*; the word is derived from *nōgo* to kill; *anpko* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anpko* is feared.

ABODE OF THE DECEASED 775

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jō pā jooŋ*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known.

ISLAM 777
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Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors![2] And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Lengyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and [721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Oket, he was also called Agweratyep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, *539 and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his steer fell under the dom palm.[3] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agweratyep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwǫk chwǫla Agǫk, mǭṡi tǫṅ jal yaṭ. Jal mẽkǫ bẽda ajwǫgǫ, ka ḍeaṅ ywǫbg, ka ḍeaṅ yg tayi fèṅ. Ka jẽ rgṅa kal, ka jẽ ko: ḱ, Agǭk, ḍeaṅ a ṭǫu. Kine: e nęke yi ṅǫ? Kine: kíjà. Chǫṅ jè! Ka jẽ chǫṅ; ka e ko: ṅatè, faṭe yin a ywǫp ḍeaṅ? Kine: yan! Kine: kpaṅǫ? Kine: yà pàṅi yín! Kine: kè, yi ba pyẽlǫ, wgt ṭyau, ṅiṅi lbch! yi re chòk yí yǫbò kí ḍǫ̀ tẽrǫ? Yá faṅe yiṅ àu, mà kẽch. Kine, ḱ, de wà ṭum! Kgṭ, chòl! A chòlí ki ḍǫk ddǫk.*

Ka jal ṭni e kḍǫ, ka bẽ gõte yi pwodǫ. Ka jal ṭni tùk yi Agǫk, kine: ṅatè, kgṭ jal yaṭ chínè! Ká à bẽdǫ, chwǫla gǫn a lǭk. Ka mwǫl ka e kgḍǫ, ka gin ṭni ywode yi fwodǫ. Gǫ gòl fèṅ, ka bia pach. Ka e kõbǫ kine: giche mẽkǫ e gòl yi fwodǫ yi jal yaṭ. E ko: dàpḍṅò pyéjí yán? Yi cha kòpǫ kòpò kine: kgṭ, jal yaṭ a yip pwodǫ! Kine: kgṭ! Kine: yi re bàṅ? Kine: chwǫla ga lāke yau! Kine: ā, chǫṅ tẽrò! A chǫṅ tẽrò, a pḍchḱ kine: jal yáṭ, yin nęka ṅǫ jẽ? A tyęk

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the humming.
[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They [754 756] are called here "*ja yęp*" "men of medicine", as opposed to the *ajwẽgǫ*, who is supposed to work for good. [3] vide Introduction.

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periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be *ajuago*, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an *ajuago*.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an *ajuago* he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an *ajuago* are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an *ajuago* marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an *ajuago* possesses a 'gourd of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the *ajuago*'s house and is consulted for purposes of divination.(2)

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Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalyat

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The *jalyat*, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the *ajuago*. The *jalyat* is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a *jalyat*, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

[683]

The *jalyat* is thought of as being a monorchid and, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1920, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser [683] may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father [847] and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to 842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ex-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *rudh* or Ghoul - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghouls—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwogo*, magician, *Jal yat*, sorcerer, *ywob*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 195.

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

I. — THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

To the animistic mind of the Shilluk, the occult powers are always near, and the fact that they can not be seen makes them none the less real. Around, about him everywhere are the spirits, and daily he comes in contact with people, who are the possessors of occult powers. They recognize five classes of people, who are in possession of hidden powers. They are:

The servants of the king, that is the people in whom is the spirit of one of the kings;
The beneficent medicine men or witch-doctors;
The malignant medicine men or witch-doctors;
The people with the power of the evil eye, and
The people possessed of the evil spirit.

Some say that the class of people with the power to cast the evil eye receive their power from the evil medicine men, and would class them together, but very few make that classification. However, in talking about the evil eye, it always brings up the subject of the malignant medicine men. The powers claimed for the two classes are very similar.

Many say, with good reason, that the people possessed of the evil spirit should not be so called, but that their affliction is merely a disease. We would call it insanity.

These articles do not exhaust the subjects, but a little has been gleaned from the contradictory tales of the Shilluks. Often the ideas of the natives

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are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they 754
have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims.

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as 754
the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family 827
may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time.

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, 582
and while the man afflicted in this manner is not desirable as a husband, 754
yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry [583]
for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the afflicted man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbours ignorant of their powers.

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive 754
the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power.

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon enquires about it, and is told. However one 754
mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in 826
which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark.

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754 The possessed is conscious of the fact that he has the power and may even mention the fact. The power is made operative by looking fixedly at the person to be made the victim. The person exercising the power is usually in anger when the deed is done. The person who is bewitched says the eye went into me, and if the person who did the deed speaks of it, he will usually say that his eye went into the person.

The evil eye does not always take effect in the same part of the body. If the curse falls on the eye, the person will have sore eyes terminating in blindness. They recognize three causes of blindness, other than accidents. [753] Blindness may follow the small pox, or measles, or else it is the result of the evil eye. When the evil eye strikes the ear, deafness is the result, and when it is on the head, sores and swellings appear on the head. When the body is affected, it is covered with sores. The intestines or the liver may be the part afflicted, and they swell to unnatural size, and the worst part about it is that the swelling is permanent. One young man, who was a very fine looking child, was afflicted thus, and ever since he has been out of proportion. The doctors called it enlargement of the spleen. A man who is a very swift runner may have the evil eye take effect in his feet, and in that case the feet swell, and the victim has trouble in walking. The curse may fall on the teeth, and they decay. The evil eye may strike the unborn babe, and it disappears. The most dangerous place to have the evil eye take effect is in the heart, and in case it does the victim can not live through the day.

The evil eye is not confined to the body, but it may also affect the domestic animals belonging to a person. When a person drinks the milk of a cow that has been touched by the evil eye, it causes his insides to swell. A [233] very fine appearing cow is not permitted to go into the village by herself but is kept with the herd, and she is to be kept in the middle of the herd so that she may not be seen, and the curse come on her. A very fine calf is always kept hidden. Sheep may become the victims of the evil eye.

The power extends beyond animate things to the inanimate. A blacksmith may make a very fine bracelet, and it breaks as he is putting it on the wrist of the owner. The bracelet was bewitched by the evil eye. When a very fine spear breaks when it is being polished just after it is made, it is because of the evil eye.

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As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's 753
idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the [754]
evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every accident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly discussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visitation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hidden power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to 755
the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the 754
same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will 755
happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and beseeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a [illegible], and after the case is cured he

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754 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
683 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person
754 boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[627] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
578 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people,
754 nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or
754 fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

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The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. 751 754 [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows. [556]

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine. 6 72 751 754

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do not disappear. 7 54 8 26

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going to beg from some other person. 6 26 754 431 735

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has the evil eye. 751 754 626

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626 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front,
751 for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.
754 When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

754 Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person
[761] with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

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II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jel yet* (the first *e* as in led, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yet* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees. 754 [192]

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful. 754 826

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case. 845 [847]

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He [844] 672 845 847

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672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish
683 that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

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As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 754 [683] [845 847]

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is soon casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 683 754

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 754

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [732]

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 683 754

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683 754 pay a fine unless he has caught the man actually working a charm. The accused says: «Whom have I injured in your house?». He does not try to plead that he is innocent of such work, but only that he has not injured his accuser.

754 The malignant medicine man has many means of bringing disaster to people. If he is able to get a bit of hair, the parings of the nails, spittle or any thing else that has been part of the body, or the clothing of the body, he can work a charm on it, so that the owner will die. If he is ignorant of the identity of the owner, he can do nothing with these things. For that reason, when a man cuts his hair or his nails, he either hides the [302] part removed or else puts it on a public road, so that the identity of the owner can not be learned.

A case that illustrated their belief in that power occurred here once. One afternoon a man came in great wrath with his daughter. He said someone on the place had killed his daughter that morning. As she seemed to be in good health, his statement seemed to be a little ridiculous. When asked to explain, he said that she had been carrying water, and that she had laid off her outer garment which was of calf skin. When she returned to get her garment, she found that someone had cut a piece out of it. We was sure a man with the occult power to kill had done the deed. When examined the edge of the marred place was seen to be rough. Others, who had been working were called to see if the identity of the person doing the wrong could be ascertained. At last a boy said that he had seen two pups playing with the skin and dragging it about. He had driven them away, and returned it to its place. The man was satisfied that harm had not been intended against his daughter, and she returned to work.

Over a bit of mud taken from the wall of a house, or a bit of grass from the roof, a charm can be worked that will kill the owner of the house.

When a man's club falls into the hands of one of these evil men, he buries it, which is symbolical of the burial of the owner which will soon occur, or he may kill the man by cutting the club in two, or a hoe may be given to him by the children while the older people are away. He throws the hoe into the river, and the arm of the owner is destroyed so that he can not hoe. He may also steal a cow rope or a spear and work a charm on it that will kill the owner.

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Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

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754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

[513] In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

[751 754] After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed.

[751 754] When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to *stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite* certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their [515] backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back.

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All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
gourd or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomadul. Poor Akomadul was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: «Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him.» Akomadul then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow ambach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: «He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives». Akomadul then took a white sheep, and said: «I will save the man». The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: «The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover». The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

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755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to knead his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three higlig pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles [82] it he prays: «Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

754 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their 102 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves 754 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try 756 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two oxen were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

751 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cor- 791 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would over take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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another had such power over the animals in a certain district that it was not safe to hunt without his blessing, which was given by spitting on the hunter and his dogs. If that blessing was not obtained, the hunter would be devoured by lions. 754 791

Sometimes an evil medicine man may have the power of the evil eye as well, and then he is exceedingly strong. While most of the natives say that the people with the evil eye, and the evil medicine men are entirely separate some connection must exist, for if a man begins to talk about one he invariably brings in some thing about the other, and it is not always easy to know which he is talking about. One of the chief differences in the method of working is that with one, merely to look on the victim is enough, but the other must get some means of contact. 754

As a class they accept the reputation given them, and try to live up to it. They are sinned against, and they seek to repay in kind. Shunned as evil they come to believe in the powers ascribed to them. Many of the miracles accomplished by their power follow so long after the invocation of the power, that a less superstitious race would not look upon it as a result of their power.

Through superstition the evil medicine man is a power among the Shilluks. Thoughts of his power may cast a gloom over the most festive occasion, and at night when the world is peopled by the spirits of their fancies, the evil medicine man prowls about. The hooting of an owl or unusual tapping sounds caused by the wind bring a thrill of dread to the heart of the Shilluk, which can not be dispelled by the bright light of day.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

29:Dempsey M.5 (1940-1954) 1955
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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18s.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
634 solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
692 could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
626 finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
789 sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
152 animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usualy slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
796 *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly
782 consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest
782 shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December,
796 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete :—

[184] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 789 643 [826]

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

754 756

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

754 [826] [847]

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

[826]

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:— 755

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect." [1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
775 might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[193] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

Ḏūŋ kpá mâgé yí jwgk, ka jū dwoí, ka jū kḭ́ſí kíne: ḏūŋ a ɲíí wgr kí jwgk? Ká jū ò kḭ́ḭ̀: ḏūŋ e mâgè kḭ́dí yí jwgk? Ká dyḭ̀l dwoí, ka ḏrɩ̄ lāmḭ̀ lāma jwgk, ka yíí dyḭ̀l ɛ́ḭ́l, ka pí wgtí rɩ, ká dyḭ̀l e nḭ́k, rgmɩ̄ kḭ́ḭ́ḭ́ fet, ka chám yì tḭ́rḭ̀. Ká ḏrɩ̄ tḭ́yḭ̀. Ká ḏwá ɩ̄ bḭ̀t jwḭ́k á dwḭ́á kí rɩ, ka ɛjwḭ̄gɩ̄ dwoí. Ká ɛjwḭ̄gɩ̄ bḭ̄ŋɩ̄, ka e kííŋ kíne: kgwí kí kwḭ́r, ka e ko: kgwí kí kḭ́t, ka e ko: kgwí kí lāu, ka e ko: kgwí kí dyḭ̀l! Ká dyḭ̀l kḭ́l, ka ḏūŋ e kíte fḭ́l, ká dyḭ̀l chḭ́bí wíj tḭ́rḭ̀, ka dyḭ̀l yɛ́jɩ́ kák, ka yɛ́jɩ́ wómá kḭ́gḭ̀; ka ḏūŋ kíte fock, ká jwḭ́k á wótó.

When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and: "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!"[1] When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

23. Another Report on Sickness.

Jwgó mḭ́ḭ́ŋ ɛ́ííŋ fā dwḭ́ḭ́. Ká ɛjwḭ̄gɩ̄ dwoí, ka ɛjwḭ̄gɩ̄ kḭ́ḭ́, ka e ko kíne: kgwí kwḭ́r, mgɩ̄ kwoí yɛ́ḭ́. Ká dyḭ̀l kḭ́l, ka lāu kḭ́l, ka ɛ́ɛ́wḭ́ḭ́ kḭ́l, ká pálḭ́ kḭ́l, ka kḭ́ḭ́ kḭ́l, ka yɛ́ɛ́k kḭ́l, ká líí kḭ́l, ká kḭ́ḭ́ kḭ́l, ka ɛ́ɛ́wḭ́ḭ́ kḭ́ḭ́ fíá á tádḭ́t, ka yɛ́jɩ́ tír mal. Ká ḏūŋ kḭ́l, ḏūŋ fḭ́ka yɛ́jɩ́, ka ɛ́a ɛ́ɛ́l ɛ́ɛ́n ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́p ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ḭ́, ɔ́ ɛ́a wádḭ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́p ɛ́ííŋ; ka ɛ́ɛ́wḭ́ḭ́ mḭ́ḭ́, ka ɛ́ɛ́wḭ́ḭ́ e ɛ́ḭ́. Ká ɛ́ɛ́ ḏwḭ́ḭ́ mḭ́l, ká dyḭ̀l ɛ́ɛ́ḭ́ kák, ka wáí ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ rɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́; ka wómá ɛ́ɛ́ḭ́, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ḭ́, ká dáíḭ́ ɛ́ɛ́ḭ́, ka ɛ́ɛ́ kwoí wíy tḭ́t. Ká yɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ḭ́k, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ yí, ka wókó ɛ́ɛ́n fɛ́ɛ́, ká ɛ́ɛ́ mḭ́ḭ́ ɛ́ɛ́. Ká ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ rɛ́ɛ́, mákwḭ́rḭ̀, ɛ́ííŋ ɛ́ɛ́rḭ̀, ka ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ííɛ́, ká líí kák, ká lííḭ́ kák, ka yɛ́ɛ́k kwɛ́ɛ́, ka kíte pḭ́l yí yḭ́l, ka ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ yí yḭ́l, ka pí kíte yɛ́ɛ́ kwḭ́l, ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ fíá; ka kḭ́ḭ́ kwɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́, ka-kwḭ́r kwɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́, ka fííŋ kwɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́, ka rííŋ kwɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́, ká dyḭ̀l kwɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́.

Another sickness is called *dwḭ́ḭ́*. When this falls on a man, the sorcerer is sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then

[1] These all are the fee of the witch-doctor.
[2] kwɛ́ɛ́ yí ɛ́ɛ́.

*539 755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a certain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medecine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *γīrɣ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the [756] gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the hoe, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

24. Sicknesses.

753 827

dwālɣ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
tɣá heart-ache, pulmonary disease.
dńḥńḥ cold, catarrh.
dwḥḥ insanity, lunacy.
owin wích giddiness.
dńḥgí teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
àlàt dropsy, hydropsy.
àdbá pains in the buttocks.
dhágé rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
ḥḥu guinea worm, Ferendit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
àmwḥl swelling of knees and elbows.
lɣí leprosy
ábáà a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.
ajańkolygt the skin peels off.
ḥr caries.
wàá a kind of light leprosy.
kwḥm kwḥm swelling of the shin-bone.
kumír salt-rheum, "lupus".
ajḥgì small-pox.
àbíp a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
gí bwgáɣ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.
kìjíḥ inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.
dńḥch inflammation of the joints; of the toes.
àmḥn gonorrhoea.
ḥbr boils.

VIII. PRAYERS AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

62. A Prayer to God.

Mālá yín, yina jwɔk, dɛ gɔ kwàchà yín kí wɔr. A kɔ́r jɔ́ kídí chán lɛ̀n. Ka 539*
chāṭí kí kílí llm, chāṭá rí, a nɛ̀nɛ́ kí wɔt, nɛ̀nɛ́ rí. Dí gɔ̀ mālà yín kí gin cham a
ní wɛ́kè jɔ̄, kí pik a ní mɔ̄t, kí wɛ̀ a kɔ́rɔ̀ yín. Byń an fɔ́ɔ́ wíjì, yina jwɔk; yina
lɔk kwa Ñikūnɔ́; fang wín a chāṭí kí jwɔk; yina lɔk kwá, kí nāri Dāk. A yíɔ̀
ryak, ryak fa mājí yin? Nami à chɔ́ní ɔ́nd ɔ́ànń, fā ṭɔ̄, rɔmɛ fa kɔ̀ɛ yí; yina
jwɔk, dɛ gɔ̄ ní lāmɛ́ mɔ́n? fatɛ yin, yina jwɔk, kí ɛna yík Ñikūń, kí nāri Dāk?
Dɛ wèì fa mɔ́gí chɔ́? Fang yin y tíní mál.

Chāṭí, kí ɔ́ɔ́ń chwíp, kí wèì kwát, ka ṭɔ́ń re ńans a re da jwɔk, kí pí wɔ́tɛ ry.
Ka yíṭ ɔ́ànń ńɔ́l, twoy tyɔ̀lɔ, ka bàt yóń ńɔ́l, ka ɔ́ál ànànànàn; fa bɔ́l yí jɔ̀. Ká
chwání mɔ́ṭɔ́pɔ́, ka kɔ́ń fat, mɔk jwɔk.

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people 539*
kept by thee all days! And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I 782
walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray 755●
for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyíkango; it is thou (Nyíkango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyíkango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick)."

That is all; and the cow is speared; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("is with God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off. (it is cut into strips, these are tied together and the whole) is tied round the leg (of the sick one). And the right foreleg (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste of it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground: it is the thing (property) of God.[1]

63. A Prayer for Rain and the Ceremonies connected with it.

Tyɔ́ɔ́ a mɔ́ɔ́ ní lɔ̄ɔ́, ka gɛ́ lɔ̄ɔ́ lɔ̄ɔ́, kɔ̄ɔ́ kɛ́ gɔ́p kí kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka gɛ́ lɔ̄ɔ́, ka 539*
rɔ̄ɔ́ a wɔ̄r, ka gɛ́ mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka gí gɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí bar kwɔ̄ɔ́, kí bar ɔ̄ɔ́, kí bar tar, kí
chɔ̄ɔ́. Ka rɔ́m gɛ́ gɔ́ɔ́, ka gɛ́ chɔ́ɔ́, ka kɔ́ɔ́ a gɔ́t, ka ɔ́ɔ́ń kɔ́l, ka ɔ́ɔ́ń chwíp,

[1] This is said to be the only prayer to jwok. It is prayed on any occasion when a kind, as sickness, famine, war, falls on the people. The prayer is said by "old people", by the chief, or some other respected person of the village. The Shilluks were taught it by Nyikang.

There was a jwok[1] who was called Agok; he was manifested by a certain wizard. 539*
A certain man was a wizard. He bewitched cows, so that the cows fell down. And the people ran to the house (of Agok) saying, "Ah, Agok, a cow has died." He asked, "By whom has it been killed?" The man said, "I do not know." Agok ordered, "Assemble the people." And the people assembled. Agok asked (the wizard), "Man, is it not you who bewitch the cattle?" The wizard answered, "Yes, it is I". Agok asked, "Why?" The wizard replied, "Because I want to try you (whether you are able to find out who did it)." Agok said, Ha, you are a cursed one! You cursed black-eyed one! Why are you always bewitching the cattle of the people?" He answered, "Only to try you whether you really are strong." Agok said, "Well, we have met. Now go and make amends!" He made amends with three cows.

Then the man went away and planted (a charm) in a field. The proprietor of the field was (while sleeping) wakened by Agok[2] with the words, "Man, go, there is a wizard in your field." But the man did not go, he thought he was dreaming. The next morning, when he went to the field, he found the charm which the wizard had put into the earth. He came home saying, "Something has been planted into my field by a wizard." Agok said to him, "Why do you ask me about this matter? I have told you already saying, 'Go, the wizard has planted a charm into your field. Therefore go!' Why did you refuse?" He replied, "I thought I was only dreaming." Agok gave order, "Assemble the people!" When all the people were assembled, Agok asked, "You wizard, why have you (tried to) kill people? you are going to kill the whole village" („you surround the village with killing"). He answered, "It is not I." But Agok replied, "You cursed one, I will surely kill you!" And he killed him. When the witch doctors saw that, they all repented, and they were much afraid. Then the people scattered.

And Agok was called king by the people. The people listened to his words [755] ●
(were obedient to him). They used to say, "If any man becomes sick, he goes to Agok, that he may be helped." He gives him (that is, the one who wants help gives to Agok) cattle, two cows, one cow is speared (sacrificed), and one he keeps alive, it becomes the cow of jwok.

[1] "god". [2] It is not meant that Agok went to wake him, but he wakened him in a vision.

As can be seen from some of the effects of the evil eye, the Shilluk's 753
idea of sickness has much to do with the increasing of their belief in the 754
evil eye. They do not think of a disease as being contagious so much, as they think of it being spread by some hostile agency. Some people carry their views to such lengths, that they are inclined to think that every accident, and every case of sickness is caused by some occult agency. The power may be exercised by some other agent than the person with the evil eye.

When a person is taken sick, all the symptoms are very thoroughly discussed by the people of the village, and if some mysterious features or circumstances are brought to light, it is immediately looked upon as a visitation from some occult power. Most cases of sickness present some puzzling features, and so it is easy to give credit to the evil eye for much of it. Most accidents occur not because someone was careless, but because some hidden power was invoked against the person. The patient is then taken to 755
the good medicine man. He goes through certain forms to determine the source of the evil charm. He may decide it is from the evil eye, or from an evil medicine man.

When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to do two things. The first is to cure the person suffering, and the second is to put that particular charmer with the evil eye out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he is cured, and at the 754
same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will 755
happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect. When the person who casts the charm hears of the cure performed by the medicine man, he hastens to him at night, and beseeches him to spare his eyes. The medicine man exacts a good fee from him, and then assures him that he will save his eyes, but warns him not to do it again, and threatens to kill him if he sees him casting the evil eye on another person.

A person with the evil eye can cure a person who is suffering from the evil eye. Of course he gets a good fee for it. Before he takes the case he gets a small fee, such as a sheep or a hoe, and after the case is cured he

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

751 demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person
755 who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

754 The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

633 When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to
754 discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he
[67] is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

578 The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger,
754 for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

751 If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye
754 may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

All the evil medicine men keep snakes, but usually they have them in a 231
guard or den in the fields, though a few of the most powerful have kept 754
the snakes in their houses. To deceive the people, they pretend to fear snakes.

A man, who is reliable, tells this story of a transaction he witnessed. 754
He was making a short trip. He came to a village where the people were 683
very much excited. He found that the cause of the trouble was that a sick man said he had been bewitched by an evil medicine man named Akomedol. Poor Akomedol was brought into the centre of the village, and beaten by all of the people, until at last he cried out: «Do not kill me, I did it, but I will save him. I will remove the charm I have put on him.» Akomedol then went into the house of the sick man, and took out a bit of hollow sesbach wood that had been hidden in the grass of the roof. Inside of it were, a charm, an egg, and a lizard. The people were not satisfied, and they began to beat him again. He then went to the field of the afflicted man, and got a charm that had been buried there. It was a large stick with an iron ring at each end, and stretched between the rings was a lizard. He next went to the doorway of the patient, and took up a cooking vessel that had been buried there. The vessel was full of charms, eggs, and lizards. The chief of the village asked him why he wanted to kill the man, and he said: «He cursed me because I killed one of his relatives». Akomedol then took a white sheep, and said: «I will save the man». The sheep was cut open while yet alive, and the contents of the stomach were put on the patient, and on his house. The blood was put in the hole where the cooking vessel had been buried. He then said: «The man will get well; even though you kill me, he will recover». The people wanted to kill the witch, but the chief intervened to save his life. It was reported that the man recovered after a long illness.

It can easily be seen that many ills can readily be diagnosed as coming 755
from an evil medicine man. When the good medicine man has found that the malady was caused by an evil medicine man, he proceeds to break the charm. Different methods are used, but one or two will suffice. While the medicine man is working, the parents of the patient pray for him, if they are living. In case they are dead, his male relatives pray for him. The patient sits on the ground while the healer jumps over him in such a way as

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to knead his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three highly pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles [782] it he prays: «Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

759 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their 762 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves 758 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try 759 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two cows were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

759 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer- 761 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give us a fee the first fish taken, and

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 756
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, foot, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby. [539]

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The 756 [757]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the choice of their victims being a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [558, 559]
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he usually only has a few children.

13: Cyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine-men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing [684] undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on [751] a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in [224] the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any [724] sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done [753] by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The [756] power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. 781 He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [762]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

484 562 629 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 487 626 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with [536 513] oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-[753 755] will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 425 [768] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush [533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

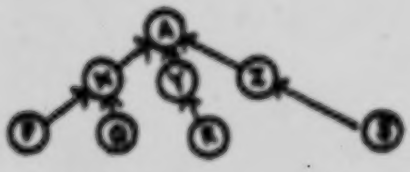
After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a 426 431 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwale*. 582 835 613 607

Dwale[30]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ore* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *par* A as *myer man ore*,[31] that is to say *myer ore* of the *myer ore* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ore* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ore* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ore* of the second degree (*pa man ore*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwale* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ore* and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ore* girl. This may require explanation. As already said 582 607 613 835

30. *Dwale* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo strikes a prophylactic sacrifice by spitting a guard, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the guard in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwale*." 583 859

31. *Myer* is the plural of *par*.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 693 778 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

693 778 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, [533] [535] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover- [45 235] ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular [533 539] song was :—

> "Let the Dervish wreak his will,
>
> Nyikang's land will prosper still."

693 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still [755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater part profess to be acting for Nikawag, though Dek has a numerous following. People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is taken near the fire. A hand is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then crowded by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by 756
different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same.

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and 755
chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he [187]
will recover. If he does not, he will die.

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to 756
belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the case is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are affected by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way.

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant- 755
hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries "The house is on fire". The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [754] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [683] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 786 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases. 756 766 787

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast. 755 [46] [756]

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted. 756

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief. [766]

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer. 756 787

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people. 771 181

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people. 756

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
776

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yak*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

[Since different authors attribute variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for full information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 791, 793 and 754.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuogo*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuogo* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyar*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyar* is a monocchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyar* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a pericone, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyar*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyar*. The magic of the *daiyar* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyar* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuep*) is associated with the *jalyar*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monocchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

[1] When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he sits up . . . near the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 194-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits
775 of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[113] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago*
alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognised that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other

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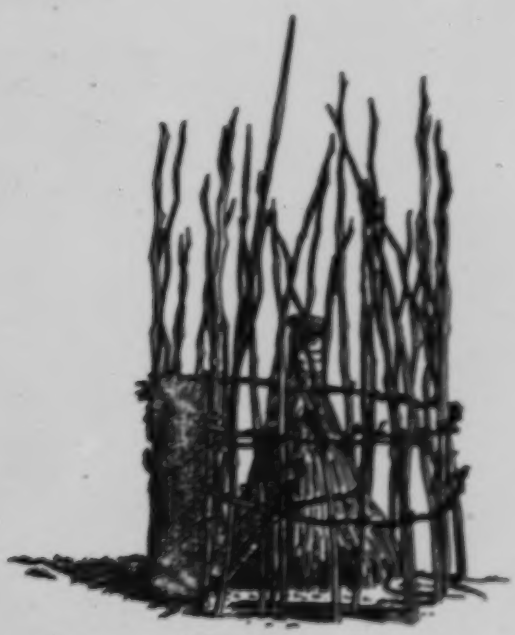

FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 [1909-1910] 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 warning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an ajuogo might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore head anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered prophylactic against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xiii. [2] Op. cit., xiv.

3:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the bowl is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a
[516] circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

● 756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
756 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which castor oil stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working cock supports, carving and polishing chairs and spear sticks, making sandbath boxes and other common work is undertaken by every Shilluk. The cock supports are "invented
352 by Ryikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, dang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of sandbath wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

COCK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
[493] trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: dawa, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

773 THE COWS OF RYKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Rykang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Rykang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Darfuhian took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Rykang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "Yes Rykang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Rykang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Rykang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, sees of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Rykang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kiro* (Gilgi (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Rykang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

●756 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ajoqi*, and what is connected with him; *ajoqi* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *joqi* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Rykang; he leads the dances and prayers to Rykang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being eaten by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

3:Westermann E-5 (2910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and usually beneficent role in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even condemned to death. — Besides these the word *jal* pej "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajalgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by *Jwok*?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his followers, vide page 140. ECSTASY 781

The tribe contains many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgement. A consciousness of sin survive is evident from 11, page 186. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some other writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile spirits and the sun-god *Ɔ*. MYTHOLOGY 793

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wol* and *ajoj*; *wol* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ajoj* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as man when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyiŋ*; the word is derived from *aŋyo* to kill; *anyiŋ* probably means "one who killed", or "who is killed". The *anyiŋ* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT 794

On the shrine of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the tents the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jɔ pɔ jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. SPIRITS OF THE DECEASED 795

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas *Anywaks*, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM 797 791 797

* This doubtfully relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

[illegible] kpa mdyé yí jwajh, ka jíi dwoi, ka jíi kíjí kjwe: [illegible] a kwáj wuy kí jwajh? Ká jíi i kjíki: [illegible] a mdyé kjáki yí jwajh? Ká dyjí dwoi, ka [illegible] jwajh, ka yíi dyjí ájí, ka yí wuyí ry, kí dyjí a ují, ryang kajja fóí, ka ckém yí [illegible]. Ká [illegible]. Ká [illegible] y kjí jwajh á dwjíi kí ry, ka ujwíjgy dwoi. Ká ujwíjgy kjwa, ka a kíiky kjwe: kjwí kí kwjy, ka a ka: kjwí kí kjg, ka a ka: kjwí kí kíu, ka a ka: kjwí kí dyjí! Ká dyjí kjí, ka [illegible] a kjje fjí, kí dyjí ckjíí wíj [illegible], ka dyaí yrjé kíli, ka yrjé wúwá kkpj; ka [illegible] kjje fwok, kí jwajh á wdwj. 539*

When a man is ordered by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and: "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!"[1] When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears. 539* 755 [182] [156]

23. Another Report on Sickness.

Jwajh wájkg ddág fá dwdíj. Ká ujwíjgy dwoi, ka ujwíjgy kjwa, ka a ka kjwe: kjwí kwjy, ungu kwoi yuy. Ká dyjí kjí, ka ítu kjí, ka ottwajh kjí, kí pdíj kjí, ka kjg kjí, ka yuch kjí, kí líci kjí, kí kjwi kjí, ka ottwajh kjg fíá kí ddjíc, ka yrjé ítu wuí. Ká gkjyg kjí, gkjy fíku yrjé, ka ku yíl gpu ckjp ddjíg, ka ku wddíj ckjp ddwg; ka ottwajh wdíj, ka ottwajh a ígj. Ká yy gwdíjá wdí, kí dyjí yájí kkk, ka wdí gkjch víl gpu; ka wdwj ájí, ka ckkaj ájí, kí dddj ájí, ka yy kwoi uwy ígj. Ká yuy ígj, ka ówdjá yí, ka wíkí ddu fwí, kí gj wdíjí fu. Ká ccíjgj rkp, mdkwkrj, ddág yfrj, ka yy twóch ddjíg, kí líci kkk, kí líjjí kkk, ka yuch kwóá, ka kjje yjí yí yí, ka ígkí yí yí, ka yí kjje yuy lwyl, yy ddíj fóí; ka kgj kwdíj fu, ka kwjy kwdíj fu, ka fííg kwdíj fu, ka ríag kwdíj fu, kí dyjí kwdíj[2] fu. 539*

Another sickness is called *dwdíj*. When this falls on a man, the sorcerer is sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then 539* 756

[1] These all are the fee of the witch-doctor.
[2] *kwdíj yí fu.*

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a curtain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medicine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *ŋiŋ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the [756] gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the bow, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

14. Sicknesses.

753 827

dwäŋ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
ŋé heart-ache, pulmonary disease.
dähäŋ cold, catarrh.
dwäŋ insanity, lunacy.
cwin wiik giddiness.
dähyé teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
dähr dropsy, hydropsy.
dähn pains in the buttocks.
dähyé rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
ŋäw guinea worm, Furandit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
kwanjé swelling of knees and elbows.
läi leprosy
dähä a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.
ajwäkwyé the skin peels off.
ŋr caries.
wäi a kind of light leprosy.
kwäm kwäm swelling of the shin-bone.
kamir sub-rheum, "leprosy".
ajäyé small-pox.
ähäy a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
yi kwayiŋ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.
häyäŋ inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.
dähäk inflammation of the joints; of the toes.
ämän gonorrhoea.
ähr boils.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and
[721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Okot, he was also called
*539 Agwarityep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his stool fell under the deep palm.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agwarityep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwgè'chwgla Agok, mgwè tgè jal yeg. Jal mjèg kjèn ajwgyg, ka ghwè yweng, ka ghwè yg tg yi fin. Ka jì ngèn kwè, ka jì ka: ì, Agòk, ghwè a ngw. Kjwe: e ngèn yi ag? Kjwe: kjjè. Chjè jì! Ka jì chjè; ka e ka: ètè, fòjè yin a yweg ghwè? Kjwe: gwe! Kjwe: kjpwèg? Kjwe: yè ybwè yin! Kjwe: kj, yi ka yyjèg, wgi ywe, ajjè lìch! yi ve chòk yi yjèj kj gj ajwg? Yè fwèe yin ów, ed kjèk. Kjwe, ì, de wè gwe! Kg, chòl! A chòlj kj ghè èdjè.*

Ka jal gwi e kjjè, ka kj gìne yi yweng. Ka jal gwi tèk yi Agòk, kjwe: èètè, kg jal yeg chòwl! Kè è kjèg, chwgla gge a kjè. Ka mwgl ka e kjèg, ka gìn gwi yweng yi fwèg. Gg gbì fin, ka kin gwch. Ka e kòkg kìwe: gìche mjèg e gbì yi fwèg yi jal yeg. E ka: dìpjòè pyjjì gìn? Yi cha kbyg kìyè kjwe: kg, jal yeg a yìp yweng! Kjwe: kg! Kjwe: yi ve kòè? Kjwe: chwgla ge kìke gwe! Kjwe: ì, chjè ìjwè! A chjè ìjwè, a yjèkj kjwe: jal yèj, gìn ngèn ag jì? A ìyèk

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the mourning.
[2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They are called here "jo yep" "men of medicine", as opposed to the ajwòjgo, who is supposed to work for good.
[3] vide Introduction.

[754] ● 756

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
780 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shilluk land in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's sister, Nikaiwa, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

777 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengwit, and also a belief
779 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pen yuak*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[823] fathers; a woman keeps here even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajungo)

756 *Ajungo* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
771 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community.
787 People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajungo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

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periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be ajungo, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an ajungo.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an ajungo he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills enabling an ajungo are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an ajungo marries wives and others beget children for him.[1] Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing diseases and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an ajungo possesses a 'gourd of luck', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron hook. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be luck talking. The gourd is kept in the ajungo's house and is consulted for purposes of divination.[2]

Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

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The Jolpet

The jolpet, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the ajungo. The jolpet is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are aware more who is a jolpet, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

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The jolpet is thought of as being a somewhat evil, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorceries work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1926, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

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756 to encircle him with its legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to kneed his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a smoking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three biglig pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles

[782] it he prays: «Help my lovest that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

759 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their
762 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves
759 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try
759 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two oxen were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

759 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer-
761 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would ever take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

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756 The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient, who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to typify the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine man.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from [774] God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or youngest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

756 782 When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony consists of a dedication prayer something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. [589] The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

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may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 752
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 752
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I [539]
praise you, and my ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their children are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The 756 [753]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [554
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 595]
usually only has a few children.

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756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

756 781 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

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The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They 756
then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again.

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a 775
charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, 756
as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the 759
departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medicine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed.

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to 756
know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of 787
learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. 726
They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken

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726 the grain ripples, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
787 approach it. A small space is moulded in front of the gourd, and
then a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently
placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a
fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the
warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel
shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be
killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a
sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the
[758] people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the
witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
789 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house
by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does
is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the
owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes
known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that
is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is
rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed
around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is
going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and
stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which
is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents
his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put
in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his
thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the
water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth
of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The
gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects
to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest.
The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road
on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over
him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that
is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is
assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

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follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [462]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualize the fate of his victims. For example,

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when he is asked to kill a man he may take a sheep, and cleave its head with an axe, and he declares that in the same manner his power has broken the head of the man against whom the charm was worked. They try to impress the people with a sense of the mysterious, and very frequently they have strings stretched in their houses to impress the people who seek their services.

The witch doctors exert a powerful influence over the Shilluks. Their influence is always against innovation, and they seek to hold the old order of things. While a medicine man who is just beginning his practice must be successful to gain the confidence of the people, yet when he once has their confidence he can readily explain away all his failures.

Very few Shilluks will admit that they believe in the power of the medicine man, but in spite of their denials they seek him constantly, and their whole manner of life is influenced by the witch doctor. A few are beginning to question the whole system. Once a gourd of God broke when some warriors were being tested before a fight. The grain that had been in it was spilled on the ground. One man pointed to the grain, and said: "Is that God"? Apparently he was the only one of the party, who connected the noise made by the gourd with the grain that was in the gourd.

So long as the Shilluks are dominated by the medicine men, they will make very slight advancement in their mode of thought and their manner of living.

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776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769] made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king
claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king [431] and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

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756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the 756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by 756
different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same.

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and 755
chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he [787]
will recover. If he does not, he will die.

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to 756
belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way.

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant- 755
hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries «The house is on fire». The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [756] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said : «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases. 756 766 787

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast. 755 [462] [756]

When a servant of a king begs he says : «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted. 756

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief. [766]

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer. 756 787

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people. 771 181

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people. 756

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the [743] hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756 actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755 proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757 that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756 willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177 and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754 in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278] method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685 is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754 their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797] at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464] at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454] to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1 1/2—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened; here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long, pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionately; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND CHEWING OF TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cutting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carving and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird, which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practise their trade with the exclusion of all other kind of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little development of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *ŋawg*, which means "to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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● 759
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Photo: Fr. F. Spalenka

Sister Infirmarian gives an injection at Detwok

[facing p117]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 advantage of the superiority that the mission education
159 gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

* 797 To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little
185 or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women,
[759] the Sisters ('*Thwore*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suore*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place
872 where his children could learn to read and write, but rather
* 797 a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring
857 could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to
[262] them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

signs of old age or ill health',[1] but I have failed 643
to find convincing evidence that any Shilluk king 783
was put to death in either circumstance, although 114
some of the kings must have qualified long before
they died for execution on the grounds alleged; and [766]
I am persuaded that the story of kings being walled
up in a hut is a confusion arising from the usual
walling up of the remains of a dead king, the bones
being buried after decomposition of the flesh. In the
absence of other than traditional evidence of royal
executions in Shilluk history and in view of the
contradictory accounts cited I conclude that the
ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a
fiction. It possibly arises from the dual personality
of the king, who is both himself and Nyikang, both [761]
an individual and an institution, which accounts
also for the linguistic convention that a king does
not die but disappears just as Nyikang is said not
to have died but to have disappeared, in his case in
a storm. I will return to this question of regicide
after I have reviewed the procedures of election
and investiture of kings to show what light they
shed on the nature of the kingship.

[1] *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 221; also *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–2. Howell and Thomson say (*op. cit.* p. 19) that ceremonial strangulation is traditional for all members of the royal clan.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

tere kwaje mayagen
"The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
tere kwaje tiengen
"The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawag's place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 [761] [576] [753]

latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ jwɔk* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yí kɔ̄l jwɔk* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi ŋiīṭɛ jwɔk* "you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114]

[In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG AND THE ORIGIN OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɡeni aduk*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɛlɛ; Kɛlɛ* begat *Omarɛ*, who begat *Wat Mɔ̄l* ("son of *Mɔ̄l*"); *Wat Mɔ̄l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Ñakāyɛ* and *Oiwāt*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Omgi*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Bwoɛ*. Okwa married

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

626 If you walk with a person who has the evil eye, let him walk in front,
751 for if you go in front you give him a good chance to cast the evil eye on you.
754 When a person with the evil eye begs from you, grant his request, because when he accepts your present his power over you is broken, and he can not injure you. He may regain his power if he comes again and is refused, for if you refuse him, he becomes angry and casts the evil eye on you.

When eating, let the oldest of the party take the food first, so that if the evil eye has fallen on the food he may detect it, and the food can be cleansed.

When eating with a man who has the evil eye, do not eat much or he will kill you.

When you are angry at a certain village, do not enter that village or you will get the evil eye.

Do not speak harshly to a man who has the evil eye, or he will cast the spell on you.

754 Once a man gave his daughter to the king to be his wife. The girl had the evil eye, and when the king learned that fact, he gave the woman to another man lest she kill his other wives.

At the present time a chief is suffering from the evil eye. The people of another village had stolen his cow. He went to the village in anger, and talked harshly. While there he felt a chill run through his body. He went home, and took sick. His body has sores on it that have come from the evil eye.

The man with the power to cast the evil eye is feared by the people, but he is not feared as much as the evil medicine man. When he causes death, it is usually sudden, though it may be lingering. When a person
[761] with the evil eye dies, the people of the village rejoice, though they do not show their joy openly.

The possessors of the evil eye are deceived even as the people who fear them. They go through life apart from their fellow men in many respects. They believe in their own evil powers, and while their claims sound childish to us, yet we must consider the fact that the history of the English speaking world reveals the fact that our ancestors were afraid of witches, even after they had reached a much greater development than the Shilluk has attained.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deṅ rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deṅ, and that it is an honour to be called by Deṅ, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deṅ. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deṅ will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 342 782 821

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep [787]
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true [781]
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death [761]
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should. [821] [782]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [756] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are [787] all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[166] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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convert him. In Detwok he acted as cook, and one day the native boy who helped him came to Father Beduschi and said that Brother must have leprosy because he picked up very hot things without feeling anything. It was true, and the Brother lived the rest of his saintly life in a leper colony, which he called his parish. 797* [164]

In 1925 the Sisters arrived from Lul to take possession of the huts which had been built for them. Matters progressed slowly, but the years 1931 and 1932 seemed to see an awakening of interest among the Shilluk in matters of religion. This did not last, but the missionaries found it necessary to build a new church as the original mud building was not large enough for the congregation. They taught the natives how to make bricks and cement and how to build. [177] [339]

During the making of the bricks for this church an accident occurred which nearly resulted in the closing of the mission. On April 1st, 1931, some youths and girls were carrying bricks out of the kiln, singing and pushing one another as they worked. Suddenly the whole pile collapsed, burying three girls and two boys. Some women who were going for water gave the alarm and soon the compound was full of frantic natives all shouting agreement with the chief who said: 'You see what happens when you allow your children to work for the foreigners.' They ran shrieking when a Father or Sister managed to extricate one of the victims, but none of them would help to carry out the dying children. The three girls died immediately and one of the boys a week later. Papiti, the king, was soon on the spot and held a conference with his chiefs, all but two of whom were clamouring for the expulsion of the missionaries. The king listened to their speeches and then rose to speak himself. 'Is not this a thing permitted by God?' he asked. 'Did the foreigners do it deliberately? If a crocodile takes one of our young men, on whom do we take revenge? Is this not an accident, too? Have not the foreigners helped us often? Who take care of our sick? Is not this permitted by God?' The chiefs rose: 'You have spoken well,' they said, 'let us go.' The mission 761● 643 797* 643 797*

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple 774
nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the [775]
cen of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing.

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much 763
suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face 764
is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this [177]
is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it.

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is 766
of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient [565]
features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and [764]
important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:—

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

428 587 763 517 [361] [237] [325] 75 [20] 635 [574]

INHERITANCE

The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113.

DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

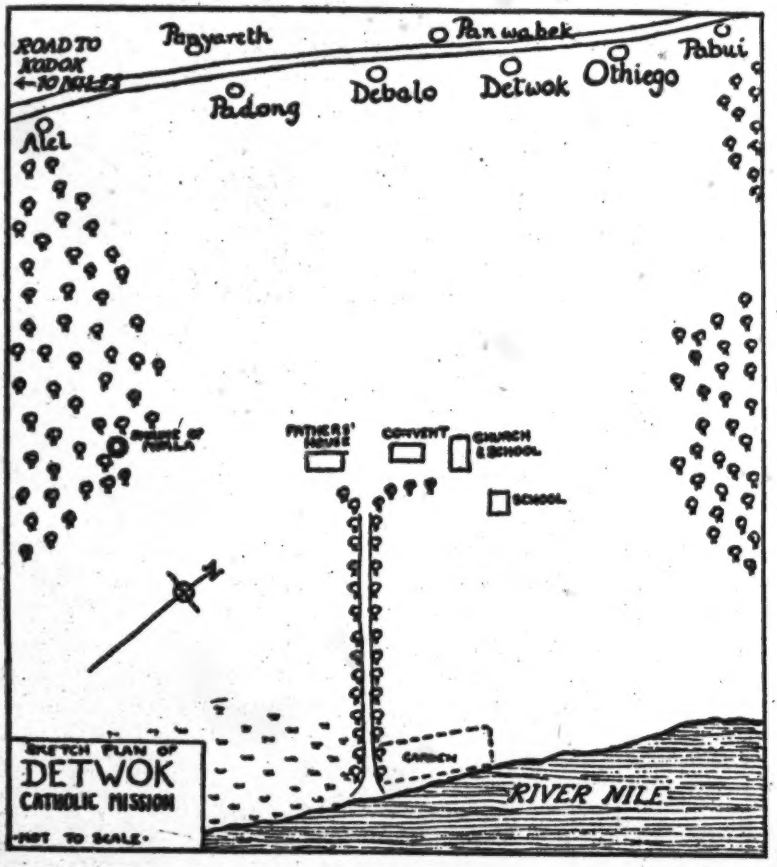
On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

* * *

A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

●763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

this particular place at this particular time, and his worth, 797*
not as a teacher, or an eloquent preacher, or a clever theologian, or even as a zealous missionary whose ardour is being continually damped by the lack of response to his best efforts, but simply as a man in whom God has vested great powers in order that He may use him as the instrument for the salvation of some obscure native dying in a dismal hut in a small unknown village on the bank of the Nile.

Sickness and death do not study the convenience of the missionary either as to time or place, so he must be prepared to go at any time to any place that it is humanly possible to reach, whatever be the risk or inconvenience to himself; and although not usually fraught with peril, sick calls do have the habit of coming in at the most awkward times and from the most inaccessible of places. It may happen that the priest is alone in the mission and is perhaps in the middle of morning school when the summons comes from a village maybe ten or fifteen miles away. A catechist has come across 163 ●
a man, baptized many years ago in Detwok, but long 797*
since drifted from the district, who is sick and dying in a remote village on the other side of Kodok, and now sends in a messenger to inform the priest. Or, as often happens, the mission hears of it only because the pagan relatives of the dying man have sent in, not to summon assistance, but merely to beg a cloth to use as a shroud for his burial. Whatever way the news has come in, the priest acts promptly; 797*
he hurriedly hands over his class to the Sister next door, or gives it sufficient work to keep it busy—if not happy—for the remainder of the morning. From the house he picks up his sick-call case, hurries to the chapel for the Blessed Sacrament and, if the state of the roads permits, is away on his bicycle in a matter of minutes. If the rains are on and cycling is impossible, he changes his shoes and stockings for a pair of rubber pumps and sets out across the fields and through the swamps in the general direction of the main road and Kodok.

He arrives at that important administrative and commer- [632]
cial centre (the Assistant District Commissioner's residence [648]
and office, a prison, a dispensary and half a dozen Arab-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 shops) in about an hour if he is on his bicycle, but if he is
[632] on foot he will be two-and-a-half to three hours on the road.
[648] He looks around for the catechist and eventually finds him on the outside of the prison fence, chatting through the wire to some of his friends on the other side who have had the misfortune to be found out. The catechist jumps up when he sees the priest approaching and hurries to meet him and assure him that the man is still alive and very anxious to see him. He tells him that the village is but a short distance away (actually it turns out to be the best part of four miles through the forest behind Kodok), and proceeds to conduct him thither through a labyrinth of paths and tracks.

Eventually they arrive at the village, a huddle of half-a-dozen miserable huts, and cross to the one where the sick man is lying. Several mangy pi-dogs drowsing in the sun rouse up at the entrance of the stranger and make their usual attack. The priest crawls through the narrow entrance
[342] into the hut and coming from dazzling sunlight into semi-darkness, for there are no windows in the hut and the grass mat that was removed from the door to give him entrance has been replaced, it takes him some time to accustom himself to his surroundings. He tells someone squatting near the entrance to remove the mat from the door, since besides the lack of light there is also a decided lack of air, and the temperature, high enough outside, is well nigh unbearable inside. Furthermore there is a haze of smoke from a long
[276] Shilluk pipe which is being handed round the visitors to the
[515] sick bed, and an unbelievable stench arising from foul tobacco, decaying fish and unwashed, oiled and ash-smeared Shilluk bodies.

The first thing the priest does is to clear the place of its occupants—including the fish. He is relieved to find that the young woman suckling a baby is not the sick man's wife; indeed he has not got a wife, so that is one complication the less, anyway. Then, soaked with perspiration and blinded by the drops that run down into his eyes, he turns to the
● 763 motionless bundle of rags lying on a skin on the floor. The
* 797 man is conscious and evidently glad that the priest has come.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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With a little help from the priest and a great deal left to the compassionate understanding of God, he makes his confession and receives his first absolution for years. Then the priest unbuttons the pocket of his shirt and takes from it a leather case, containing a gold box, that he has been carrying suspended by a cord round his neck. There is no table with spotless white cloth, crucifix, lighted candles and flowers, nothing but the bare earth floor: so he places a small corporal on the crown of his sun helmet and reverently lays the pyx down on it. The catechist who returned after the man had made his confession raises him up while the priest gives him Holy Viaticum. Then the priest goes on to administer the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, but first he must find a clean spot on each limb that he can anoint, so he wipes the grimy hands and feet with a piece of cotton wool soaked in water. With his thumb smeared with the holy oil he proceeds with the anointing: 'By this holy anointing and of His own most tender mercy, may the Lord forgive thee the sins thou hast committed . . .' he murmurs, as in turn he makes the sign of the Cross on eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands and feet. The sick man has already drifted into unconsciousness and only the faint breathing and an occasional twitch of his hand show that he is still alive, and it is obvious that the end cannot be long delayed. The anointing finished, the priest carefully cleanses his thumb with a piece of cotton wool, and burns it, together with the wool that he used during the anointing. There remains now but one more thing, the Apostolic Blessing. This is quickly given and then he closes his sweat-stained ritual and slips it, together with his stole, into his bag, and at last is free to quit that stifling atmosphere for the comparative coolness outside. The pagans grouped outside the hut eye him curiously as he stands for the moment dazzled by the sun, but offer no comment save that one opportunist seizes the chance to try and beg a piastre, and failing that, a pipeful of tobacco. The priest wipes his streaming face with his now grimy handkerchief and, bidding the little group farewell, makes his way out of the village, accompanied as usual by

763 ●
797 *

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 the snarling dogs. He and the catechist have not gone far on
* 797 their way towards Kodok, when the shrill wailing of women breaks out in the village they have just left; the man has died. The priest stops for a moment and commends the departed soul to God and then continues on his road.

* 797 In Kodok he meets with a disappointment. It is two p.m. and he had hoped to find his friend the Assistant District Commissioner at home, but he is out on trek in his district and so all hopes of a refreshing wash, followed by a still more refreshing bottle of cold beer and lunch, vanish. He stops for a while and rests in the shade outside the shop of one of the merchants, and is offered and gratefully accepts a glass of tepid, sickly sweet lemonade. At last, with a sigh, he throws away his cigarette and reluctantly pulls himself to his feet, to cover the ten miles that lie between him and a bath, a meal and a luxurious stretch in a deck chair.

Not all sick calls have the same happy ending as that just described. Sometimes the priest makes a long and tiring journey to find that the person he has come to see was suffering from an imaginary sickness, or else has made a miraculous recovery and has gone off to put in some work in his field, or for a day's fishing. Sometimes, alas! he arrives too late, and finds only a newly-made grave.

763 On one occasion I had been wandering through some
* 797 villages in the evening and made a last call, just at sunset, at
[16A] Pabiu. Here by chance I found a youth, shrunken and wasted by tuberculosis and obviously ill beyond recovery. He had been sick, I was told, for the past six months and had recently been brought from a village inland where he had been living for the past several years, in order that he might die in his own village. He was not a Christian, but had been a pupil at the mission school some years previously, and he still remembered some of his catechism, and asked to be baptized. Since he was quite cheerful and lively in spite of his illness, there did not seem to be any immediate danger of death so I promised that I would return the following evening to instruct and baptize him. He assented cheerfully,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and so we parted. The next evening, after tea, I mounted 763
my bicycle and pedalled leisurely towards the village. 797 *
Half-way there I met the father of one of the school boys, and we chatted for a few minutes about the progress, or rather lack of progress, his son was making. Then he asked me casually where I was going, and I replied just as casually that I was going to Pabiu to baptize so-and-so. 'So-and-so?' he said. 'He died half an hour ago.' I stared at him in amazement for a moment, and then, jumping on my bike, pedalled furiously to the village. It was only too true. I could hear the shrill crying of the women as I approached. The men were digging the grave and the body, not yet cold, [764]
had been prepared for burial. Whether the lad had been 'helped' out of this world, I could not say; I baptized him conditionally, and could but commend him and his good intentions to the mercy of God. Then, sick at heart, I rode slowly back to the mission.

One does not easily associate humour with the administration of the Sacraments to a person who is dying, but sometimes there can be, in retrospect, a funny side even to these solemn and awful occasions. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of Rachael, the old blind leper woman of Pabiu. Poor Rachael was long a-dying, and weary though she must have been of this world she had hung on to life long beyond anybody's expectation. I had long since given her the last Sacraments and every day expected to hear that she had gone to heaven. One morning the Sister told me that the old woman did seem to be near her end and probably would not last the morning, so I went across to Pabiu to render her what assistance I could in her agony. The entrance to a Shilluk hut is a round hole no more than [342]
waist high so that one wishing to enter must bend double or even go on hands and knees to do so. Furthermore, the inside of the hut is in semi-darkness, and entering from the bright sunlight it takes a moment or two to accustom oneself to the surroundings. Hence, when I ducked through the doorway, I almost pitched headlong over a shapeless bundle

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 lying right across the entrance. It was poor Rachael who
*797 had been stretched out across the threshold where anyone entering the hut could not fail to step on or fall over her. Sitting against the wall opposite the entrance were four
[521] ancient-looking hags who were simply passing the time away in gossip whilst waiting for the old woman to die. When I made my undignified entrance, one of the unlovely quartette, Rachael's daughter, said, 'Get up, Rachael. Here's the Father and he has brought you a burying cloth.' Said I, 'I haven't brought a burying cloth.' Chorus from the four beauties: 'He hasn't brought a cloth, Rachael; don't get up.' To me, 'What have you brought?' 'I have come to give her a blessing.' 'Oh! He's come to give you a blessing, Rachael; don't get up.' At this point poor Rachael dimly understood that someone had come to give her something, so she asked me to put it in her hand and not let the others get it.

I thought that I had better get on with the good work, and blessing the hut and Rachael with holy water, I began to recite the Litany of the Dying. Half-way through, there was an interruption from the daughter: '*Jal duong*'—a
[514] pause whilst she spits, across Rachael and through the doorway; a good ten feet.

Myself: 'What?'

Daughter: '*Yi bi.*'

[576] This normal Shilluk greeting often comes, not when first meeting a person, but halfway through the conversation or visit. I said something more than my prayers, while the four resumed their gossip and spitting.

Daughter: '*Jal duong, Jal duong.*'

Myself: 'All ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Shut up.'

Daughter: 'O-oh! He says: "Shut up," and I was going to tell him that I went to the Sister to tell her that my mother was dying and to ask for a cloth to bury her in.'

At length, without further interruption I finished the prayers for the Dying, and gave poor Rachael one final blessing and prepared to depart. The four beldams followed me out of the hut, and the following conversation resulted:

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Daughter: '*Jal duong.*' 763
Myself: 'What?' 797*
Daughter: 'When are you coming back with the cloth?'
Myself: 'I am not coming back with a cloth.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Shall I come to the mission to get it?'
Myself; 'No; I have no cloth.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Have you any tobacco?'
Myself: 'No, I have no tobacco.'
Daughter: 'Oh! Are you going now?'
Myself: 'Yes, I am going now.'
Final Chorus: 'He is going now, Rachael, and he hasn't brought a cloth to bury you in, and he hasn't any tobacco. Don't get up.'

In the same village of Pabiu was another ancient lady, 797*
Amelia. Amelia had been baptized many years before the Mill Hill Fathers came to the Sudan, but she had long since given up all practice of her religion, and for some reason or other was bitterly antagonistic to the mission and all that it stood for, jeering at those Christians who did come to Mass and the Sacraments, and trying to prevent children from coming to the school. During the weeks preceding Easter we had had a round-up of the district, reminding the lazy and indifferent of the approaching Feast and of their Easter duties. The Parish Priest had visited Pabiu and had seen and chatted to Amelia. Some word cheerily spoken, or some little kindness he had shown her touched the old woman's heart and the grace of God did the rest. She promised that she would come to make her Easter duties, and she was as good as her word. I was agreeably surprised when she came to confession before Mass on Easter Sunday and later received Holy Communion. A fortnight later word came 763
that Amelia was very ill, having caught a chill which 797*
developed into pneumonia. I took the familiar path to Pabiu to see her, and it was obvious at once that her hours were numbered. She had been carried out of her hut into the small compound in front and was lying in the afternoon sun, propped up against the reed palisade. To hear her

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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763 confession was an easy task now, and I gave her Holy
*797 Viaticum and then proceeded to anoint her. As I did so she stirred feebly, tried to raise herself up and twisted her shoulder towards me. 'Father,' she said 'put some there. That's where the pain is.'

*797 Epidemics sometimes visit the district and then the
[731] missionary is very busy indeed. Devastating though they
[164] may be, carrying off both young and old, the strong as well as the weak, they can have a chastening effect on the lazy, indifferent and careless. On one occasion I stood in the dark behind a hut, whilst mosquitoes in their thousands whined and buzzed and bit, hearing a panic-stricken man's confession. Within the hut, his wife, his little daughter and infant son, all newly baptized, lay dying. The sickness had not touched him, but its visitation to his home did what years of coaxing, prodding and reminding had failed to do.

164 A primitive people like the Shilluk fall an easy prey to
744 whatever sickness is going. Not overclean in their persons and insanitary in their habits, they huddle together at night in small windowless huts with the doorway blocked by a heavy grass mat; hence disease quickly spreads from person to person, from hut to hut and from village to village. Medical facilities are limited and an epidemic can get a good hold before effective reinforcements can be sent from Malakal, sixty miles away, to help the overworked Medical Assistant. During my first years at Detwok, cerebro-spinal meningitis was a regular annual visitor. It came when the rains ceased, and with the first showers of the next rainy season it disappeared again, but during the intervening months it did its deadly work and scarcely a day passed without some village mourning its dead. An effective remedy was found, however, in a spinal injection of the famous 'M & B' drug, and the scourge lost much of its terror. After 1942 it failed to put in its annual appearance, and to date Detwok and district has been free of it altogether, although yearly it makes its presence felt in the southern end of the province, and takes a deadly toll in other provinces in the Sudan.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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man and his *ora jalnywaja* might exchange presents of sheep, the gifts always being presented through a third party. 602

The husband of the sister, either the *nyimia* or the *nyiwa*, is treated in the same way as the husband of the *nyiwaja* and privileges can be claimed from him; the husband of the *nina* is also respected. Thus, though *ora* is a reciprocal term, the respect and deference shown is not mutual. The *ora* to whom deference is paid are the wife's male and female relatives. The most important of these are the mother, the father, the *na* and the *una*, the *uma* and the *umia* of the wife, all of whom are treated with ceremonial avoidance; the *uwa*, though respected, are not avoided. The *ora* from whom a man claims privileges are the husbands of sisters and cousins, especially the husbands of the *nyimia*, *nyima*, and *nywaja* from whose bride-wealth he has received cattle.

There is no avoidance between women; a woman does not avoid her husband's mother. 606

A man must kill a bull at the death feast of an *ora*, the father, mother or brother of his wife, and if he lives near his wife's family he kills a sheep on the day of the death. He must not see the corpse or assist at the burial. 607 764

From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ora* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ora* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ora* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *waja*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *waja* towards her brother's daughter, though those to his son are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *na*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ora*. 602

There seem to be four aspects of the *ora* relationship :—

(1) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(2) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

(3) The attitude a man observes towards the husbands of his own female relatives. Relationships (2) and (3) are reciprocal but the behaviour pattern is not identical.

(4) A woman's attitude towards the relatives of her husband.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 778 764 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 643 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his [644] friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple 774
nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the [775]
cen of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing.

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much 763
suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face 764
is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this [177]
is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it.

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is 766
of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and [565] [764]
important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:—

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE X

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Shilluk homestead, grave in foreground

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Anuak

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .

"A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession."[1]

We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river. [765] No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

764 Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for 765 a further ceremony.

Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ."[2]

[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112-13. [2] Westermann, loc. cit.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 *Kwanyireh* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyireh*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *bareh*, are buried by the *orora*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there.
764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door
789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

600 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 37.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 492), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Suek river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., 31. [2] Loc. cit.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

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Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

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The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ago* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñewaiło* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

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When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882

— The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

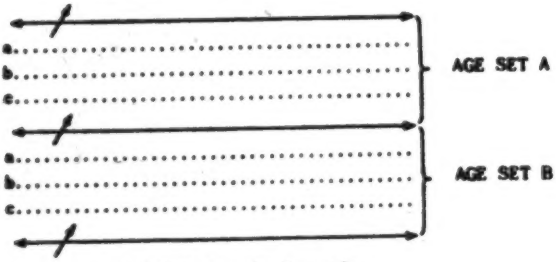
764 BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

thus occurs periodically. The subdivisions of any age set are known as 'head', 'neck' and 'middle'. 561

Elders in Retirement



..... Subdivisions in formation.

As new subdivisions are continually being formed by initiated youths the immediate age set into which they enter grows too large. In addition the oldest subdivisions of the age set, comprising the married men and fathers, begin to die out or are ready for retirement. A new grouping of all the subdivisions is achieved by the *ngol* or cutting ceremony, when age sets are ceremonially divided into distinct units. The process is shown in the diagram. Surviving members of age set A (the older subdivisions) pass completely out of the age organisation into retirement. Older subdivisions of age set B pass into age set A to replace those retiring, while the most recently formed subdivisions pass for the first time into age set B. Thus, room is made for the formation of new subdivisions and there is a moving of subdivisions through the age sets or the formation of newly constituted age sets.

The retired age sets take no part in fighting or in ceremonies connected with the age-set organisation. The reshuffling occurs at the induction of the very young subdivisions, the members of which are anxious to have further privileges and a higher status. On ceremonial occasions the age sets have special parts of the animals killed, the highest age set eats the back and chest, the lower will eat the hump and legs only. According to Howell the regrouping of subdivisions is often the subject of much dispute, particularly between the two subdivisions which will be separated by the new line of division.

There are few occasions when the age set functions. At funerals the men are organised according to age sets as also at beer feasts when each sits in a special place and sings its own song. 764 504

Age sets emphasize the solidarity of the settlement by organising the generations within it. Each settlement unit has its own age-set organisation and there is no connection between the age sets of different settlements, though they all have similar forms and play similar parts in the settlement units. The age sets have little political importance, save that they constitute a bond of unity within the settlement, and this is clear 182 561 621

In addition, the

Shilluk believe in con which is thought to be the malevolent element that 774
persists after the death of one who has died with a grievance and is angry [775]
at some wrong that has been done to him.(1) They also speak of winyo,
meaning a bird, but Seligman was unable to discover what this meant.

A dead body is buried at full length, a few paces from the door of 764
the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is usually dug by elderly male relatives. The body is wrapped in skins, and sacrifices of oxen, goats and fowls are made after the burial, according to the family wealth. 765
The mourners bathe in the river; no food taboos are laid on them but they shave their heads and do not wear ornaments or go to dances during the period of mourning. After a month has passed the mortuary ceremonies are held, a number of sacrifices are made and beer is brewed for the mortuary [764]
feast. According to Westermann the horns of an ox are often placed on the grave.(2)

THE ANUAK

Detailed information on the Anuak is derived almost entirely from two 880
articles by Evans-Pritchard.

ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

The Anuak are, like the Shilluk, a riverain people and their villages are distributed along the banks of rivers in the Eastern Sudan and in Ethiopia. In the western regions of Anuakland the ecological conditions are somewhat different from those in the east. The western areas are true savannah, flat, almost treeless grassland, which is flooded in the wet season. In the east there is forest savannah which gradually turns into tropical rain forest. In the rainy season the western half of Anuakland is cut off from the eastern half by deep water-courses and swamps. These factors have had considerable repercussions on the political organisation of the country and largely determine the distribution of the villages and the economy.

In the savannah areas of the west, villages are built on rising ground at the edge of the flood plains and the occupants may have to move during the rainy season for fishing, fresh pastures and for drinking water. Villages built some miles back from the river (owing to flooding during the rains), also have to move. For such villages there is a wet-season village site and a dry-season village site. The regions in the west are thinly populated; small independent villages are strung out 5-20 miles apart and often with swamps and rivers in between so that in the wet season a village community may be completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months. In certain localities, as along the Gila river, villages are surrounded by dense beds of reeds and it is impossible to reach them except by the few paths available. Such villages are very difficult to attack. Where the villages of the savannah areas are not protected by these banks of reeds they are, or were in the past, protected by stockades and moats, the homesteads being closely wedged together owing to the lack of space on the mound occupied.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.97.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.113.

.. 11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

754 The evil medicine man takes advantage of the carelessness of the people. A man may be gathering the old stalks on his field to burn them, but fails to burn them that evening. An evil medicine man comes at night and burns them, and then the owner gets the ashes on his hands, and his hands swell. Or the large stick used in planting the grain may be left in the field at night, and the owner of the malignant power enters the field, and burns it. The grain will grow well till it gets to be almost ready to yield the harvest, when it is burned by the sun so that it dies. Water that is left in the garden over night may be defiled, and the people who drink it die.

The evil charmer is envious of the successful fisherman. He gets a bone of a fish that the man has caught. The fish bone is burned in the fire. That works a charm on the fish spear, so that in the future it will not be able to take the fish.

Accidents which terminate in blindness are caused by the evil medicine men.

[513] In the hot season, when the people sleep in their yards, the evil medicine man comes at night and sprinkles blood on the sleepers, and they die.

After a person has been buried, the grave is watched for three or four nights lest the man of evil should take a bit of the earth, and by working a charm on it kill the whole family of the deceased; but after a short time he can not work that charm, so at the end of the fourth day the watchmen are dismissed. 751 764

751 754 When with an evil medicine man it is well to be on the alert. When a person is sitting with a man of that class, when he gets up he should brush the ground where he has been sitting so as not to leave an imprint of his body for the man to use in his witchcraft. When a person sees such a man walking behind him, he should return, and if the man is stepping exactly in his tracks, he should be taken and made to ransom the man as he was killing him. It is not safe to sleep in the same house with them, as they may defile a person in his sleep. In eating with them it is best to stop before a person is satisfied. To strike an evil medicine man is to invite certain death. The people have the habit of asking a person to wash their backs when they are bathing. Should a person ask an evil medicine man to do that favour for him he will be very itchy all that night, and later have sores all over his back. [515]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Wath Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Wath Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 688 778 [764] 643 778 [481] [431]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once 766
except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in [764]
state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried
under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat
of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut [767]
into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden,
four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is
washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are
adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round
the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth
and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed
on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work [231]
of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very
difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground
is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since
it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down
to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut
in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body rest-
ing on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into
the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women
fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief,
clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in [533]
his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings
from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave,
throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she
casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back
to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she
throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all
the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes
round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads
and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period
of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after
the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of
the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured
on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud
and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance
follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder [535]
of the beer.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. 535 Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [527] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these [628] communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

and so we parted. The next evening, after tea, I mounted 763
my bicycle and pedalled leisurely towards the village. 797 *
Half-way there I met the father of one of the school boys, and we chatted for a few minutes about the progress, or rather lack of progress, his son was making. Then he asked me casually where I was going, and I replied just as casually that I was going to Pabiu to baptize so-and-so. 'So-and-so?' he said. 'He died half an hour ago.' I stared at him in amazement for a moment, and then, jumping on my bike, pedalled furiously to the village. It was only too true. I could hear the shrill crying of the women as I approached. The men were digging the grave and the body, not yet cold, [764] ●
had been prepared for burial. Whether the lad had been 'helped' out of this world, I could not say; I baptized him conditionally, and could but commend him and his good intentions to the mercy of God. Then, sick at heart, I rode slowly back to the mission.

One does not easily associate humour with the administration of the Sacraments to a person who is dying, but sometimes there can be, in retrospect, a funny side even to these solemn and awful occasions. Mention has been made in a previous chapter of Rachael, the old blind leper woman of Pabiu. Poor Rachael was long a-dying, and weary though she must have been of this world she had hung on to life long beyond anybody's expectation. I had long since given her the last Sacraments and every day expected to hear that she had gone to heaven. One morning the Sister told me that the old woman did seem to be near her end and probably would not last the morning, so I went across to Pabiu to render her what assistance I could in her agony. The entrance to a Shilluk hut is a round hole no more than [342]
waist high so that one wishing to enter must bend double or even go on hands and knees to do so. Furthermore, the inside of the hut is in semi-darkness, and entering from the bright sunlight it takes a moment or two to accustom oneself to the surroundings. Hence, when I ducked through the doorway, I almost pitched headlong over a shapeless bundle

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .

"A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession."[1]

We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river. [765] No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

764 Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for
765 a further ceremony.

Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ."[2]

[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112-13. [2] Westermann, loc. cit.

man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter. 539* 766

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2] 539* 765 [768]

17. Inheritance.

Dīŋ kpí a ɓī, wɔ́ɔ́ wɔ́t, ka jɔ́mɛ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔl dwɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́ wɔ́ɔ́ bɔ́ɔ́. Ká ɓɔ́k kwɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔl dwɔ́ kɔ́n, ka ɔ́ɔl dwɔ́ ɥ yíɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́ch, kí ɓɔ́k ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́, ɥ yíɔ́ɔ́ rɔ́ɔ́ch, ka ɓɔ́k kwɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɓɔ́k kwɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́. Tɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ bɔ́ŋ bɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka kwɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́mí, ka yɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́: ɓ, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a tɔ́ɔ́ní; yí chama ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ kí ɓɔ́k? ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́k! ɥ bɔ́ŋ kwɔ́ɔ́, ɥ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ yí kɔ́ɔ́? Ka ɓɔ́k ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́; ka ɔ́ɔl dwɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka kwɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́m chɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ɔ́ɔl dwɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́; ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́. Ka ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ɔ́ɔl ɓɛ́ a kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ɔ́ɔl ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí ɓɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.

Chɔ́ɔ́, ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́.

Tɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́l ɓɔ́ a kɔ́ɔ́, ka a kɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́l, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ a kɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́l; ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́l ɓɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ jɔ́l ɓɔ́, ɓɔ́ɔ́ dwɔ́; ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɓɔ́ɔ́ a kɔ́ɔ́ kí jɔ́l dwɔ́; kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest 539*

[1] That is: for besmearing the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] Not everybody is buried so ceremoniously as this report tells, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox buried projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a king* *vide page 128.*

In addition, the

Shilluk believe in cen which is thought to be the malevolent element that 774
persists after the death of one who has died with a grievance and is angry [775]
at some wrong that has been done to him.(1) They also speak of winyo,
meaning a bird, but Seligman was unable to discover what this meant.

A dead body is buried at full length, a few paces from the door of 764
the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is usually dug by elder-
ly male relatives. The body is wrapped in skins, and sacrifices of oxen,
goats and fowls are made after the burial, according to the family wealth. 765
The mourners bathe in the river; no food taboos are laid on them but they
shave their heads and do not wear ornaments or go to dances during the
period of mourning. After a month has passed the mortuary ceremonies are
held, a number of sacrifices are made and beer is brewed for the mortuary [764]
feast. According to Westermann the horns of an ox are often placed on
the grave.(2)

THE ANUAK

Detailed information on the Anuak is derived almost entirely from two 880
articles by Evans-Pritchard.

ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

The Anuak are, like the Shilluk, a riverain people and their villages are distributed along the banks of rivers in the Eastern Sudan and in Ethiopia. In the western regions of Anuakland the ecological conditions are somewhat different from those in the east. The western areas are true savannah, flat, almost treeless grassland, which is flooded in the wet season. In the east there is forest savannah which gradually turns into tropical rain forest. In the rainy season the western half of Anuakland is cut off from the eastern half by deep water-courses and swamps. These factors have had considerable repercussions on the political organisation of the country and largely determine the distribution of the villages and the economy.

In the savannah areas of the west, villages are built on rising ground at the edge of the flood plains and the occupants may have to move during the rainy season for fishing, fresh pastures and for drinking water. Villages built some miles back from the river (owing to flooding during the rains), also have to move. For such villages there is a wet-season village site and a dry-season village site. The regions in the west are thinly populated; small independent villages are strung out 5-20 miles apart and often with swamps and rivers in between so that in the wet season a village community may be completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months. In certain localities, as along the Gila river, villages are surrounded by dense beds of reeds and it is impossible to reach them except by the few paths available. Such villages are very difficult to attack. Where the villages of the savannah areas are not protected by these banks of reeds they are, or were in the past, protected by stockades and moats, the homesteads being closely wedged together owing to the lack of space on the mound occupied.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.97.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.113.

INSTALLATION OF A NEW SHILLUK KING

[The following account, by a Shilluk pupil at Rumbek Secondary School, originally appeared in the *Rumbek Magazine* for 1954, and is reprinted with the permission of the Ministry of Education. It is, so far as is known, the first written account of the ceremony by a member of the Shilluk people. The article has been read by Dr. P. P. Howell, who considered it to be of sufficient interest to warrant publication in *Sudan Notes and Records*.] 114

When the Reth of the Shilluk dies, all the senior chiefs of the thirteen divisions of the country are summoned to Fashoda, the chief reigning village (pan duong), by the District Commissioner and the Head Chief of Fashoda Division, to attend the election of the new Reth. 643

The new Reth is not to be elected from among the late Reth's sons, but from another branch of the Royal Family. In the election the elder son of a Reth and a left-handed Prince cannot be elected, according to traditional custom. A woman has no claim to the Rethship. It happened once in the past that there was one Queen called Abudhok who reigned in Fashoda, but from thenceforward no woman has held the Rethship. [644] [562]

As soon as the Nyireth (Prince) is elected Reth he is taken to Fashoda, where he remains quietly until the late Reth's wuowo (mourning dance) has been held. After this, the installation of the new Reth, or the coronation ceremony, follows. Before the coronation the people of Padhiang, north-west of Fashoda, are sent to the Nuba mountains to fetch some holy bamboos which are used in the coronation, and the blacksmiths of Golbanyo at the northern side of Fashoda, and those of Nyinkango[1] and Both in the south, are busy making the coronation spears. First comers from among the Nyikango's army (Kwanyikwom) pass to Obay in the southern part of the country to bring some palm leaves for making whips with which they beat people during the coronation. In Debalo Kwom there are some people carving [illegible]es. The performers of the coronation fix some branches of thorn trees in front [illegible]eir villages on the roads, being authorized by tradition to stop any man passi[illegible]ng that road without his giving an offering to them. The people of Tonga paddle far south in their canoes to Lake No to fetch the ambatch (abomi Nyikango). [765]

After the accomplishment of all these things, the Reth is taken to Debalo Kwom south of Fashoda, a village where the coronation seat is kept. In Debalo there is a little herd of cattle from Pathaw which the Reth looks after, and he is treated roughly like a small boy by the head chief of Debalo, before he takes his position as Reth. Nobody is allowed to go among these cows or to take any fire from among them. Any unfortunate fellow going near them is seized by Kwa Nyuth and made to give something. These cows go together with the Reth to Fashoda where he looks after them again. [233]

In this installation there are two rival armies, the army of the Reth and the army of Nyikango. Nyikango's army brings the images of Nyikango and Dak his son from Akurwa, a village in the northern part of the country. Without the power of Nyikango and Dak the new king cannot be crowned. When the party leaves Akurwa they have four resting places before they reach Fashoda. In the last, Adot Nyigir, two miles from Fashoda, they await the arrival of the Reth's army from Debalo.

[1] Nyikango was the founder of the Shilluk Kingdom. At his death he is said not to have been buried but to have disappeared in the sky.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [527] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these [628] communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.

643 Because of the mystical values associated with
783 the kingship and centred in the person of the king he must keep himself in a state of ritual purity, by performing certain actions and observing certain prescriptions, and in a state of physical perfection. Our authorities say that the Shilluk believe that should the king become physically weak the whole people might suffer, and, further, that if a king becomes sick or senile he should be killed to avoid some grave national misfortune, such as defeat in war, epidemic, or famine. The king must be killed to save the kingship and with it the whole Shilluk people.

643 This would seem to be the reasoning behind
783 Shilluk statements that the king may be strangled,
114 or suffocated, or walled up in a hut and left to die
• [766] there, if he fails to satisfy his wives or shows signs of illness or senility. In view of the great importance Sir James Frazer and others have attached to these statements I must confess that I consider them of interest more as an indication of the mystical nature of the kingship than as evidence that the kings were, in fact, ever killed in the ways mentioned or for the reasons given. It is true that Professor and Mrs Seligman state categorically that 'there is not the least doubt that kings of the Shilluk were killed with due ceremony when they began to show

signs of old age or ill health',[1] but I have failed 643
to find convincing evidence that any Shilluk king 783
was put to death in either circumstance, although 114
some of the kings must have qualified long before
they died for execution on the grounds alleged; and [766]
I am persuaded that the story of kings being walled
up in a hut is a confusion arising from the usual
walling up of the remains of a dead king, the bones
being buried after decomposition of the flesh. In the
absence of other than traditional evidence of royal
executions in Shilluk history and in view of the
contradictory accounts cited I conclude that the
ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a
fiction. It possibly arises from the dual personality [761]
of the king, who is both himself and Nyikang, both
an individual and an institution, which accounts
also for the linguistic convention that a king does
not die but disappears just as Nyikang is said not
to have died but to have disappeared, in his case in
a storm. I will return to this question of regicide
after I have reviewed the procedures of election
and investiture of kings to show what light they
shed on the nature of the kingship.

[1] *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 221; also *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–2. Howell and Thomson say (*op. cit.* p. 19) that ceremonial strangulation is traditional for all members of the royal clan.

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 The phases of the investiture of a new king were
114 excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for
●766 some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of, and the mortuary
[767] ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and
[614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Choi (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

It is more a clan, than a national, affair. The election of the new king, which takes place a few days after his predecessor's death, is, on the contrary, an affair of the whole Shilluk people, who participate in the election through the chiefs of the north and the south, to whom I have already referred. 643 766 [614]

These persons reflect in their roles in the election and in the ceremonies of investiture the structural dichotomy of Shillukland. We have seen that the Shilluk kingdom has a double configuration, political in its territorial setting, in its division into north and south and marches and settlements, and ritual in its religious setting, its arrangement in relation to the cult of Nyikang. In the ritual configuration the dichotomy is represented by the ceremonial division of the country into Gol Dhiang the northern division, and Gol Nyikang, the southern division, which correspond structurally to the political division of the kingdom into Ger, the northern half, and Luak, the southern half, though geographically they are not exactly coterminous. The chiefs of the ceremonial divisions in this ritual representation of the Shilluk polity are also the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements which are to the north and south adjacent to the capital and cult-centre, 182 631 643

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

595 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 582 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He [595]
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was 578
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

> "The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .

"A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession."[1]

We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river. [765] No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

764 Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for 765 a further ceremony.

Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ."[2]

[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112–13. [2] Westermann, loc. cit.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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766 *Kwanyireth* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyireth*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *bareth*, are buried by the *ororo*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there. 764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door 789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

600 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 37.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 492), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sueh river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., 31. [2] Loc. cit.

*539 *kwǫfe ywǫk. Ka mǫgǫ gwách yi ʋ̄rǫ bɛ̄n. Ka wól, ká wɩ́té gɛ́n dwai. Ka mǫgǫ tyɛ̄ń, ka būl gǫ́ch kɩ́ bɛ̄rɔ̀. Ka wɔ̄ɩ́ chwǫ́p, ká dyɛ̀k nɛ̄k; ka jɔ̄ nɛ̄nɔ̀. Ḏukɩ ka ywɔ̀gɔ̀ ywǫ́k, ʒá ḍɔ̀k áńwɛ̄n ká nɛ̄kɛ̀ kàl, ka ḍɔk ańwɛ̄n nɛ̄ke de (der) fach. Ka ʋ̄rǫ bɛ̄nǫ bɛ̄n bɛ̄n bɛ̄n; Chɔ́l gɛ̄r! Ka feń yɩ́gɔ́ bɛ̄rɔ̀, ʋ̄rǫ ywǫń, ka ḍɔk ańwɛ̄n nɛ̄k kɩ́ fɛ̄l yi ʋ̄rǫ. Ka pɩ́kɩ́ yéch, ka bur gɛ̄n kwóń kɩ́ bûû wiy ḍāp. Ka atíwi dryɔ̀u kɩ́ lwɔ̄l kɩ́ obɩ́rɔ̀ kɩ́ fūrú, kɩ́ tɩ̄mɩ́ dryɔ̀u, ka gɛ nɛ̄k kɩ́ yey bur. Ka tyńe ḍɔk ka gɛ kɛ̄l, kwoń feń, gɛ lɛ̄tɛ̀ yi ʋ̄rǫ. Ka ywǫke e dɛ̄ńǫ. Ka kāl ʋ̄ɔ̄tɛ yi rɛ́m, ka kāl ʋ̄ɔ̄tɛ yi bat, ka ríńǫ pānè bɛ̄ne. Tyɛ̄ń a kwoń ḍāp kɛ̄lɩ́ chɩ́n, kɩ́ wich, kɩ́ tyɛ̄l, kɩ́ mútɔ̀.

When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken
*539 and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the
● 766 hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought,
[804] they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave.

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard, his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Oboyǫ (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the
[768] people are beaten (touched) with the oboyǫ. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead

man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter. 539* 766

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2] 539* 765 [768]

17. Inheritance.

Ḏūn kgá a ʃū, wgtɛ nát, ka jámɛ̄ kwáá yí ńal dugi, ka ńal ʃūn wūjí bḭ̄lū. Ká ʃūk kwáá yí ńal dugá bḭ̄n, ka ńal dugá ɣ yíyɛ́ dūch, ká ʃūk ʃūńū ín, ɣ yíyɛ rach, ka ʃūk kwaá yí ńal ʃūn. Ka yɛ ńāku, ka ʃūk kwaá yí ńal ʃūn. Tūrɛ bḭ̄ne bḭ̄ne bḭ̄ne, ka kwɔp kómi, ka ye kíne: ḭ, grɛ wuo, ena a tiónī; yí chama ńɔ kḭ̄ti kí ʃūk? ʃūńū ʃūk! ɣ bḭ̄nɔ kwor, ɣ chōlū yí kḭ̄ti? Ka ʃūk ʃūńū ʃūrɛ; ka ńal dugá wūkū mógɛ́, ka ńal ʃūn wūke mógɛ́. Ká kwɔp kóm chyū, ka gɛ rɛp kí ákyūl, ka ʃí kóá fíó, ka gɛ rūpɔ. Ńal dugá wūkū mánūńū, kífa ɛ́ná jóá kūl; ka mánūk wūkū ńal ʃūn. Ka ńí bḭ̄n kwor gūńí, chōlū, ka ńal ʃūn e bḭ̄dɔ, fa chūdū. Ńal ʃūn ʃūɔgɛ ńūmá kí ʃūochɔ. Chūʃū, fḭ̄ka fóá. 539*

Tygá gɛ́lɛ ka owiy jal gní e bḭ̄nɔ, ka e kɔpɔ kí akygl, ka ómɛ́n e kɔpɔ kí akygl; ńwɔlí gɛn fa mḭ̄k jal gní, wgte jal gní, ʃūn dugá; mayí gɛn e bḭ̄dɔ kí jal dugá; kínau chūt.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

[1] That is: for besmearing the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] Not everybody is buried so ceremoniously as this report tells, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox buried projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a king vide page 128.*

*539 *wɔŋ̄ de nam, ka yɔ́ ŋ̄ twiyè u ɲ̄ kɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́. Ka yɔ̄ kɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ɔ̄ yí yɔ́ ŋ̄ŋ̄ɔ̄, ka yɔ́ a tɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a ɔ́ɔ́dɔ́ kí ɲ̄ kí yɔ́ɔ́, kí jɔ́m kɔ̄ɔ̄, ka ɔ́ ɲ̄ɔ́ɔ́ nam.*

539 ●766 643 When the king disappears (that is, dies),[1] his body is laid in a hut. A cow is speared, its skin removed, and cut into strips. When they have finished this, trees are brought, they are hewn with a certain ax, and then they are driven into the earth. With the strips (of skin) they unite these trees to a bier. When the bier is ready, they bring the body of the king — but without the people knowing it — lay it on the bier, and put it in the hut again. The body is adorned with a leopard-skin. Two girls are brought, and are put into the hut, where the body of the king is. One holds his head, and one holds his feet. Each of the girls is given tobacco and a pipe. Now the hut is walled (all openings are walled with mud), so that there is no way for the air to enter. They (the two girls) remain in the hut, and die there. The people wait two months; about this time the worms (who have eaten the flesh of the three bodies) have turned into bugs, and they come crawling out through the roof of the hut. Now (the people know that) the flesh (of the three corpses) is consumed and only the bones remain. Then all the chiefs of the Shilluk country are summoned, beginning from Tɔŋɔ,[2] and reaching to Mwɔmɔ; all, all the chiefs. And they come, each one brings a cow; when they come near Fashoda, they gather these cows at one place; and the cows are speared. Now it is said publicly, "The king has disappeared." And the people weep. One of the cows is skinned, the skin is tanned and made into a bag. The bones of the king are put into this bag; and they are buried in a secret place. But still the mourning goes on, all, all, all the people mourn. And spears are gathered, a great many; they are tied together, and put into a boat; and cattle-bells are put into the boat, and beads, and pots, and dishes, and gourds. And two people are brought, a man and a woman, fine people, they are laid into the boat, they are bound, their hands and their feet are bound; one is laid in the back part, and one in the front part (of the boat). The boat is rowed into the middle of the river, there the boat is pierced, so that water enters into it. The men who row the boat, get into another boat, and the boat which they have pierced, sinks down with the people in it, and all the goods, together with the people, perish in the river.

32. The Man who took the Law into his own Hand.

*539 *Jɔ́l ŋ̄ŋ̄ɔ̄, ɔ́ɔ́ rɔ̄, ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ Buk Dì Jɔ́ Byɔ́ Dɔ̄ɔ́ŋ́, ka yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Buk dɔ̄ɔ́; wɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ Ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́. A ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí Aɔ́ɔ́. Ka yɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kí Bɔ́ɔ́ Nɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́. Ka wɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ kɔ̄ɔ́, ka kɔ̄l yí Aɔ́ɔ́ kí ɔ́ɔ́, kí ɔ́ ɔ́. Ka Aɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́kɔ̄ɔ́ yí rɔ̄, ka ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, a kɔ̄l Aɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.*

[1] Of a king it is not said: "he dies", but "he disappears". — It is said: the king does not die of his own accord, but when he is very old, or sick, and the people think that his death is near at hand, his chief wife strangles him with a cloth.
[2] = Tonga.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

when
821 the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A hoe must
be placed in front of the door. If no hoe is in the house then a fish
[782] spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a hoe or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary uses after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal agɔc, heaven hits). In
342 former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the
821 circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed
[766] inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in
[177] regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner
342 usually calls a servant of Deń (Bäń Deń). After the servant of Deń
782 arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deń says bring an ox."
821 If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, "I do not ask for this offering, but Deń asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning
782 may become a servant of Deń (Bäń Deń), if he so desires. When they
821 travel they say, "Deń asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deń.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deń rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deń, and that it is an honour to be called by Deń, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deń. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deń will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 342 782 821

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwalhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case may be. [643] 567] 565 644 766 [743]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *huara* (my grand-daughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [644] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177 643 648]

When a *Nyirath* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyirath* and

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART I.—DEATH AND BURIAL OF RETH FAFITI YOR.

643 *Reth* Fafiti Yor had been unwell for a month or two before September 1943, but custom did not permit him to acknowledge the fact, or tell people about it. The news of his illness became public early in September. He was being attended by a Shilluk medical assistant, but it was evident that his illness was becoming more serious and was not as simple as had been hoped. In the middle of the month the *reth* was visited by a British doctor, who diagnosed an internal obstruction, which might or might not be cancer. The *reth* did not wish to come to Malakal hospital, and the doctor saw no good reason to persuade him. He decided that he should stay under observation for a month. Some days later news began to come in that his condition was much worse; and in the afternoon of the 21st a message arrived in Malakal that the *reth* was unlikely to last the night. In fact, by the time the message arrived the *reth* was dead.

[195] *Piny bugge*—"There is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be."

766 The day after the *reth* died he was laid in state in the house in Fashoda where he had passed away. The body lay on a mattress on its right side shrouded in white cloth. Some eight or nine women were fanning the corpse with fans made from the wings of wild geese. [237] [283] The women were the daughters of the *reth* and the daughters of *reth* Fadiet. [644] None of the *reth's* wives were there. Two small gourds of water were placed by the knees of the body. The part of the house in which the body lay was screened off by grass mats made by the *reth's* wives some three feet high, and above the mat was a curtain of white cloth, which was drawn aside for people as they paid their last respects. There were no signs of mourning or wailing in Fashoda.

The next night the body of the *reth* was carried secretly to Golbainy five miles north of Fashoda, where it was at once buried in the *reth's* private village in the house of his senior wife. It is traditional for the *reth's* body to be sealed into a Shilluk house near Fashoda and not buried for a year after his death. *Reth* Fafiti on his deathbed expressed

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Dervishes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this. [177] [177]

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die. 643 [731]

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation 643 766

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 of the new *reth* would follow still later. It was thought that the time
of the early maturing grain was the time to hold it. But the *reth*
elect and responsible advisers seemed to think it should be got over
quickly; maybe the general quickening tempo of life had something
to do with it. It may, and we think this more likely, be due to a
desire to get all the ceremonial over without undue delay. For the
reth had been elected without a fight, and the Shilluk were so pleased
that he had been chosen without violence, or the taint of being a
government nominee, that they wanted the period of uncertainty
cut down as far as possible.

The attendance at the funeral dance was said to be a reflexion
on the prestige and the popularity of the late *reth*. This would be an
interesting gauge, for the last time, of the esteem in which Fafiti had
been held by his people to the end. His prestige had gone through
various vicissitudes. He had from the beginning suffered from being
a government nominee, and the opposition of the southern Shilluk
to his appointment, muted by government action, prevented his
obtaining a willing and personal ascendancy over them for many
years. As soon as his authority was complete, there followed a period
of famine in the early 30's and the attempt by Nyawelo the son of
reth Kur to assassinate him. This attempt would probably have
been successful but for government intervention.

Again in 1936, Fafiti became ill, and the future for the Shilluk
was once more clouded. He recovered however, and during his last
years his influence throughout the Shilluk country was great, and he
was held in high esteem by all his subjects.

Near the time of the funeral wake, the Shilluk chiefs and with their
men began to collect bulls for driving to Golbainy to be slaughtered
for the dance. There was no compulsion on anyone to do this, but
public opinion required that those who could, should help according
to their means. On the whole the pressure of public opinion was
more insistent upon those who lived near than upon those who lived
farther away.

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(P.P.H.)

The funeral dance of the late *reth* was held in his private village on 7th, 8th, 9th of November, 46 days after his death. The dance is known as *wowo* in Shilluk, and is different from that held for other members of the tribe, which is called *yuok*. 766

All arrangements are in the hands of the *kwareth*, and Colo chiefs have no say in the matter at all. At the outset there was considerable argument among the *kwareth* over the form of the dance and the length of time it should last. The new *reth* and the family of Fafiti took one side and some of the *kwareth* chiefs the other. This argument affords an interesting example of how the form of Shilluk tradition becomes blurred from lack of use and the attention which is paid to past precedents. It is worth noting in this context that the dance held in 1913 for *reth* Fadiet lasted for two days only in his private village (*i.e.* the village where he had lived before he succeeded to the throne), and that he had held no dance at all for his predecessor *reth* Kur, no doubt owing to the circumstances attending the end of Kur's reign. This neglect on the part of Fadiet so angered his successor Fafiti, that he hurled the royal drums into the Nile, refusing to beat them for Fadiet, who had not fulfilled his traditional obligations to Kur, and held the dance with Fadiet's own drums. Therefore the dance of Fafiti had to be held with his own drums, for the traditional royal drums no longer exist (Note 5). The *reth* and Fafiti's family maintained that the proper period for a royal funeral dance was four days in the private village of the late *reth*. Other *kwareth* said that it should be two days only in the village of the late *reth* followed by an optional dance in Fashoda lasting four days at the discretion of the *reth*-elect. It should be noted, however, that this claim goes back to events several generations ago, for no dance was held at Fashoda either for Kur or Fadiet and probably not for their predecessors, who died unnatural deaths during the Turkish administration and the Mahdia. The new *reth* declared his intention of holding a dance of four days at Fashoda after the ceremonies at Pareth Fafiti, but at the last minute the counsel of the *kwareth* must have prevailed, for the [644] 182 766

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182 dance at Pareth Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held
766 at Fashoda at all.

[614] The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall
766 to a clan called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorized persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyireth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwareth*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyireth Bol, chief of Lul and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

643 The new *reth* has no special functions to perform, and it was notice-
776 able how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return
[644] to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late *reth* alone, and it was his son Byawelo Fafiti who acted as host.

631 We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers
766 came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organization. We had been told by the *reth* that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :— 631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth*'s mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. 644 648 602

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth*'s burial. This 361 766 778

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766 [778] homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasised by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatisation of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

[411 727 439] [177 648]

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

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The Funeral Dance of Reth Fashoda.

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1.—Shilluk trumpeters with kudu horns.

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2.—The drums of Fashoda.

There were six of these set vertically in the ground.

[FACING p. 24]

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drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled. 766 [535]

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes. [533]

The Public Dance.

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride — one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands. 766 535

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior 766 [643]

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THE FUNERAL DANCE OF RETH FAFITI.
(*Second day*)

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3.—A Shilluk regiment enters the village of the late *reth*.

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4.—Crowds squat down in front of one of the houses of the late *reth*.

[FACING p. 26]

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766 contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

[411 703] The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears [535] raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reth* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of [644] Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *wuo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reth*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reth* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

766 781 Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reth* had been brought back by Nyikang and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of Dak, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere. 766 [781] [782 783]

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH.

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang. 643

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *nyireths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *nyireths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *nyireths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

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him no malice, though his election has practically taken away their chances of becoming *reth* in future. All the same there remains potential danger to the new *reth*-elect from an angry or ambitious *nyireth* trying to ambush him by night. No armed rising is now likely, but an individual challenge remains a possibility for the *reth* till the end of his days. 643 644 [669]

The initial ceremonies are simple, and soon over. There remains an interval for the *reth*-elect, until he is installed by Nyikang. The funeral obsequies of his predecessor are largely arranged by others, though he has a say in fixing dates and procedure. 643 [766]

A final word may be said upon the part played by the intervention of government in this and previous elections. As explained above elections have taken place in 1903 and 1917 in the time of the present government, and before that there was a period of uncertainty, sometimes amounting to civil war during the Mahdia and "Turkia". There is what might be called a "traditional" tendency towards civil war at the time of the election of a *reth*, which is the customary way out of an impasse caused by the disagreement of the two "kingmakers". Since the advent of the present government steps have been taken to get the *reth* elected by peaceful means, in spite of the disagreement. 175 643 648

In 1903 the governor at Kodok himself presided at the election, and more or less dictated the choice of Fadiet as *reth* in place of Kur. Kur had appeared somewhat too oriental in his methods, and it was thought that Fadiet would be more amenable as a government nominee. This proved to be the case, but the fact that he was nominated by government made him of little political importance in the tribe.

In 1917 a disagreement between the king-makers threatened civil war, and the governor had to instal Fafiti and protect him by a detachment of troops. This again detracted from his importance as tribal head.

In 1943 the kingmakers reached agreement, and government

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PART IV.—SEQUEL.

FERTILITY RITES AND RAIN-MAKING.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, 643
and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour 789
of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This 782
was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters.

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, 643
which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early 789
rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An 787
old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This 766
showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd. and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Fafiti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty.

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th, April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days 643
previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were [illegible] head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils

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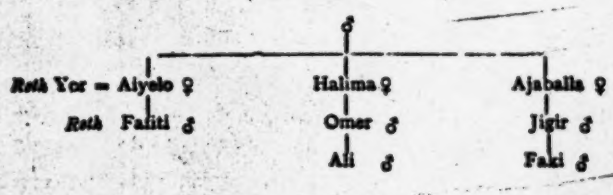
Note to Introduction.

000 2. Sir Samuel Baker. *Ismailia* p. 102.

Notes to Part I

644 3. The relationship of the two most important men among the late *reth*'s maternal relatives is recorded below :—



Ali and Faki, descendants of Fafiti's mother's sisters, were present.

643 648 The Nuba of the Fungor area have considerable traditional connection with the Shilluk. The bamboos for Nyikang's body are brought from here, and gifts are exchanged between the *reth* and the local Nuba chief, whom we met at Fashoda some time after the installation when he was being invested with the insignia of a Shilluk chief.

643 361 103 4. *Reth* Fafiti was brought up in a village in Kodok section, but after 1917 the supporters of Coti Ajang were too numerous for comfort in Kodok section, and Fafiti, in fear of assassination, moved his village to Golbainy and called it Abogathow "fear of death."

534 766 643 5. The royal Shilluk drums had special houses built for them in Fashoda, and special custodians appointed for them. These drums no longer exist. Shilluk say that *reth* Fafiti, angered because *reth* Fadiet had held no fuueral dance for *reth* Kus hurled the royal drums into the Nile, and held the dance for *reth* Fadiet with Fadiet's own drums. For the funeral dance of a *reth* (*wowo*) the drums are stood up on end in shallow holes prepared in the ground, and beaten with newly cut sticks of the *heglig* tree. For other funeral dances, the drums are mounted horizoutally upon forked sticks.

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6. *Costumes.* All the warriors wore "war paint", their faces smeared with red, a mixture of brick dust and oil. Hair wigs and feather crests were worn by most men, including chiefs, who had no elaborate head-dresses of their own hair. Skins were worn as well as cloth. Leopard skins were worn, largely by wives of the late *reth*, and by *kwa reth* and chiefs, and the skins of the Mrs. Gray antelope and cob by those to whom they had been presented by Fafiti. An interesting feature was the senior wife, who was clad in the deceased's clothes, his special cloak (*lau*), cummerbund, and sash, and the Scottish International Rugby cap which had been presented to Fafiti by Mr. P. Munro. The cap had aged a lot in the last few years, but has established itself as part of the regalia, and the new *reth* requested that a substitute be found for him for the ceremonies. 766 [301 302] [292] [644]

Notes to Part 3

7. The *reth* could not start without *nyakwer*. Her status and significance are discussed in the text of the fourth day's ceremonies. It is possible that the lateness of the Kwa Okel was due to a conventional reluctance to produce the girl. 643 644

8. Important personages in the ceremony, and female relatives of the *reth* or attendants of Nyikang wore the skins of female Mrs. Gray antelope. The *reth* himself wore one on the last two days of the ceremony. The chief of Gol Nyikang was observed on the morning of the first day's ceremonies wearing a black skin of the male Mrs. Gray. He soon changed to a female skin. 643 292

9. The *reth* was on a journey, and these were his attendants and his luggage. Nyikang had a similar retinue. 643 644

10. The *reth's* sacred shield is a counterpart to that of Nyikang; like Nyikang's shield it should have been brought from Fashoda, but at the last moment it was forgotten.

11. The Kwa Otwot may originally have been a clan which has now died out. The prefix indicates an agnatic kinship group. They 614

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK (1945)

By W. P. G. Thomson.

These notes are intended to amplify the article "The Death of a *Reth* of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor" by Mr. P. P. Howell and myself published in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXVII, 1946. 121

No attempt is made to describe the ceremonies in full. The general pattern followed that of 1944 and these notes are chiefly concerned with the differences observed on this occasion, and the reasons given by the Shilluk for these differences. It was interesting to observe that in several cases where points of ceremonial differed, the procedure reverted to that of January 1918 described by Munro in *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I, 1918.

The disposal of the Body and Soul of Reth Anei.

The course of events was as follows:—

Reth Anei Kur died on November 10th 1945. He had been ill for some days, apparently from an attack of relapsing fever, which was prevalent among the Shilluk at the time; he was known to have a bad heart, and had in fact had a heart attack some months previously in Malakal hospital. A Shilluk medical assistant, present at Fashoda at the time of the *reth's* death, reported that he died in his arms of heart failure. This is as good evidence as we are likely to obtain that *reth* Anei died a natural death. 643

I was invited, as in 1943, to pay my last respects to the corpse. This I did on November 11th, and the scene was similar to that of 1943, but simpler. The corpse was fanned by sisters of the *reth*, and his wives were not in the house with the corpse. Several were observed outside. The reed mats were not so elaborate as in 1943 and there were no cloth curtains. 766

The corpse was not immediately buried, as happened in 1943, but was taken on the night of 11.11.45 to a small hamlet belonging to the village of Fadwol, (the village of the Bang Reth Kur — slaves of *reth* Kur, the father of Anei) some three quarters of a mile from Fashoda, and sealed up in a hut. These proceedings were naturally secret, and I was not invited to enquire into details. This method of disposing of the corpse was a reversion to tradition: there is no evidence that a [567]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 maiden was sealed up alive in the hut along with the corpse, which is also said to be traditional.

Fafiti Yor died in September 1943, and his funeral dance was held in November. Anei Kur died in November 1945, and his funeral dance was not held until October 1946. This longer interval was also more in accord with Shilluk custom, which holds that there should be an [643] interval of about a year between the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor. The installation ceremonies should follow quickly upon the funeral dance for the deceased, and should take place after the harvest is ripe.

Two days before the dance, the remains of *reth* Anei were brought secretly, and by night, from Fadwol to Golbainy where his private village had been, and were buried in his house. The remains were brought by Ororo under the supervision of Gol Nyidhok, the descendants of Nyidhok, the grand father of Anei. The dance took place there and only occupied two days. It was less well attended, and the contingents not so well marshalled as in 1943, but the essential characteristics were the same, and there were the same arguments about how long it should last. The ceremonies were in the hands of the eldest son of the deceased, and of Kwanyireth Bol Acion, the chief of Lul, who had taken a large part in 1943. The chief of the Kwareth, who was senile in 1943, had died in the meantime, but his successor in office, a young man, took no part. The *reth* remained purposely in Fashoda, and did not come to Golbainy at all. It was noticed that, as bulls were slaughtered, the horns and tails were hung on to the palisade surrounding the house where *reth* Anei lay buried, and his [illegible] bells and other ornaments were displayed by *bangreth* in front of the tomb, spread out upon a bull skin.

The election of Reth Dak Fadiet.

643 On the death of *reth* Anei the electoral college were summoned, 666 as in 1943, by Jago Tabo of Golbainy for Gol Dhiang and Jago 631 Yorbiker of Kwom for Gol Nyikang, the two great ceremonial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom. The composition of the college was the same as in 1943, except that the chiefs of Bur Nyiliec and Owalliny Obwa could not attend owing to illness. It was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. I doubt whether even the chief of the Kwareth has any influence: he and the other members of the college have only to listen to the decision.

643 *Reth* Anei had not lived long enough to adopt a *nyireth*, as *reth*

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The Death and Burial of *reth* Dak *wad* FADIET OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

121 THE following observations are intended to amplify previous accounts of the death and burial of Shilluk Kings.[1] I was not able on this occasion to follow the ceremonies in detail, for the death of a Shilluk *reth* and the installation of his successor is carried out over a long period with a mass of ritual observance. I attended some of the ceremonies, had conversations with some of the participants later and am also indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker, then District Commissioner of the Shilluk, for much of the information recorded here.

123 114 [643]

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous publications on the subject. In broad outline the procedure followed may be summarized as follows:—

643 766

(1) Immediately after his death the body of the *reth* is carried to a village with which he has had previous close association and is there ceremonially immured in a special hut. It should remain there for a period which varies between a few months and over a year.

(2) Meanwhile, the new *reth* is elected in the traditional manner by an electoral college of hereditary chiefs and, unless internal conflicts follow over the choice, begins to prepare himself for his installation.

(3) The remains of the late *reth* are then removed from the hut and carried to the village of his birth or adoption, and there buried in in the house formerly occupied by him. Full mourning ceremonies in which a large proportion of the population play their part follow.

(4) Preparations for the installation, involving all sorts of preliminary ritual observance and ceremonies, continue and the final stages are timed to take place after the harvest and before the rains.

643 (5) The formal installation then takes place and consists of the march of Nyikang (the original *reth* and culture-hero of the Shilluk who is represented in effigy) from Aburwa to Fashoda;

[113] [1] See in particular: Munro, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Chol*, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. I, 1918; Howell, P. P., and Thomson, W. P. G., *The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXVII, 1946; Thomson, W. P. G., *Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, *S.N. & R.*, Vol. XXIX, 1948. Also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, Frazer Lecture, 1948, Cambridge University Press.

●766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the untraditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwor. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*):[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kur wad Fadiul. [643]

It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and mourning ceremonies (*mowo*) are to take place in close consultation with the kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with the *ororo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Duk's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adieng, had taken stealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

643 644 428 766 643 766

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[767] [2] The *ororo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocollo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

A [i.e., with Fadiul's. - Analyst]

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Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Panyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fashoweo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gew *wad* Agang of Fulo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kengo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jankowr*, sacred objects, in particular the ambush seat (*kwoow*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Panyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been unreadtional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambush seat (*kwoow*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwoow*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kwoo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Panyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were spent on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

766 The *ovoro* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kojo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[782] On the arrival of the party at Kojo an ox was sacrificed as *ahadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Duk were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *hengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptiea*) was cut and a new bier (*pum*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *ahadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ovoro* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783] to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared [787] to one of the *hangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this unradiational rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ovoro* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir came from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*.[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party [782] travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *ahadh*. The word is derived from the verb *hadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kojo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight six-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Duk had been educated for [777] three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called *Podho Nyo* [773] ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[1] and in the centre of the village opposite the *hengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed.

I reached Kojo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa Nyikir* enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*awak Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa Nyikir* skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kojo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wed Nyidhongo piny apark cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo ariway*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[1] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or leant against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done, it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ebedh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debaio and over a black bull at Aweejar on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
537 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
[?] reth. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kwoikom, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
[178] they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikom) *cie kwy abei the nyiwang kedi the wadi nini*, "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one, death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlements of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[578] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Denion, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dwaya* (or *Yal*) took place. The *bangwith*,
nyiwith and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ocwo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[717 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *ohak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approaching
them was mined by the *ocwo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth-elect*, Kur *wad* Fabi, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *Awa Nyikir*, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *Awa Nyikir* then set out for Debosse where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ocwo* and *Awa Nyikir* had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kojo where the actual bodily

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remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwo* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwo* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*kwy*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Lusk had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijuk*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pakur, Agodo, Biu, Thwokong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadhiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fadhi and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Lusk at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *orwo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *orwo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangwok* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

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766 This superficial account of the death, burial and mourning ceremonies of the late *reth* Duk *wad* Fadiet adds a few further details to our records of previous burials.[1] There was no fundamental difference in the procedure, but it is worth noting the following points:—

(i) *reth* Fafiti *wad* Yor, who died in 1944, was not placed in a hut for any time, but was buried almost immediately in his personal village.[2] At the time it was said that since his father Yor had died and had not been thus immured, it was correct that his son likewise should be buried immediately. Past precedents are always deemed important by the Shilluk, even to the extent of altering established custom.

[183]

(ii) In the case of his successor Anei *wad* Kur, the body was first laid in a hut at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependants of his father Kur and was finally buried at Golbainy in his personal village. This was considered a return to normal custom. Both these villages are in the northern Shilluk area (Gerr). Mourning ceremonies were carried out at both, but there was no equivalent ceremony among the southern Shilluk.

(iii) It follows that the *wowo* ceremonies carried out for Duk *wad* Fadiet, first at Kujo in the southern Shilluk area (Luak) and then at Debwor in the northern area (Gerr), were dictated by his previous residence and not by any demand for a repetition based on this division of Shilluk country as might be expected.[3]

(iv) It appears, then, that what might be called the "lying in state," should take place in a village built near to the capital and built largely for the purpose. The burial should take place in the original village of the late *reth*, the home of his mother, or more often the home of his adoption.

[643 591]

[1] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *et seq* and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

[2] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] *Id.*, p. 4 and p. 75.

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

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766
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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

CR 164 (a)

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THE ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF RETH KUR WAD FAFITI OF THE SHILLUK

By P. P. Howell

With an account of the final ceremonies by J. O. Udal

IN a previous article[1] I described the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946 and died in Malakal in May 1951. I explained that the events and ceremonies which took place would be treated separately, but that the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor is all one process in which the soul of Nyikang, the founder of the Shilluk dynasty, passes from the old to the new. The period of the interregnum is full of dangers for the Shilluk people: *piny bagon*, "there is no land," the Shilluk say. The prosperity of the people is dependent on the position in society of the *reth*: he is the symbol of unity and national order and is further responsible for the control of natural phenomena for the benefit of his subjects. Such divine attributes are not automatically acquired by the newly appointed *reth*: he can only acquire them by careful observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to ensure the transfer and to confirm him in his position. Each stage in these ceremonies is therefore another crisis passed both for the *reth* himself and for his people. It is a further step towards the re-establishment of former stability and only when he has been finally installed at Fashoda is there a return to normal. This state of affairs is manifest at every point of the proceedings which throughout so vividly display these concepts.

The events may be divided as follows:

(i) The death and "lying in state" of the late *reth* during the period, often several months, when his body lies in a hut in a village specially prepared for the purpose.

(ii) The election of his successor.

(iii) The actual burial of the late *reth*'s remains in the village of his birth or adoption and the final mourning ceremonies called in Shilluk *nowa*.

(iv) The ceremonies which culminate in the actual installation of the new *reth* in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

These events have been described in some detail in the case of Fadiet *wad* Tor who was installed in 1917 and died in 1943, in the case of Anei *wad* Kur who succeeded him and who died in 1945 and of Dak *wad* Fadiet who succeeded Anei and died in 1951.[2]

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[1] *The death and burial of Dak wad Fadiet*, S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part 1.

[2] Massey, P., *Installation of the Reth of the Cut*, S.N.R. Vol. 1, 1918. Howell, P. P. & Thomson, W. F. G., *The death of a Shilluk Reth and the installation of his successor*, S.N.R. Vol. 27, 1946, and Thomson, W. F. G., *Notes on the death of a Reth of the Shilluk*, S.N.R. Vol. 29, 1948.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [754] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [653] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 786 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lives». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases. 756 766 787

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast. 755 [46] [756]

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted. 756

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief. [766]

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer. 756 787

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people. 771 181

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people. 756

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised. 766 [178]

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies. [535] [782] [264]

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but 535 766 [533] [533]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 at length the drums cease to throb, the last of the animals
535 are sacrificed and the meat distributed to the dancers and the people disperse to their homes. The king is dead. . . .

643 The country has not, however, remained without a king
666 all this time. The period of interregnum is one of disquiet, and there is always the real fear that one of the nyireth may
[642] make a bid for the throne. As soon as possible, then, after the
[669] king's death, within a few days in fact, the electorate council meets to choose the new king. This council is made up of eleven chiefs of the Colo, the descendants of the original companions of Nyikang, and three members of the royal houses.

[175] When Nyikang first settled the country he divided it into
[631] eleven major districts, appointing a chief to each. These chiefs were all Colo since, as Nyikang was the first Reth, the Kwareth had not then come into being. These eleven chiefs form the board of electors, and with them sit three of the
[614] Kwareth, one from each of the three royal houses, those of Papiti, Fadiet and Yor, whose sons are eligible for the kingship. Among these three families there may be as many as forty or fifty nyireth, entitled as such to consideration for the vacant throne. It is generally accepted, however, though not a hard and fast rule, that the three royal families should provide a king in rotation, and it is certainly understood that the family of the late king is automatically ruled out. Attention is therefore concentrated on the claims of the candidates from the other two houses, with the weight of opinion in favour of that one which has the more remotely provided a king. Many of the nyireth are eliminated at once on account of old age, extreme youth, physical debility, weakness of character, etc., and the merits and demerits of the rest are given serious consideration, until the number is reduced to half a dozen or less from among whom the final choice is made. How selection is finally made is the secret of the council. Sometimes the late king may have 'adopted' a certain nyireth, and thus indicated his wish in the matter of his successor. Such an indication does not mean that the king's protégé will certainly be chosen but it will have great

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[166] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die
• 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be
682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni-
[693] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way.
[888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden, four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body resting on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief, clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave, throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder of the beer.

766 [764] [767] [231] [533] [535]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [778] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

ROYAL ELECTION AND INVESTITURE

643 The phases of the investiture of a new king were
114 excellently described by Mr P. Munro[1] of the Sudan Political Service, who was an eye-witness of the investiture of King Fafiti Yor, the twenty-ninth king, in 1918. However, the recent accounts by Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, who were able to make detailed observations on what happened on the death of King Fafiti Yor in 1943 and on the election and investiture of his successor, King Anei, in 1944 and again (Mr Thomson) on the death of King Anei and on the election and investiture of King Dak Fadiet in 1945, are descriptively fuller and analytically more illuminating and are therefore followed in the present summary.

643 On the death of a king his corpse is walled for
766 some months in a hut and his bones are then buried in his natal hamlet, and not in the royal capital. The remains are disposed of, and the mortuary
[767] ceremonies conducted, by royal clients, *ororo*, and
[614] members of the royal clan (the head of which is not the ruling king but the chief of Fadiang settlement).

[1] P. Munro, 'Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)', *S.N. and R.* (1918).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 715

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *kadi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *kadi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *kawak* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *kawak* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *kawak* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-S (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bawek* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bawek* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kango* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognised as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
227] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1911 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1911) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[568 kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
803] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, impossible that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debowe, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the untraditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debowe. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*)[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kur *wad* Fadiel.

[643] It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and mourning ceremonies (*ocwo*) are to take place in close consultation with the kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with the *ocwo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adiong, had taken wealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

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The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[2] The *ocwo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, idem, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 123, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[643]

[i.e., with Fadiel. - Ants]

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debewor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*kwy*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debewor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pir*) by fire sticks as at Kojo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gere—with the exception of the chief of Mureno who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*jiako* as opposed to social dances, *cong rwpo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth*'s body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Lonk had done outside the burial hut at Kojo and an ox (*nyijal*) was sprinkled as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably means that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the chiefs followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingwo, Pabur, Agodo, Bio, Thwdong, Tony, Lol, Fadondo, Nyigir, Gulbany, Fathiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Gobo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fadiet and had never supported Dak. Then the powers of this ceremony in Gere followed closely that which had been performed in Lonk at Kojo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *orwo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth*'s remains had previously lain and rested and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kojo, but this was not so, and the *orwo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *hangwok* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in state. If the deceased is a Nyiweth or a chief, he is buried under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden, four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body resting on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief, clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave, throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder of the beer.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*539 *bangfe yangh. Ke wagyg yudich yi tjeg bjen. Ke wöl, bd wajöl gjin dawi. Ke wagyg tyyöl, ba bäl yjöch bj bjeyb. Ke wag ebwdjy, bd dyjöl wjöl; ba jö wjöwb. Dyöl ba yudjyö yuwjöl, bd gjöb dönwjn bd wjöö bäl, ba gjöb wönwjn wjöö de (dar) fuch. Ke tjeg bjeg bjen bjen bjen; Chöl gbr! Ke fat yijyö bjeyb. Tjeg yuwjö, ba gjöb wönwjn wjöö bj fjöl yi tjeg. Ke yjöbj yöch, ba bur gjin bwöö bj bäll wöy gjöp. Ke wöö dreyjön bj bwjl bj cöjeyb bj fbrij, bj tjewj dreyjön, ba yj wjöö bj yay bur. Ke tjöö gjöb ba yj bjöl, bwöö fat, yj bjöj yi tjeg. Ke yuwjö e djöwp. Ke bäl gjöp yi rjön, ba bäl gjöp yi bwi, ba rönj yöbö bjön. Tyyö a bwöö gjöy bjöj cöjn, bj wöch, bj tyyö, bj wöö.*

*539 766 When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought, they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave.

[804]

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard, his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Obeyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the obeyo. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their foreheads; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing used on the back of the dead

[768]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter. 539* 766

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2] 539* 765 [765]

17. Inheritance.

Ŋkɔ̀ kɔ̀ ɔ́ ŋ́, ɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ko jɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́. Ká ŋ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, kí ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ko ŋ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ. Ká ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ko ŋ́ŋ́ kɔ́ɔ́ yí ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ. Ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́, ko ŋɔ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́, ko yɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́: ɔ́, ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́; yí ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ kí ŋ́ŋ́? ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́? ɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ yí ŋ́ŋ́? Ká ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́; ko ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́. Ká ŋɔ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́. Ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́, ŋ́ŋ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́; ko ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ. Ká ɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́, ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́, ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́.

Ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ko ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́, ko ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ŋ́ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́; ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́, ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́; ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ŋ́ŋ́ ɔ́ŋ́ŋ́; ŋ́ŋɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋ́.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the oldest

[1] That is: the boiling the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] But everybody is invited on extraordinarily on this sequent table, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox hanged, projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a King* see page 141.

when a man dies, and he has children, his property
114 is taken by the elders!

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder son will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (dealt with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
● 788 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the elder brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the elder brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 [illegible] *[illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible]? Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] i [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible]! Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible]? Kpa: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible]! Ká [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ká [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum in heaven, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

there develops a tendency for *par* A (to refer again to the diagram above) to marry women of *par* X. Men of *par* A will therefore have ready access to the unmarried girls of *par* X, as, similarly, will men of *par* X have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *par ora*, P. Now if a man of *par* A seduces a girl of *par* P it naturally annoys the men of *par* X who regard *par* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwale is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwale* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol* must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ai*,[98] or they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals) making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

98. Literally "substitute of the house."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [535] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [776] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [525] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *rwo*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*hawak*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *hawak Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] See things do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

[768 643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

We have already referred to *pen Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *ces*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

> *ere kwajo mayagan*
> "The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
> *ere kwajo cingan*
> "The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *nang ciang pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Bimbolzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 130. [2] Op. cit., 109. [3] Op. cit., 109. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the graves of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of porridge and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a meal" ("Nilotic Religion", *J.R.A.I.*, lx (1930), 226). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirits with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 718 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal trampling underfoot of an old man (p. 91), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and woman (p. 91). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war. According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

782 783 [61]

[521]

dressed, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the sun offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as were as . . . [the sheep screamed]. The sheep is not open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the bones of the mother, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup to a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you after my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Why not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now hello, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving us God alone? God's spirit becomes dead (lands vanish), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nihaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Fiuka spirit Dengait, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to *pun yuak*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (*Ajuogo*)

Ajuogo means 'man of luck'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajuogo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.210.
(2) Ibid.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief.

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence.

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given.

"We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You come from under the sun, you and your father, you two moved the earth, and your son Dak, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die."

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship.

[p. 293]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infrequently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and sisters may also be invoked.

When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased. The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no men of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of caring on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why do you not see and care us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.»

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day. The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people.

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should,

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
784 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
643 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
764 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
775 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention
776 from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
784 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
643 made to an ancestor.
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When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an
769 ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of butter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

776 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not
[782] then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-
[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in
[782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are
[778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are
[793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang
643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important
782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful
[789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague
[781] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by
[634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the
769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Juak*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753] taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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particular, ceremonial services at the king's investiture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and those of past kings. These shrines are widely distributed throughout the country so that every section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

We can only understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

Nyikang who is the medium between man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way to participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyikang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The participation of Nyikang in the king raises the kingship to a plane above all sectional interests, whether local or of descent. All the Shilluk share in the kingship, however their loyalties may pull them apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common to all the people: success in war against foreigners and the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, and of those wild beasts which are of service to man. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thomson tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*piny bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shilluks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the investiture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* p. xiii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.): OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz.:—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yowiri*

[1] These points may be successfully illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; in the Dinka *jok* are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *jok* too who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 183-208.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

Mr. Henry writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that so many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., p. 44

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

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At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reik*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reik* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

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Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reik*. According to these, any royal son (*ayiwak*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 796 homestead, and is opened by an *ocwo* after the king has marked it with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nyo kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

[718] On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ocwo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Atorwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ocwo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

● 771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For [771] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it [772] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Pepit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Moore by an Egyptian officer—one apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Moore's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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already referred to *pun Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, *e.g.* the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yaugjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *ceu*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi.

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:—

> *ney kwajo mayapen*
> "The people mourn their mothers (ancestors)."
>
> *ney kwajo ciangen*
> "The people mourn their people (their dead)."

A hemorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *nang dang pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Bachokner, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5]

[1] Op. cit., 190. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.

[5] Oyler records that every Shilluk "takes an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of porridge and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a meal." ("Nikawng's place in the Shilluk Religion"; *J.R.A.I.*, 1918, 268). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirits with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirits of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular manœuvre, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and swaddiers to battle, acted the part of fire, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery snatched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long wand as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay annual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, cloth, and dura, which they exchange for cheap and calves.

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. *Jwok (Jwok)* or God; 2. *Nyikang (Nyikang)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. *ajwago (ajwago)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not as prominent as the three mentioned.

"*Jwok (Jwok)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to *Jwok*, though this is done more frequently to *Nyikang*; prayers are also offered to *Jwok*, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to *Jwok* (for which vide page 171), while to *Nyikang* there are many. "Praying" to *Jwok* is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to *Nyikang*; the first is *ilang* "to pray"; the original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to *Nyikang* hereby "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to *Nyikang* are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to *Jwok* is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. *Jwok* has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk *Jwok* does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

3:Westermann E-6 (9910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to spoil the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficent role in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even condemned to death. — Besides these the word *jal pij* "man of medicine" is sometimes used, whether this is a synonym to *ajidjo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by *Jwok*?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his followers, vide page 149. SORCERY 981

The more ancient many mythological sites and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; the details of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgement. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 15, page 106. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourse with men. — According to some elder writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god *. MYTHOLOGY 973

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *uol* and *ojoj*; *uol* means "breath", and is the life-giving force in man; the meaning of *ojoj* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as man when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *ooplg*; the word is derived from *ojoj* to kill; *ooplg* probably means "one who killed", or "who is killed". The *ooplg* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT 974

On the shrine of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the wars the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *ji pi jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED 975

Islam 977

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets besides their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side 977 ●
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* This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservatism and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-trading and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears no compulsive Islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom[1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Byikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the son of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadjok is the present king. He is of the house of Kwai Kor. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Tij*; at the death of the king from the house of *Tij* it will be the turn of the house of *Nafjok*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwai Kor, but not to a son of *Fadjok*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadjok*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1] "king" is in Shilluk *rij* or *rejj*; in other literature the word "reader" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called *mek*, which is a contraction of the Arabic *malik*.

4:Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary ore relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is ore in the second degree. B, C and D may have an ore relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is no ore relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. Sexual sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, S.N.R. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) Ibid., pp.27-9.
(3) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shilluk land in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiwa, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengwit, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to pun juak, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajungo)

Ajungo means 'man of luck'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajungo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.225.
(2) Ibid.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F223 Shilluk F223

THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

By GODFREY LIENHARDT

THIS essay is based primarily on literary sources,[1] which contain uncertain full references to the religious and cosmological ideas of the Shilluk. In places, I have reinterpreted earlier writings on the Shilluk in the light of my own knowledge of the related Dinka, and of other Nilotic studies. The concerns of these Nilotic peoples are alike in many ways, and the Shilluk and Dinka have for long been considered as related, from the point of view of anthropological theory, by the presence among them both of different forms of the institution of 'divine kingship', studied by Frazer and Seligman.[2] Upon this institution much of their interpretation of the universe and of their own place in it depend.

Lack of definition and degree in their religion and cosmology makes it possible for Nilotic peoples to accept many different versions of their mythology and history, and also permits some syncretism of belief. I do not consider here speculations about the possible influences of ancient Egypt, the Funj, Islam, or the early monophysite Christianity of the Sudan, on Shilluk belief.[3] It is, in fact, remarkable that contact with foreign peoples and ideas, over a long period, should have left so little mark on Shilluk thought. Some of the stories which Hofmayr[4] attributes to Christian influence are widely known among other Nilotic peoples and elsewhere, in places further removed from probable contact with Christianity. Lack of formal definition of beliefs and notions about the universe also makes the study of Shilluk cosmology necessarily a study based on inferences from myths, hymns, and other texts, collected piecemeal from informants, none of whom can speak with any final authority. It is clear that Shilluk cosmology is not present to the mind of any one Shilluk as a single, orthodox system, abstracted from the narrative flow and imaginative detail of myth. Even one man may tell slightly different versions of the same story,[5] for the telling is

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[2] J. G. Frazer, 1911. C. G. Seligman, 1911, C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932.

[3] Discussion of Shilluk contacts with some of these will be found in W. Hofmayr, 1925, and D. Westermann, 1912. For general cultural and conceptual similarities between ancient Egypt and negro Africa, the reader may be referred to C. G. Seligman, 1934, and H. Frankfort, 1948, among others.

[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. R. Oyler, 1918 (1).

[p. 138]

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 a third, a spiritual or ideal, dimension. To put this in another way, the Shilluk quotation suggests that what is material has another, non-material, dimension, and we are told that *juok* is 'present to a greater or lesser degree in all things'.[1] Although *juok*, as the first principle, is the ultimate explanation for everything, the notion of *juok* seems to be particularly used to account for such phenomena as elude explanation in less abstract terms. It is a necessary logical concept for the Shilluk. Seligman quotes Dr. Hussey as saying of *juok* that 'he appears to be one, and yet seems to be a plurality as well . . . anything the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*'.[2] That is, what the Shilluk cannot otherwise account for, they account for by this concept. So, for example, the creation of the world and of life is the work of *juok*, and he may also be an explanation for sickness and death. The presence and powers of the foreigners are explained with reference to *juok*, for those who are specially gifted are supposed to be so by virtue of the stronger flow, in them, of the being which created and animates the universe. *Juok*, therefore, is the support of Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.

776 Since they represent, for the Shilluk, the order of the society and the world in which they live, and since *juok* has his place in that order, it is to be expected that for them Nyikang should also be an indication of the nature of God. So, in what Hulmayr says is the oldest Shilluk song, Nyikang is represented as speaking for God 'thus God says'.[3] This association between God and Nyikang is, of course, what has led to the anthropological study of Nyikang and his successors as 'divine kings'. God and Nyikang are two terms of Shilluk thought which cannot be reduced to any third term, but co-exist and participate in each other.

Relation of Nyikang to God

776 Examples of this are numerous. It is said that there are few direct appeals
782 to God, and that Nyikang is usually invoked as an intermediary. Westermann quotes a prayer which 'is said to be the only prayer to *juok*', and says that the Shilluk were taught it by Nyikang. This explanation was, presumably, given him by a Shilluk, and is an example of their interpretation of God by Nyikang already mentioned. Part of the prayer runs:

[538] There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thou: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick).[4]

776 The association between Nyikang and God in this prayer is so close that it is sometimes difficult to know which is addressed. Since the Shilluk myth and tradition tell them much more about the nature of Nyikang, who is a man, than about the nature of God, who is not, it is to be expected that they

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.
[2] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[3] Hulmayr, 1925, p. 7.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 171.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

I. — THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

To the animistic mind of the Shilluk, the occult powers are always near, and the fact that they can not be seen makes them none the less real. Around, about him everywhere are the spirits, and daily he comes in contact with people, who are the possessors of occult powers. They recognize five classes of people, who are in possession of hidden powers. They are:

The servants of the king, that is the people in whom is the spirit of one of the kings;
The beneficent medicine men or witch-doctors;
The malignant medicine men or witch-doctors;
The people with the power of the evil eye, and
The people possessed of the evil spirit.

Some say that the class of people with the power to cast the evil eye receive their power from the evil medicine men, and would class them together, but very few make that classification. However, in talking about the evil eye, it always brings up the subject of the malignant medicine men. The powers claimed for the two classes are very similar.

Many say, with good reason, that the people possessed of the evil spirit should not be so called, but that their affliction is merely a disease. We would call it insanity.

These articles do not exhaust the subjects, but a little has been gleaned from the contradictory tales of the Shilluks. Often the ideas of the natives

28: Cyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lion». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shiel, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medium was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The mediums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [777] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptised as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[4] 1925, pp. 195–6, the stories of a fall of man, and of a woman's bearing a god.

[5] D. S. Oyler, 1918 (i).

[p. 138]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

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The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

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[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix-xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

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or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus, all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., *passim*.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 115.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

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643 theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his
781 power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the
772 cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have
776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which
[182 every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation
643] is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is
[182 concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which
643] they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king
643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 793
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [782]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 622
and their association with lineages is, as we have [773]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622
778
i.e., the King. - Analyst

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with
Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
fane, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*).
631 A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a
114 number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

784 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
825 any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—
825

"The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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773 825 son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness." [1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearthstone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 773 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

114 177 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, [539] people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773] as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector [539] (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the [775]
opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's human ancestors (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 773 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

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776 [761] [576] [753]

latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ́ jwǫk* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yí kɛ̄l jwǫk* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi wīte jwǫk* "you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[114]

[In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG AND THE ORIGION OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɡɛ́ɛ́ adak*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɛ́lǫ; Kɛ́lǫ* begat *Omarǫ*, who begat *Wat Mɛ̄l* ("son of *Mɛ̄l*"); *Wat Mɛ̄l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Nakīyǫ* and *Oiwāt*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Omɛ́i*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. 8.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Bworǫ*. Okwa married

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773 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

773 775 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

776 HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED. Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kgɔ̄ rīŋ* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ńibōdo)*, *Otoṅo*, Nyelwal, *Oshārō*, *Otūgo*, *Dīdūgo*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

[532] [782]

776 796 In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[787] [643]

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tanfikia and Kodok.

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773 a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was called Duwat *(Duwgt)*. The name *Dimo* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ńíkàńò*, but the final *o* is often omitted: *Ńíkàń*; the form *Ńdkàń* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakam, Nyekom. *Ńíkàńò* is a composition from *ńí*, *ńa* "son" and *Kàńò*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ńíkàńò* means: "son of *Kàńò*." The name *Kàńò* occurs also in *Okàńò*, which is composed from *O* and *Kàńò* and means "descendant of *Kàńò*; *Okàńò* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kàńò* the traditions, as far as they are kown, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rìí* "king".]

776 Nyakayo *(Ńakāyo)*, the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This 775 is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Ńakāyo*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being lacerated by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Duwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Omgi*, his brother, and his half-brother Ju (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Duwgt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

[1] "acquiring wings and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. E. S.

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773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obɔ̃ŋŋ* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 SORCERY

The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ɔjwɔ̃ŋŋ*, and what is connected with him; *ɔjwɔ̃ŋŋ* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwɔ̃k* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seised by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yaŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwŋgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipg*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipg* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anpkg*; the word is derived from *ŋgg* to kill; *anpkg* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anpkg* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jã pã jaŋk*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that those people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people.

The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Diff."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

[Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 *1. Kwa-Ajal,* was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang
● 773 from his earlier home. They live at Nyelwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. Kwa Mal, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above *(mal).* They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Diff.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. Kwa Lek, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their dura. They quarrelled over a lek; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing dura. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lek they fought over it. So violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lek over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Diff.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

[This last remark is no doubt right, as both *2* and *2a* are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mal which is identical with that of our kwa Lek. W.]

3. Kwa Oman, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Ogot. — Diff.: was founded by a man named Oman; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Oman was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

4. Kwa Mon, was founded by Mon; Mon was found in the Shilluk country

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by Nyikang and became his servant. They help to build the house of Nyikang at Wau. They live at Ogot. — Identical with 3?

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jok, was founded by Ju, a half-brother of Nyikang on his father's side. Ju built the house for Dak. The Kwa Ju build the three houses of Dak in Filo on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, an ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Mainam.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by Nyadwai, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at Apio and Adit-deang. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of Nyadwai was a servant of Abudok.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by Gwar, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mrs. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chet-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by Nyikang, a servant of king Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — Diff.: it was founded by Olam, a servant of Nyikang. Olam was captured by Nyikang in the river, and brought out. Nyikang settled him in the country. Olam is said to have been a man of tremendous appetite.

9. Ñwga, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Ñwga.* He was found near Doleib Hill by king Abudok. The name *Ñwga* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Rej (or *rij,* i. e. king), was founded by Nyikang. They all go to the crowning of a king. Their village is Filo.

11. Kwa Tuki, was founded by a person that Nyikang discovered by the river. They taught the Shilluks to build the tuki (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the tuki the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the tuki, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of Nyikang. They live at Didigo.

12. Kwa Chwal, was founded by Chwal, who was found in the Shilluk country by Nyikang. They live in *Fogo* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: Chwal was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jaa Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at Ojodo, and help to build the house of Dak. — Diff.: it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.

14. Kwa Tuga, was founded by Tuga, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. Nyikang married Tuga's sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Kjlo, was founded by *Okjlo,* a servant of Nyikang. He taught the

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Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the tuki. They live at *Fope* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fope* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide *11*.

16. Kwa Ogūti, was founded by *Gūti*, a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. Kwa Dāk, was founded by Dak, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first dura stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owichi. — Diff.: Dak was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Abudok.

18. Kwa Oshołło, was founded by Oshollo, a servant of Odak. They build the houses of Odak, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Oshollo was the son of Dak; they build the house of Oshollo, and also the king's house.

19. Kwa Ńebōdo, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith *(bōdo)*. He furnishes the name for skilled workmen. They live at Nyelwak, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fope* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried hippo meat.

20. Kwa Gūga, was founded by a man who once sat near Nyikang like a buzzard watching for meat. They live at Nyelwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. Kwa Obōgo, was founded by Obogo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with sudd, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Obogo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the sudd, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Obogo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fope* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. Kwa Ogeko, was founded by Ogek, a servant of Nyikang. They get their name from the fact that they were the herders of the sacred cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. Kwa Ńemwal ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwa Ret. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish hippo meat to the king. — Diff.: it was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peaceably, because the Kwa Dok had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chal. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. Kwa Okel, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help in building the house of Nyikang. When a king is crowned, the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmeyer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghasal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being decimated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is repeated at each new election. The girl is called nya *Kwer*[et] (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of taxes). Vide also *15*.

25. Kwa Lōbo, or Oshū, was founded by Oshu, the son of Lobo, a servant of Abudok, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Abudok, their residence is in Owichi. — Diff. it was founded by Okola, the husband of Lobo; they were the parents of Oshu; servants of Nyikang.

26. Kwa Būna (Būnǫ?), was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

27. Kwa Orōrǫ; are the same as 23 (?) Are found at Yonj.

28. Kwa Ḍokot, was founded by *Ḍokot*, a servant of Dak; they were found in the Sobat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dokot. They build the house of Dak. Their residence is at Gur.

29. Kwa Ńimǫnǫ, was founded by *Ńimǫnǫ*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Gur.

30. Kwa Owgn, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owen means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Foṇe* Nyikang.

31. Kwa Orgiǫ, was founded by *Orgiǫ*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Dak. Their residence is in Nigu and Wubo.

32. Kwa Wūa, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind *(ashura)* from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

33. Kwa Ńishine, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

34. Kwa Nai, was founded by Nai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak that used to be on the mission ground at Doleib Hill. They are found at Obai and Abijop.

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35. *Kwa Dwai*, was founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak and are found at *Foŋe* Nyikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Nyikang. He was a Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Nyikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Nya Dwai.]

36. *Kwa Agǭdǫ*, was founded by *Agǭdǫ*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a foreigner that Nyikang found here. They live in Obuwa, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: they build the house of Oshollo in Ditong.

37. *Kwa Ńiḍeaṅ*, was founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Obai, and build the house of Dak.

38. *Kwa Ńikǭggǫ*, was founded by *Ńikǭggǫ*, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him in this country. They build the house of Nyikang; their residence is at Didigo.

39. *Kwa Duṅ*, was founded by *Aduṅ*, a Dinka, who was a servant of Abudok. They are found at Owichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang.

40. *Kwa Okwai*, was founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Nyikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: he was a Dinka, and was found by Duwat.

41. *Kwa Jalǫ*, was founded by Jalo, a servant of Odak. They live at Aditdeang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Duwat.

42. *Kwa Ogwat*, was founded by Ogwat, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tonga is their home.

43. *Kwa Omal*, was founded by Omal, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 2, and should not be counted as a separate division.[1]

44. *Kwa Waṅ*, was founded by *Waṅ*, who crowned Nyikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okun and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. *Kwa Okǭńǫ* was founded by *Okǭńǫ*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakugo, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. *Kwa Duwǭt*, was founded by Duwat, a servant of Dak. They are the chief of the servants of Dak; they live at Filo.

47. *Kwa Kū*, was founded by Oku, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house of Nyikang. Their home is Arumbwut.

48. *Kwa Yǭdǫ*, was fonded by *Oyǭdǫ*, a servant of Nyikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is in

[1] They may, however, be a subdivision of 2, as Omal means "descendant of Mal."

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Fone Nyikang. — Diff: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

49. Kwa Okōgi, was founded by *Okōgo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Nuba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Detwuk. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

50. Kwa Mūi, was founded by *Omūi*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Adit-deang.

51. Kwa Obōn, was founded by *Obōn*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal. — Diff.: Obon was brought here by Nyikang.

52. Kwa Chwai ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chwai, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyelwal.

53. Kwa Rīno, ("meat"), was founded by *Rīno*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

54. Kwa Fyen ("skin"), was founded by *Ofyen*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal.

55. Kwa Wich ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Liri-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their home is at Nyelwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

56. Kwa Shīn, ("intestines"), was fonnded by *Shīn*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyelwal.

57. Kwa Nīlgno, was founded by *Olgn*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

58. Kwa Nyiḍok, was founded by *Oḍok*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obai.

59. Kwa Ayādo, was founded by *Ayādo*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

60. Kwa Anūt, was founded by *Anūt*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Fotou.

61. Kwa Nyerij, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal class. The king is chosen from among them. Their village is Yoyin. Vide *10*.

62. Kwa Ḏon, was founded by *Oḏon*, a Nuba, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

[1] These and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwa Odgnǫ, was founded by *Odgn*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwa Wūbǫ, was founded by *Wūbǫ*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his dura, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wubo was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwogo.

65. Kwa Ńikāi, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Diff. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwa Yǭ, was founded by *Yǭ*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Obwo. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Oshollo.

67. Kwa Gau, was founded by *Ogau*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tonga.

68. Kwa Mwal, was founded by Mwal, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Ogot. Vide *23*.

69. Kwa Kam, was founded by Kam, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fopę* Dwai. — Diff.: he was brought in by Dak, and was his servant.

70. Kwa Okaţi, was founded by *Okaţi*, a son of Dokot. They help to build the house of Dak. Their home is at *Fopę* Dwai. — Diff.: he was of Arabic descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tonga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hen.

71. Kwa Bęl, was founded by Bel, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Mainam. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bel once fought against Mui.

72. Kwa Ńiyǭk, was founded by *Oyǭk*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells.

73. Kwa Ńeyǭk, was founded by *Oyǭk*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwa Ńetygn, was founded by *Otygn*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; thus he got his name. They are found in *Fakai*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fakai*.

VII. TRADITIONS ON ŃIKĀŃO.

50. Nyikang's Parents.

Oshyāṅi ye Okwa, ye ńōma nam ki mayi Ńikań, Ńakae, ńa Ke. Ka jē ńi kgła nam. Omya Ńakae fana ńań, bgdo ki ḍāṇ. Ka jē ńi tugo kwomg, kine: wāṅó yau! A kgi Dāk, a kwań ńa ńań, a nḡgé gòn, a búlí, a yábí, a kōbi Dāk kine: á bùlà yàn! Kine: è tich yi edi? Kine: a châmá! Kine: Ńakayo, kwárá a châm yi kwāri! Kine: a châmè ɣgn? Kine: yu kgla kgń? Kine: ý námò! Kine: ę́! yí lòni yi ɣgn kí chàmò, sha jē lwóká nam. Ka ḍāṇ mákè yì ńàń. A kōbi ńań kine: nam ba kélí yiń kgtí! Dę fa mādo fi! Kine: dí dérę! ɣ ywódá yín, yí búdà wòk yí kgłá kgłò. Yi fa ńi nènà wòk yi ńi ńwogla wòk. A ḍāt leńó, a ńi bgn ńań wogk, chg ḍoke kwáńò. Ka gg mákè ńàń. Ka chak mūnò yi ḍāṇò kí ńáń. 539*

In ancient times Okwa (the father of Nyikang) married the (woman of the) river, the mother of Nyikang, Nyakae, the daughter of Ke. And the people used to go to the river. The brother of Nyakae was the crocodile, it lived with the men; and the people used to play on its back saying, "Our grandmother, eh!" One day Dak went, he took the children of the crocodile, he killed and roasted them. When the children were searched for, Dak said, "I have roasted them." Nyikayo (the brother of Nyakae) said, "How is that?" He replied, "I have eaten them." Then the mother of the crocodile said, "Nyakayo, my grandchildren have been eaten by your grandchildren." He replied, "Have they really been eaten by them?" He asked, "Where will you go now?" The woman replied, "I will remain in the river." Nyakayo said, "No, because you (and your children) will in your turn also be eaten by it (the crocodile), when the people (your children) come to wash." So the men now are caught by the crocodile. The crocodile said, "You (men) can never pass a river again, and you never will drink water from the river." Then Nyakayo (the man) said, "All right, if ever I find you (crocodile) lying outside the river, I shall surely stab you. You shall never sleep outside the river, you (shall only have sufficient time to) lay your eggs on the river bank." And a harpoon was made. During the time when the crocodile comes out of the river, the cows swim across the river; but (often) they are seized by the crocodile. This is the beginning of the enmity between man und the crocodile. 539* 773● 776

[Another Report on the Descent of Nyikang and on the origin of the Shilluk people, given in A. E. S. page 197:

In the beginning was Jo-uk (*jwgk*), the Great Creator, and he created

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Deung Adok *(ḍeaṅ aduk)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kǫlǫ)*; Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro *(Omarǫ)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maul *(wat mǭl)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Diljil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Diljil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakae)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Ńiḱāṅ)* and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bun Yung, his brother Umoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shulla race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Booh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] i. e. Shilluks.

lɔ́ni Dunogt ki jàgò. A rúmí, a lɔ́ní Buɔ́ch ki jàgò; a lɔ́ni Dɔ́kɔ̀t ki jāgo; a lɔ́ni Tugo ki jāgo; a lɔ́ni Okwon ki jāgo, a lɔ́ni Kúdù ki jāgo; a lɔ́ni Ñakwachɔ ki jāgo. 539*

In ancient times the people came to the country Kerau, this is the country into which Nyikang came. Here they separated, he and (his brother) Duwat. Duwat said, "Nyikang, where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to that place there." Again he said, "Nyikang, look behind!" And Nyikang turned round, and looked back, and he saw a stick for planting dura, which Duwat had thrown to him. When Nyikang came back to take it, he asked, "What is that?" Duwat replied, „Go, that is a thing with which to dig the ground of your village!" And Nyikang came, and sat down in the country of Turo. This is the country of his son Dak. 539* 773●

And Dak used to sit on the ashes of the village and to play the tom (a stringed instrument). But his uncles (the brothers of Nyikang) said, "The country is to be ruled by Dak alone? (being jealous of him). His uncles went to sharpen their spears. But it was told to Dak, "You are going to be killed by your uncles!" Then Nyikang went to fetch an ambach, he hewed it, and made for it hands (so that it looked like the statue of a man). Dak went and sat down in the same place again, and began playing his instrument. His uncles came and stabbed him — that is, the ambach statue; Dak went into his enclosure (unhurt). Nyikang came and said, "My son has been killed by his uncles." His uncles were afraid saying, "Let every man stay at home four days. When four days have passed, we may mourn him." The morning after four days were gone, all the people came (to mourn), there were a great many. Suddenly Dak came out from his enclosure and went to dance the mado dance. When his uncles saw this, they ran away, and the mourning was finished.

Nyikang said, "I will go!" And he came and went along a river, a certain river called Faloko. And the people settled on this river. Here the cow ran away, the cow of Nyikang, because of her calves, her calves used to be speared by Nyikang.[1] She went and came to the country of the sun. And Ojul ("the grey hawk") ~~went to search for her; he~~ found the cow among the cows of the sun. He said, "I am searching for a cow." Garo, the son of the sun, said, "Man, what do you search for?" He replied, "I search for a cow!" He asked, "What cow?" Ojul said, "The cow of Nyikang." Garo asked, "Where has it come from?" He answered, "From the country of Nyikang." Garo replied, "No, never! Here is no cow of Nyikang." He, Ojul, turned back and told Nyikang, "Nyikang, we have found the cow! among the cows of a certain man, he is awfully tall, just like Dak; on his hands he has silver bracelets." Nyikang said, "Raise an army, and find the cow!" Dak went and attacked Garo, he threw

[1] Whenever Nyikang came to a new place, he killed a calf.

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*539 ●773 him on the ground. He cut off his hands, pulled the bracelets off them, and chased the enemy's army; he came to the sun. But there the army of Nyikang was chased, and it was utterly destroyed. Then Nyikang himself came, he took an adze and aimed it towards the sun. He hit the sun, and it returned to the sky. Nyikang went and took the bracelet, with it he touched the dead of his army, and they returned to life.

The people came, they came to the head (source) of a river, there they arose and approached the junction of the river (in boats). They found the river full of sudd. Nyikang said, "Where does this come from? what shall we do?" Their way was barred. Then Obogo[1] arose saying, "Nyikang, I have finished eating. Spear me under the sudd!" He said again, "Nyikang, thus I shall part asunder the sudd, and if you come to any place where the sudd is, you just follow after it." So Obogo was stabbed under the sudd, and the sudd broke asunder, so they came to their place together with the sudd.

He settled (with his people) in Achyete-guok, but he found the country occupied by the white people, therefore the people returned to this side of the river. They settled at the head of the Pijo (i. e. *Sobat*), Dak passed on to Wij-Palo. The army went home (it scattered because the war was finished).

He, Nyikang, built the following villages: Nyelwal, Pepwojo, Adwelo, Tedigo, Palo. The people went on and built Wau, Oshoro, Penyikang Otego, Akuruwar, Moro, Oryang, these are the villages of Nyikang. Nyikang went saying, "Ah, there are still Shilluks left!"

Then Dak ruled, he went away;[2] (after him his son) Odak ruled, he went away[2] while hunting game. The people were perplexed, and they said, "What is that?" Nyikang returned saying, "Bring a cow, that we may make a bier." When that was finished, Duwat ruled after him; when he had finished, Bwoch ruled after him, after him Dokot ruled, then Tugo, then Okwon; then Kudit, then Nyakwacho. (For the complete list see page 135).

[A somewhat different report of this warfare is given by P. W. Hofmeyer in "Anthropos", 1910, V, page 332; it runs thus:

Nyikang heard of a country in which all ornaments and even the tools were made of silver. He made up his mind to go into this country with his sons and numerous armed people. The name of this country was wang garo i. e. the country where the sun sets and sleeps, and where the sun is so near that it may be seized with the fingers.

Nyikang arrived in the miraculous country; in truth, numerous cattle-herds were grazing here, and the young people were richly adorned with silver rings and silver sticks. Nyikang and Dag entered a hut, where a young woman was working. She was exceedingly beautiful; the Shilluk

[1] Obogo means "albino"; vide also page 157.
[2] i. e. he died.

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heroes had never seen her equal. Dag asked the woman, whether she would like to marry him and go with him into his country. The woman was frightened, she sprang up, cursing the black fellows. But Dag replied, "Though we are black, and without silver ornaments, we shall show you that our arms are stronger than those of your men and that we may well venture to ask you for marriage." Thereupon the woman showed them the direction where her husband with his servants herded the cattle. Nyikang and Dag turned thither. 539* 773

It was just growing dark and the herds were coming from the bush, the men with their costly silver ornaments following. Dag at once rose, went to meet them, and soon a great fighting was going on. The man who wore the heavy silver rings was defeated, and Dag stripped the ornaments off him.

In the heat of the fight and on account of the scorching sun all the Shilluks fell down. Nyikang ordered water to be brought, with which he sprinkled his fallen warriors, and they all came to life again. Even the sun he sprinkled that it might not burn so hot, and presently it ceased burning. Finally the Shilluks were victorious and drove away the cattle and men of the enemies. These people are the Quadshal (Kwa Jal).

When they had arrived in the Shilluk country, Dag once more proposed to the woman to marry her; but he was again rejected.

Nyikang offered the prisoners in his country cattle, but they declined. He offered them Shilluk women, but again they declined. So he gave them the privilege to seize and keep a number of Shilluk girls and to collect spears, sheep, and fat in the whole Shilluk country, as often as a new king would be elected. As this was a lasting privilege, they consented to accept it.]

52. Different Doings and Adventures of Nyikang.

Ńikhiọ ńí kó (kẹḷọ) ṭàn gạt. Ka jẹ̄ mọ̄kọ ńị bẹ̀nọ, gẹ́ màyọ̀ kị yẹ́. Ka yẹ́ ńí ɣíńa fèń. Ka ńị lẹ̄ḷị Ńikań, ka Ńikań ḍálḷ́, ka e bẹ̀nọ, ka e ko kịne: Dāk, ya ḍálḷ́ yị jẹ̄ mọ̄kọ. Ka Dāk e kẹ́ḷọ̀, ka Dāk ḍálḷ́, ka Dāk e bẹ̀nọ, ka e ko: yá ḍál yị jọ́k ḡní. Ka Ńikań ko: ḡ, ńàrá! gẹ di (ri) jẹ̄ a ńí wèi gẹ́n? Kịne: ḡ, yẹ́ ńị wańa fèń! A ḍẹ̄gí Dāk, a bẹ̀n yị jọk gni, gẹ́ màyọ̀ kị yẹ́l. A lọk Dāk e ólẹ̄k, ka pẹ̄ka yey nam. Ka jọk gni e bẹ̀nọ, ka gẹ kẹ̄la bāte Dāk; ka gẹ mák, ka gẹ kịṭị fack. 539*

Ka jọk gni e lẹ̄dọ kị fack. Ká wọ̀t gẹ̀r yị Ńikań, ka gẹ kōbọ kịne: Ńikań, bẹ̀ńḷ̀ wọ̀ti agak? Kịne: wọ̀te wa fa ńị bẹ̀dọ̀ nàu. A kōbị Ńikań kịne: ḡ, de wọ̀t ńị gẹ̀r edi? Kịne: wọ̀te wa ńị gẹ̀r kị ḍāṇ! A kyẹdị Ńikań kine: ḍāṇ bogọn. Kịne: ḡ, ḍāṇ á gẹ̀r kị yí bẹ̀nè! A kōbị Ńikań kịne: ḡ, bogọn. A kẹḍẹ, chwọla Ólóálọ̀. A kōbị kịne: kẹ̄l ḍāṇ! Ka Ńikań á bànọ̀. A kẹ̄ jal gni, a kẹ̄lị ńàrẹ, a chẹ̄bị̀ lẹ̄bọ̀, a kygri

*539 *wọt, a chygk lụbọ, ka tygle wọt tụ́gẹ́. A kōbọ kine: chuñun! A māgi ńārg, a gỵ́chí gòn kí àtáì, a ṭọwẹ. A kōbi Ńikań kine: búh! Kine: ẓ, Oloalọ, kwọfi rach! grẹ ḍāṇ a nụ́gí? Kine: γẹ́dẹ́? Kine: ẓ, y chộk á gì fárẻ ànẹ̀n: ka ńi kygre wọt Ńikań, ḍāṇ e ńi ṭụ́ kifa Ólóálọ̀. A bẹ̀t tẹ̀rọ, a kōbi Ńikań kine: ẹ́! Oloalọ jēi y chụ̂gẹ́ ṭụ̂ yi wọn eni. Ka Oloalọ kine: dệdẹ́ (dẹ grẹ), y ńyệń, ba ṭumi.*

A wẽkè jame kwọ̀r yi Ńikań, a ńi kygre wọt. Ka e ko kine: wọt ńi kyẹl ki aγūjọ ńitụ̀nọ, ńi châm a wụ̂r, ńi lańa wạr, ẓ̀ chàmọ̀. Ka gōl ákyẹ̀lọ̀ gẹ kẹle bāne Ńikań, ńi chama chwai; ka gōl akyẹ̀lọ chama rińọ, gōl akyẹl chama bāne. A rụ̂mi, mộk àn a ṭum.

Ka Ńikań ńi ka wi kyẹr, ka jē mọ̄kọ ńi yỏt gẹ tụ̂dụ̀, jal gni ki ńemẹn. Ka Ńikań bẹ̀nọ, ka gẹ ńi rẹńa nam. Ka Ńikań ńi ḍálẹ́, ka Dāk dwai, ká é bàńụ̀; ka kwách. Ka Ńikań e kẹḍọ, ka ńārg wẽki Dāk, chỏl kẹy maye Dāk. A yei Dāk, a kẹḍọ, ka jọk gni yỏdẹ́. Ka gẹ rẹńa nam, ka Dāk kẹla nam ki yẹi; ka gẹ gẹ̄nọ wọk, ka gẹ rińa nam, ka ńān gni mầgẹ́, ka gọ kiti yi yẹi. Ka e bẹ̄nọ, ka ómẹ̄n lúgá bầńẹ̀. Ka gẹ bẹ̄dọ ki pach. E ńwọlẹ́ ki wụ̂dẹ́. A kwali réi gẹ́n, gẹ ki ńèmẹ́n. A dọń wụ̂dẹ.

A kẹt ḍọge nam. A kẹt Ńikańọ bẹ chẹ́k, ka jal mẹ̄kọ ńi chôti γẹ́n ki nam; ńiń chwọla ga Ochwâ. A kẹḍọ, gna Ńikań, a kóńẹ́ jọ́ch, jọch Ochamdọr, a yigri gọn, a kiti Odọp, a kiti mọń ópŭn, kiti ḍọk odọp, a mầgẹ́, a bẹ̄na wọk, a ḍāṇ. A bẹ̄n ńemẹn bāńg. A bẹ̄da pach; a ńi chāmọ γụ̀ch, γọ̄che Ńikań, a ńi chầm mọń adầṭ. A wẽri Ńikań, a kōbi Ńikań kine: kyau kẽjọ wiy Tor, jộk kùn chầmẹ́ ki jụ̂p. A ńi chāmi jọ̄p. A kẹt ńèmẹ́n, a kōbi: ṭọ̄ṭẹ yán ki rińọ! Ka e wẽrụ̀ ki ńèmẹ́n, ka gẹ ńākọ. Ka gẹ ńẹ̄lí nam, ka gẹ́lụ̀, ka gọ mọ̄gẹ nam, ka gẹ kẹti nam.

Ka jọk mọ̄kọ ńi kầ bẹ māi, gẹ bia ki Olam, ka Ńikań ńi ḍálẹ́, ka Dāk e kẹḍọ. Ka gẹ rọmọ ki gin; ka gẹ mầgẹ́. Ńikań ko: wẽki yan, ka Dāk é bàńụ̀, kine: bầńá! Ka gẹ kẹli Dāk, ka gẹ kẹta fach, ka gẹ wẽkí ḍọ̀k dỵ̀ńụ̀; ka gẹ wẽki tụ́ń alộḍọ́, gọ ńi gútè ḍeań. Kầl ḍeań ki Bachōdọ, gọ ńi lọ́gụ̀ mọ̄ gẹ́n.

Ka jọk mọ̄kọ lẹ̄da, ga kwar bwońọ, ka gẹ ńi kẹḍọ, ka ńi ńa bań; ka gẹ ńi wẽki gyẹ̄nụ̀, tygne a yỏt pẹ́ń, ka ńi kầl Ńikań ki Akuruwar; gẹ ńi maki gyẹ̄nọ, gọ ńí gach ki feń kí yey ḍọ́k. Chộ̂ṭẹ́, mọk gni á ṭùm.

Jọk mọ̄kọ ba yỏt, gẹ ńi kẹti gẹ yi nam, yi nam Ábúḍọ̀k; gẹ ńi chami ńwọlẹ par. Nam gni chwọlá Ńèwẹ̀k. Ka Abuḍọk e bẹ̄nọ, ka e pẹ̄chụ̀ kine: wúnẹ́ jụ̂ kún? Kine: wọ́ bà yỏt. Ka Abuḍọk kudọ. Ka gẹ chāmọ ki rińọ; ka lwāńọ ńi pẹ̄ka wiy rińọ, ka jọk gni e bańọ; e ńọńọ. A kōbi Abúḍọ̀k kine: wu rẹ a bầń wûn? Kine: wọ́ bẹ̀kụ̀. Kine: yi ńọ? Yi lwāńọ. Kine: wí cháká ńwọ̀ńụ̀! Kine: wọ fa ńí chàmụ̀ gin kwọmẹ da lwāńọ. A kiti gẹn pach yi Abuḍọk. A kōbi Abuḍọk kine: wi chộk, wuna kwầre ńwọ̀ń! A bẹ̄dẹ́, gna bầń Abuḍọk, a wẽki kàl.

*539 Nyikang used to go to the river-bank. And some people also used to come
●713 there, they were fishing in a boat, and suddenly the boat used to sink to the bottom. Nyikang saw it, but he did not know what to do (with these people),

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therefore he went home, and said (to his son), "Dak, there are certain people, I do not know what to do with them." Dak went, but he too could not manage them. So Dak came home saying, "I do not know what to do with these people." But Nyikang said, "My, why did you let the people go?" He answered, "Well, the boat went down to the bottom!" Dak returned and found the people again fishing in a boat. Dak turned himself into an egret and sat down in the middle of the river. The people came and were driven to the side of Dak; so he caught them and brought them into a (his) village (settled them).

These people now lived in a village. And Nyikang was building a house. They asked, "Nyikang, are these your houses? Our houses (the houses of our father) are not thus." Nyikang replied, "Eh, how then are (your) houses built?" They replied, "Our houses are built with human beings." But Nyikang protested, saying: "I have no human beings (for that purpose)!" They replied, "Why, you have a lot of people here with you everywhere!" But Nyikang said, "No, there are none!" The man (the chief of these water-people) went; — his name was Oloalo. — (But he came again) saying: "Bring a man!" But Nyikang refused. The man went and brought his own son; then he mixed mud, he marked the place where the house was to be built, he prepared the mud and dug out the foundations of the house. He said, "Bring mud!" And it was brought. He said, "Stop now!" He seized his son and struck him with a club, until he died. When Nyikang saw this, he said, "Ah, Oloalo, you are doing a wicked thing! how can you kill that man!?" Oloalo replied, "Why?" Nyikang said, "Well, it now will remain a custom of your village, always when a house of Nyikang will be built, a man will die because of Oloalo." The people remained there. Nyikang said, "Ah, Oloalo, your people will always die in building this house!" Oloalo replied, "Never mind, they are many, they will not be used up."

Nyikang gave him certain goods belonging to himself, with which to build the house (of Nyikang). And he said, "The house shall be built with a black heifer, which shall be eaten in the night; during the night it shall be eaten." One family — they are followers of Nyikang — eat the broth, and one family eat the meat, one family eat the meat on the skin. It is finished; this report is at an end.

Nyikang used to go to the river junction (of Sobat and White Nile), there he used to find some people who were cooking, a man with his sister. When Nyikang came near, they ran away into the river. Nyikang did not know what to do, and he called Dak. But Dak refused. He begged him. Then Nyikang went, and gave his daughter to Dak, as an indemnity for the mother of Dak. Now Dak consented, he went and found the people. They ran into the river, but Dak also drove a boat into the river and he drove them out onto the bank. They attempted to escape into the river again, but he seized the girl; he put

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*539 her into his boat and came home. But her brother followed her, and they both remained in the village. (Dak married the girl), and she bore a son. After some time they stole away, the man and his sister. Her son was left in the village.

One day Nyikang went to fish with a hook. And a man (below the water) always used to break the fish-hook in the river, the name of this man was Oshwa. He, that is, Nyikang, now went to dig out the joch-plant, the joch of Ochamdor, he twisted it into a rope and tied the fish-hook to it, he fastened a piece of bread to the point of the hook, and so he caught the man in the river, he came out — it was a man! His sister came after him. They remained in the village, they used to eat calves, the calves of Nyikang, and they used to eat the corn which was cooked for making beer. At last Nyikang became angry, and said, "Row this man to the place of Witor, a place where he may eat buffaloes." (He was rowed thither, and) ate buffaloes. His sister also went there and she used to say, "Give me some meat!" He became angry with his sister, and they fought. And (while fighting) they rolled into the river, they tumbled down a steep slope, and so went into the river again.

Some people used to go fishing, to a place called Olam. Nyikang got into difficulties with them, and Dak went. He met them, and they were caught by him. Nyikang said, "Give them to me!" But Dak refused, saying, "They are my slaves." Dak took them along with him and brought them into his village. He gave them big cattle, and the spear Alodo with which to kill the cows. — When people bring cattle to Fashoda it is their (these people's) property.

There were some people, descendants of the white men; they became slaves. They used to give fowls. They were people found in the country before Nyikang was brought from Akuruwar. They used to catch hens, and to offer them to Nyikang as a tax, in the middle of Dok. — That is all, this report is finished.

Some people were fishermen, they used to go to the river, to the river of Abudok, they used to eat the calves of hippos. The name of this river was Nyewek. When Abudok came, he asked them, "From which place are you people?" They replied, "We are fishermen." Abudok was silent. And while they were eating meat, flies settled on the meat; but these people would not suffer it, they were proud. Abudok said, "Why do you refuse that meat?" They replied, "We are afraid." He asked, "Of what?" They answered, "Of the flies." He said, "You are proud, are you not?" They replied, "We do not eat anything on whose back there are flies." These people were taken home by Abudok. And Abudok said, "Ah, you will continue thus! You are the descendants of pride." They stayed there, they became adherents of Abudok, he gave them a setttlement.

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53. The Man who sacrificed Himself.

Kgɛ́ a lɛ̱n Ńikāń, a kɛ̱ɛ̱ Atulfi ki wɔ̱te bāńg, a yɛ̱oda nam ɛ̱ ríg̀ɔ̀ yi tik. Ka Ńikāń e jādɔ yū. Ka jal ma óbɛ̱ɛ̱g̀ɔ̀ e fɛ̱ɛ̱chɔ kine: Ńikāń, yí rè chúń? Yi jati ki yū? Ye ko: àwɔ́, yá játí yɔ. Ka e ko: kɛ̱ɛ̱ ya rūmi ki cham, yá y bí, ka ya chwɛ̱ɛ̱p kí tíń, ka rɛ́mà mɛ́ɛ̱lá nám, tik y chɛ̱ɛ̱t. Ka Ńikań chwɛ̱ɛ̱bi jal gni, ka rɛ́mɛ́ mɛ́la nam, ka tik e chɛ̱ɛ̱dɔ. Ka Ńikań yiti ki yɔ.[1]

When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino,[2] asked thus, "Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?" He replied, "Yes, I do not see a way where to pass." The man said, "When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away." And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage.

54. Nyikang and the River-people.

A kɛ̱ɛ̱a Ńikań wak, a mɛ́ńí, a yōde yɛ̱ɛ̱, riña wɔ̱k yi lyɛ̱k, a kōbi kine: jɔ̱k, wei kátá (kɛ̱ɛ̱tá) yi yɛ̱i wun! jɔ̱k gni ko: kipańɔ? Kine yau. A kátɛ́, che yɛ̱i ńi tɛ̱ɛ̱ña pań, ka gɔ ńí dɛ̱ɛ̱dí yi Ńikań. A lɛ̱n, a mágé gin, a kɛ̱ɛ̱le gɛ pach, a lāme gin, a lɔ̱gɔ bāńg, a wei gɛ tɛ̱ń, gɔ ńi lām gɛn. A lɔ̱ge tyɛ̱ń lām, a wei gɛ Ńibɛ̱ɛ̱dɔ; ka ńi bɛ̱ɛ̱ti Ńikań. Chwɔ̱l gá kwar Wań, kwāre yɛ̱i lyɛ̱k.

Nyikang went into the bush capturing; he saw (at a distance on the river) a boat, he ran from the high grass to a place where the grass was burned, then he called, "People, let me get into your boat!" The people asked, "Why?" He replied, "Just let me go in." When he got into it, the boat went to the bottom (was about to sink, this being caused by the witchcraft of the people in the boat); but Nyikang pushed it up again; then he came and caught them. He brought them into a village; he taught them to pray; they became his slaves (his subjects); he gave them the spear and taught them to pray. So they became the people of prayer. He let them reside at Nyibodo; they keep the (religious) things belonging to Nyikang. They are called the descendants of Wang, the descendants of the boat of the grassless plain.

55. The Lost Cow.

Kwojul e kwayi ḍɔ̱k, ḍɔ̱k Ńikań, ka ḍeań akyɛ̱l e wań, ka e kɛ̱ɛ̱dɔ kal ḍɔ Dimɔ. Ka e lɛ̱ɛ̱n: ḍeań agɔn? Kine: ḍeań ɛ̱ɛ̱k! Ka Ńikań wēro, ka e ko: yap ḍeań! Ka

[1] Vide 51.

*539 *é kedo kun de chań, ka ye kedo, ka ye kedo, ka máki wun; a kedo, a witi fōte Dimo. Ka ḍeań ywodę ę witi fach, ka fẓki ṭá ryęk; a fyechę: yi kūla kun á? Kūle fōte Ńikań bę yafe ḍeań. Ka ḍuki mol a kęti kale ḍok, ka ḍe Ńikań, ka go kółè ęn. Ka e bęn, wapo fōte Chol. Ka ḍeań kółę kal ḍok. Ka fyęch Ńikań kine: ḍeań a kółè yin? Ka e ko: ḍeań á wapi fach. Chwol ęna Kwajul, bāńe Ńikań.*

*539 Kwajul herded cattle, the cattle of Nyikang; and one cow disappeared, she
●773 went into the cattle-yard of Dimo. When Kwajul came home, Nyikang asked, "Where is the cow?" He replied, "The cow is away." Nyikang became angry, he said, "Search for the cow!" So he went westwards ("to the place of the sun"), he walked and walked, till he had been on his way a year; he arrived in the country of Dimo. There he found the cow, she had gone into the village, and was lying within the yard. They asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I come from the country of Nyikang, to search for a cow." The next morning he went into the cattle yard, and drove the cow of Nyikang away. And he came and approached the Shilluk country. He drove the cow into the cattle pen. Nyikang asked, "Have you brought the cow?" He replied, "The cow is here in the village." Therefore he was called Kwajul, the servant of Nyikang.[1]

56. The Liar.

*539 *Ojulo bẓda ga mẓt, ka ńi wẓla kgń, ka ńi bẓno, ka ńi ṭḇdò; ka ńi wẓla fōne, ka ńi bẓn, ka ńi ṭḇdo. A kōbi Ńikań, a fyechi kine: Ojulo, yi re chôk kifa ṭḇdo? Ko: á, mẓt, tōdi ya! bẓnę gin ńi yońi yá. Ka Ńikań e ńẓto, e ko: jal, yi y chôk, yina twot. A chōgi anan, a tiòt, a ńeau tōdo ki jach; a wéki go ęn.*

*539 Ojulo was a friend (of Nyikang). When he went somewhere and came back,
773 he used to tell all kinds of stories (lies) to Nyikang. Whenever he came to a country, he brought home a lot of stories. One day Nyikang asked, "Ojulo, why do you always lie so much?" Ojulo replied, "Ah, friend, let me lie! That is what makes me feel well." And Nyikang laughed, he said, "Man, you will always continue in this, you are a liar indeed!" And so he continued, he used to tell stories, he bought the story-telling with the shoulder of game, which he gave to Nyikang.[2]

57. Nyikang's Quarrel with Duwat.

*539 *Ńikań wèn Okwá, omęn Dywęt, fōte Shóło fá Ṭurò, ygna kdch dkyęl. Ká Ńiekań e wẓrò ki Dywęt, Ńiekań wẓdę Dák, Dywęt wẓdę Dìmò. Ka Dāk e ńāko ki Dimo ki bdń rẓch Ńiekań, chama byęl, byęl Dywęt; Dimo fwòt rẓch. Ńiekańo wẓro ki Dywęt. — Ńiekań e kedo, e ko: Dywęt, dḇń! yá kèdò! Ka Ńiekań e kedo,*

[1] Compare with this story No. 51.
[2] By giving the shoulder of the game he had killed, he "bought" from Nyikang the privilege to tell lies. (This is meant as a joke).

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é chąţo. Ka Dụwọt rgna bàn Ńiekań kịne: Ńiekań, ehụ̀ńí! Ńiekań é bàń. Kịne: ḷụţí! Ńiekańọ ḷíţì. Ka tákdgì ḷ́ńí kịne: Ńiekań, kwàń tákdgì bẹ kwoń jẹ̄i! Bẹn Ńiekań fōţe Shółọ, fa (fach) Ńiekań ki wọ́dẹ́ Dāk ki Shal, wọte arygu. — Wa (Wat) Ńiekań akyẹl ḷ́ yigi ńan ńi māi kí rech. 539*

Nyikang, his father is Okwa, and his brother is Duwat. The country of the Shilluks was (at that time) Turo; there they lived in one place. And Nyikang became angry with Duwat: Nyikang had a son whose name was Dāk, and the son of Duwat was Dimo. And Dak quarrelled with Dimo behind (or: on account of) the calves of Nyikang; they (the calves) ate the dura, the dura of Duwat, and Dimo beat the calves. Therefore Nyikang became angry with Duwat. Nyikang went away. He said, "Duwat, stay here! I go." And Nyikang went away walking. Duwat ran after Nyikang, saying: "Nyikang, stop!" But Nyikang refused. Again he called, "Look!" And Nyikang looked behind, and Duwat threw a digging stick towards him, saying: "Take this stick to bury your people with!"[1] Nyikang came into the Shilluk country, (and it became) the home of Nyikang and his son Dak and Shal; he had (these) two sons. — One son of Nyikang became a man who used to fish. 539* 773

58. The Fish Ocholo.

Jal mẹ̄kọ ńịńg chwọla Ochółọ, bẹda wat bań Ńikań. Kgń lwọke Ńikań nam, ka ńị lọ́gí rōjọ, ka ńị dwańọ kịne: bụ́h! Ka Ńikań ńí ńàń, ka e bia pach, ka e ḡạ́ḍọ kí kàk, ka wijẹ kíţì kị apẹ̄r, ka kẹţa nam; ka e dwańọ, kịne: bụ́h, ka ńị kẹle Ńikań, ka rōjọ, ka gọ ńị bājẹ. Jal e bẹda jwọk. Ńị chịka dwańọ, ka gọ ńị bājẹ. Ka Ńikań e pídọ, ka bia pach, ka jal gni yōdị gọ bẹn pach, dẹ̄ twārọ wéré ḍọk.

Dụki ka Ńikań dọgi gọt. Ka jal gni e ḹgi kẹţẹ, e chịka dwańọ, kịne: bụh! Ka ńị kẹle yị Ńikań, ka bach, ka e gitọ bẹ̄rọ, ka Ńikań bia pach. Ka Dāk chwḗlẹ, ka e ko: Dągí, ńa ḡāṇ, da rōjọ madugń kị yey nam kū; ya ḍàḹ ḍàlù, ka ńị kẹ̄lé gn, ńí ḍàlọ. Dāk e ko: ḷ́, a rech āńọ kị nam ḡāṇ? Ko: ì, ụ ḹţe yin yau! Rōjọ ma chwakẹ dugń chārọ; ka ńị kōle gn, ńí bājọ bājó, dẹ ya ḍalị ḡn, ńa ḡāṇ.

A kẹ̄ Dāk, ka gẹ ka (kẹ̄) nam; ka e dwań, kịne: bụ́h! Ka e kẹ̄ḷ́ gn, ka e bājọ; ka e bia pach, ka e ko: ya ḍàḹ ḡn! Ka Ńikań ko: ì, dwọ́n, yi nàtí ḍāḹ gn! Ka bọl kẹ̄k ḡẹ́ḍe, ka e kẹ̄ḷọ, ka e dwań kịne: bụ́h! Ka e kẹle (o kẹle) wiţe pí ḡòn, ka kẹ̄k pạţe rẹ. Ka jal gni ḍwọţa mal, ka e ko: hẹ̄, Dągí, kwọ́ń rach, yi ba wrt. Ka kẹţa pache gọn, e lọgọ bań, a gẹre fārẹ, a chāń ńịńg Alẹ̄ńọ, a gẹra tẹk ḍọk.

A certain man whose name was Ocholo (that is "Shilluk") was a slave of Nyikang. When one day he accompanied Nyikang to the river, he became a fish and he lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!"[2] Nyikang did not know what to do; he went home, made a fish-spear (a harpoon), and tied a fish-line 539* 773

[1] Vide page 159.
[2] a much used exclamation of surprise.

*539 to its end. He went to the river again, the fish lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!" Then Nyikang stabbed the fish, but he missed him; — this man
●773 was a jwok.[1] He once more lifted his head out, and Nyikang tried to stab him, but again missed him. At last Nyikang was tired, and he went home. When he came home, he found this same man gathering cow dung.

The next day Nyikang returned to the river bank; this man also returned; he lifted up his head out of the water, crying, "buh!" Nyikang stabbed him, but he missed him, so he went on till the afternoon, then Nyikang went home. He called Dak, saying, "Dak, son of man, there is a big fish in the river, I have failed to catch it, I tried to stab it, but I failed." Dak replied, "Well, what fish can there be in that small river?" Nyikang said, "Well, you just go and see it, it is a fish with a very strong voice. I stabbed it, but I always missed it. I do not know what to do with it, son of man."

Dak went, he went to the river. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buh!" He stabbed it, but missed it. He came home, saying, "I do not know how to stab it!" But Nyikang replied, "Oh, my cousin, you have not yet tried properly." Dak made his spear handle straight, and went again. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buh!" In this moment Dak threw the spear at the place where the splashing of the water was, and the spear fell on the fish (hit it). Then the man (the fish) arose, and said, "Ah, Dak, your talk is bad, you are a cunning one!" He (the fish-man) went home, he became a subject (of Nyikang); he (Nyikang) built him a village, and called its name Alengo, he built it beside the brook Dok.

59. Nyikang and the Sorcerers.

*539 *Ńikuń ka e mŋáŋ̄ ka e kŋ̄ŋ̄ fōṭe mŋ̄kŋ̄, ka e ko: ɨ̄, wa kōbi ādi? Jā bŋ̄di gi ajwīk, ka Ńikuń a ḍali, ka e ko: bāh, ɨ jā fich adi? Ko: ɨ! Ka e lŋ̄gŋ̄ yīmŋ̄, ka Ńikuń lŋ̄gŋ̄ ōdiiŋ̄, ka pai nīmŋ̄, ka jī gai bŋ̄mŋ̄, ka gɨ máŋ̄ɨ. Ka gɨ kŋ̄ŋ̄ pach, ka gɨ gŋ̄ɨ pā gin (gɨn).*

Bŋ̄r ga kwa wōmán, gŋ̄r Twŋ̄lŋ̄ń. Ka wāki ḍeań, ḍe nam, ogɨ́gō.

*539 When Nyikang was capturing (men), he went to a certain country, and he said,
773 "Ah, what shall we say?" Because these people were witch-doctors, and Nyikang got into difficulties (trying to capture them). Again he said, "Why, what shall I do with these people? Ah, I have found out!" And he turned into a wind, and then he turned into a cloud-shadow, and covered the earth (so that it was dark and the wizards could not see anything); so he caught them. He brought them, and built them a village.

These are the descendants of the woman, they live at Twolang. Nyikang gave them a cow, a cow of the river, an ogogo.

[1] *jwok* — "God".

60. A War against Turtles.

Riŋ̱ mg̱kg̱ chwgḻá Mǫ́i, omygn Ńikań. Ka e jf̱kò; ka kg̱ta bg̱ mg̱ńg̱ fōte jure mg̱kg̱, chwgḻa Bg̱lg̱. Ka gg̱ mg̱ń, ka gg̱ ńg̱gí. 539*

Ka pōte mg̱kg̱ chwgḻa Ótg̱n, ka Otgn mg̱ń. Ka e lg̱gg̱ pūk. Ka feńe gg̱lf̱. Cha g̱ūng̱ pf̱ké peń, ko gg̱ ńí kāj̱i; ka leń nf̱kò pūk. A lg̱ng̱ pach a dwaí Dāk; a kōbí Dāk kíne: a gin ńiò? Jal gní ko: lēi mg̱kg̱, ya g̱dlí ín (γín), dg̱ ńa ńeńāi g̱ūg̱, leń kf̱ch, g̱ūg̱ ńí kāj̱é kāj̱ò. Kf̱ńé gìn, e ko: e bg̱t ūńg̱? Kíne: ḷ, kíchò ydn. A ko Dāk kíne: ḷ, fate gin lwgń au? E ko: ńgt afbrì! A tygń gín, a g̱ūg̱í bg̱, a tiń leń. Ka Dāk e ko: wa kg̱ta mal! Ka kg̱ta mal, ka tg̱rg̱ kōpe lg̱ne lg̱ne kíne: kf̱k pńń! Ka tg̱rg̱ chg̱g̱ kf̱ka pńń. Ka kwōkò Dāk, ka gg̱ γàlò wgk, ka leń é nf̱k, duf̱gg̱ pach.

Ka chíka lēi mg̱kg̱ tińg̱, tiń fōte Bg̱lg̱, ka leń e kg̱lg̱, ka leń kg̱tg̱ wgr ka o mīdg̱ lg̱ne lg̱ne; pog̱ gní e lgg̱ mīdg̱. Ka ńí dg̱me yí g̱ūg̱, ka g̱ūg̱ ńí g̱f̱. Ka Dāk chíkí leń tińg̱ kg̱tg̱, ka Dāk e kōbg̱ kíne: kōde γf̱ḷf̱! Ka γg̱g̱í kōt, ka leń f̱g̱ka feń kí bute fūn gní, ka e lgg̱ mīdg̱ kg̱tg̱, ka e lg̱ng̱, ka Dāk e ko: chwoń mach! Ka γg̱ḷe chwoń mach, ka omīdo lg̱ng̱, ka ńí gg̱cha mach yí Dāk. Ka γf̱g̱f̱g̱ mīdg̱, ka leń nf̱k yí Dāk, ka mak lg̱ne.

A lg̱n tg̱rg̱ pach, a kōbí Mǫ́i, omya Ńikań, a kōbí kíne: Dāgí kwań ldu! A kwań lāu yí Dāk Yina rāmé ńg̱ńò; a ńāji kwgp lg̱n, a jf̱kf̱. A tińe leń, a mgńí jur mg̱kg̱, a mágé gìn, a lgg̱ bńńf̱.

A gg̱ra wgt g tg̱k, a kōbí Ńikań kíne: Dāgí, wgt a g̱ēr yí tg̱k, dg̱ yí jgt kí kwārò. A kōbí kíne: dg̱dg̱ (dg̱ grg̱)? wgda y g̱ērè yan yau kí lńńf̱. A ńí g̱ēre kwāre lńńg̱.

A certain king called Moi, a brother of Nyikang, ruled the Shilluk country. 539*
He went out to conquer some people called Belo (near Chai = Rossires). He 773●
conquered the tribe, and destroyed it.

Again there was another country, a country called Oton, he went to conquer this too. But the people of Oton turned into turtles, they buried themselves in the ground. And when the people of Moi sat down, they bit them; thus the turtles were victorious. Moi went home, and called for Dak. Dak asked, "What is the matter?" Moi said, "I have been defeated, I do not know what to do with them, you son of the sister of man! It was a very hard war indeed, my men were awfully bitten in the rear." He asked, "How so?" Moi answered, "Eh, I do not know." Dak replied, "Ah, is not that a simple matter?" He said "Cut sticks!" He sharpened the sticks, he made them like fish spears. Then he raised an army. Dak said, "Let me go ahead!" He went ahead, and he told all the people in the army, "Prick the ground!" So all the people, while they were walking, pricked the ground; thus Dak had the whole ground pricked, and the turtles came out, and the enemy was defeated, and they returned home.

Again he raised an army, he raised it against the country of Belo. The army

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*539 •773 went; it came to fighting during the night, the air was full of fireflies. It was the country of the fireflies. They fell upon the men, and the men died. When Dak fought against these people, he told his warriors, "Make grass torches!" They made grass torches; when the army came near the village and sat down there, the fireflies came; Dak said, "Light the torches!" They set fire to the torches, and when the fireflies came, Dak had the grass torches thrown at them; thus the enemy was destroyed by Dak, he caught them all.

When the people (the warriors) came home, Moi, the brother of Nyikang, said, "Dak, take the royal cloth (become our king)! You are a man of many thoughts, you know all matters!" Dak took the cloth, and he ruled.

He raised an army to wage war against a certain tribe, he destroyed them, and they became his slaves.

While Dak was absent, a house was built (by Nyikang and Moi); and when he returned, Nyikang told him, "Dak, we have been building a house (for you) during your absence, but there are not sufficient poles." Dak replied, "But what does that matter? I shall build my house with nabag poles." So it became a custom for the people to build with nabag poles.

61. Praising Nyikang.

*539 *Ka kwāyg ka e chwqu, ka tāń leń tyǫk, ka e kǫḍo, ka e kǫtǫ. Ka leń nāgé. A lēn ṭrṭ, a māgr ḍǫk, a kgl ḍǫk, a gēr peń. A wumg gērṭ, a chip jō kúrò, mǫk chip Mwǫmǫ, mǫk chip Tāń.*

Our grandfather,[1] he roared, and he surrounded the enemies on all sides, and he went, and fought. He killed the enemies; then the (Shilluk) people came, they caught the cattle (of the enemy), they brought the cattle. They built houses in the country; when they had finished building, he appointed watchmen (men who had to watch the boundaries of the Shilluk country against their enemies), some on the northern boundary at Mwomo, and some on the southern boundary at Tongs.

[1] i. e. Nyikang.

X. CREATION.

71. The Creation of Men.

*539 *Dɔnɔ́ fanɡ wɔ́ɲɔ́,[1] a ɡuɔ́ɲlà kɛ̀nɔ̀. Wiyɛ́ fanɡ jwɔ̀k. Wɔ́ ɡuɔ̀ɲle jwɔ̀k ɡɛ̀n ɔ́ryɔ̀u, mɛ́n à lɔ̀jɔ̀, mɔ́r yí mɔ́yɛ́, mɛ́n à tɔ̀r, o chɛ̀t. Kɛ́ɲí bɔ̀n jwɔ̀k, e ɡɔ̀ɲí mɛ́n à tɔ̀r, mɛ́n a lɔ̀jɔ̀, ɡí kɔ́n. A kɔ̀bí jwɔ̀k kɔ́ne: ɡrɛ́ kɔ́nɔ́? Kɔ́ne: bɔ́ɡɔ̀n![2] A kɔ̀bí jwɔ̀k kɔ́ne: ɡ! wɔ́lí yín lɔ̀ kɔ́ne yɔ́u! Yɔ́n mɔ́rɔ́ mɛ́n à tɔ̀r, tyɛ́ɲí à lɔ̀jɔ̀, y jɔ́kɔ̀ mɛ́n à tɔ̀r. A kɔ̀ɲí wɔ̀k, ɡɔ́a mɛ́n à lɔ̀jɔ̀. A kɔ̀bí jwɔ̀k: ɡrɛ́ (ɣɛ́dɔ̀) kɔ̀ɲí? Kɔ́ne: ɡ, chɔ́kɔ́ kɔ́ kɔ̀ɲle yɔ́u. A wɔ́kɔ̀ wɔ́ɲɔ̀ bɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ́, a wɔ́kɔ̀ twɔ́ɔ́k bɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ̀, a wɔ́kɔ̀ ɡɔ́jí, a wɔ́kɔ̀ jam bɔ̀n, a mɔ́rɔ́ yí jwɔ̀k. A jɔ̀k tyɛ́ɲí a lɔ̀jɔ̀ yí ɔ́bɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́nɔ́n.

*539 The cow is our grandmother, she bore a gourd. Our father is God. We were
773 two of us born by God, (a black one and a white one). The black one was beloved by his mother; but the white one was hated. When God came, she showed him the white one, but the black one she hid. God asked, "Why do you hide him?" She said, "For nothing." Then God said, "Well, do but hide him, I like the white one." The black people shall be ruled by the white people. On that she brought the black one out too. God asked, "Why do you bring him out?" She said: "Oh, I just brought him out (without any special reason)."

To the white one were given the book, and the gun, and the sword, and all kinds of goods, he is loved by God. So now the black people are governed by the white.[3]

71 a. On Totemism.

*539 *Wɔ́dɔ̀ kí ɔ̀pɔ̀k kí Dɛ́ɲí kɔ́k kí yɔ́y kɛ̀nɔ̀, ɡɛ́n a chɔ̀ɲk. Ka Dɛ́ɲí ~~kɔ́~~ pɔ́ɔ́k, ka wɔ́dɔ̀ kɔ̀ɲa fɔ̀l, ka ɔ̀ɲɔ́k a fɔ̀rɔ̀, ka a ɡuɔ̀ɲlɔ́ mɛ́n yí Dɛ́ɲí. A bɔ̀n Akɔ̀ɲɔ̀ kí rɔ́ɔ́ Dɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ̀, a bɔ̀ne fɔ̀ɲɔ̀ Chɔ̀l, a yɛ́ɲí jɔ̀ rɔ̀. Ka ɔ̀ɲɔ̀ wɔ́n, ka wɔ̀ɲɔ̀ kɔ̀ɲí Fɔ́ɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ Odɔ́rɔ̀jɔ̀, a dɛ́ɲɔ́ kí Fɔ́ɔ́dɔ́wɔ́, fanɡ dɛ́ɲɔ́ wɔ́n. Kɔ́ɔ́ fa Jɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, wɔ̀ɲ Ñɔ́ɔ́l, ka bɔ̀ne fɔ̀ɲɔ̀ Chɔ̀l, ɔ́ɔ́a a ɡuɔ̀ɲɔ́ Atɔ́ɲí, e ɡí rɔ̀, ɡɔ́a Adɛ́fɔ̀ɲɔ̀ ɔ́nɔ́n.*

Wɔ́dɔ̀ kí ɔ̀pɔ̀k wɔ̀ɲ wɔ́n, fa chɔ̀n yí wɔ́n kɔ́fa dɔ́ɔ̀ɲɔ̀.

*539 The ostrich and the crow and *Dɛ́ɲí*[4] were split[5] out of the gourd, all three
773 are three-twin children. *Dɛ́ɲí* went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by *Dɛ́ɲí*. *Akɔ̀ɲɔ̀* (the son of *Dɛ́ɲí*) came in the time of *Dɔ́ɔ́ɲɔ̀* (a brother of *Ñɔ́ɔ́l*), he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many, some went to *Fɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ Odɔ́rɔ̀jɔ̀*, but some remained at *Fɔ́ɔ́dɔ́wɔ́*.

Remarks see on page 179.

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Thus we separated from each other. Our grandfather was *Joṅań*, a son of *Ńabil*, he came into the Shilluk country; it is he who married *Aṅ̄i*. He was king. That is the beginning of (the village of) *Adefūlo*. — The ostrich and the crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwōlo*-sickness.

539* 773 ● [196]

[1] *wōńo* "our grandmother". Here, as is sometimes the case, the pronoun of the third person sing. has the meaning of the first person pl.
[2] There is not, viz. a reason.
[3] With the exception of the first sentence this report is recent, because it relates to *white and black* men.
[4] These three are the "parents" not of the whole Shilluk people, but only of the tribe *Fońikań*, which lives at the mouth of the Sobat. Each tribe has its own "parents", which generally are animals.
[5] This means: the cow (see page 156) brought forth a gourd, the gourd split, and out of it went forth the ostrich, etc.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted. 776 773 121

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season. 105 [161]

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

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173 behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic
186 foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed to-
829 gether as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of [173] foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the 186 way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the [114] lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

773 The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Heasty, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *ya puny*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Heasty, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

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example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

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173 originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

173 There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from 173 heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the [825] Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

173 Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[171] [1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.
[3] Oyler, 1918 (i).
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.
[5] Ibid., pp. 155 ff., *et al.*
[6] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.
[7] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.
[8] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

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173 Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the [182 Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the 643] aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-173 Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people 182 and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the 602 loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further 173 migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred 773 when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before cross-821 ing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the herd of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles 643 of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or 773 bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yangaro*, *Tsangaro*, or *Djindjiro*, and other details of the story are said to connect with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The résumé here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 159–61.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix-xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 159. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

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or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus, all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., *passim*.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 115.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the
643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre-
[773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Op. cit., p. 193.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.
[7] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 232.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[4] Oyler, 1918, (i), p. 108.
[4] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 26.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojul went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debalo, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan In fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ororo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debalo, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared
773 in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.
787
821

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth's* army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows :-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak
778 were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy. 643 541 293 411

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine. 643 778

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[*] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed." 782 783

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

[*] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[*] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ohuolo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation. 773 835

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal (1) only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang (2) from outside, and the temporary huts (3) built for the Ret,

(1) Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by WESTERMANN, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret.

(2) The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

(3) About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears 202
have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry 643
straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom [688]
they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives 643
came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm up- [644]
wards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his [501]
toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dres- [291]
sed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their [773]
daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill).

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo [1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and [642] the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of 643 Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which 778 has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Ret; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

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27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for: he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyal Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Dakoib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *ajpo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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[754]

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal puj* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwiyo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY 781

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many *intercourse with man. — According to some older writers the* spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY 773

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *ajwo*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ajwo* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *ocoko*; the word is derived from *ocoko* to kill; *ocoko* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *ocoko* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT 774

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *ji pö jaak*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED 775

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas *Anywaks*, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM 177 771 797

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to [683] accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Yeep)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajwago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father [847] and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing cere-
846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to
842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1929, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

In addition, the

Shilluk believe in ceu which is thought to be the malevolent element that 774
persists after the death of one who has died with a grievance and is angry [775]
at some wrong that has been done to him.(1) They also speak of winyo, meaning a bird, but Seligman was unable to discover what this meant.

A dead body is buried at full length, a few paces from the door of 764
the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is usually dug by elderly male relatives. The body is wrapped in skins, and sacrifices of oxen, goats and fowls are made after the burial, according to the family wealth. 765
The mourners bathe in the river; no food taboos are laid on them but they shave their heads and do not wear ornaments or go to dances during the period of mourning. After a month has passed the mortuary ceremonies are held, a number of sacrifices are made and beer is brewed for the mortuary [764]
feast. According to Westermann the horns of an ox are often placed on the grave.(2)

THE ANUAK

Detailed information on the Anuak is derived almost entirely from two articles by Evans-Pritchard.

ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

The Anuak are, like the Shilluk, a riverain people and their villages are distributed along the banks of rivers in the Eastern Sudan and in Ethiopia. In the western regions of Anuakland the ecological conditions are somewhat different from those in the east. The western areas are true savannah, flat, almost treeless grassland, which is flooded in the wet season. In the east there is forest savannah which gradually turns into tropical rain forest. In the rainy season the western half of Anuakland is cut off from the eastern half by deep water-courses and swamps. These factors have had considerable repercussions on the political organisation of the country and largely determine the distribution of the villages and the economy.

In the savannah areas of the west, villages are built on rising ground at the edge of the flood plains and the occupants may have to move during the rainy season for fishing, fresh pastures and for drinking water. Villages built some miles back from the river (owing to flooding during the rains), also have to move. For such villages there is a wet-season village site and a dry-season village site. The regions in the east are thinly populated; small independent villages are strung out 5-20 miles apart and often with swamps and rivers in between so that in the wet season a village community may be completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months. In certain localities, as along the Gilo river, villages are surrounded by dense beds of reeds and it is impossible to reach them except by the few paths available. Such villages are very difficult to attack. Where the villages of the savannah areas are not protected by these banks of reeds they are, or were in the past, protected by stockades and moats, the homesteads being closely wedged together owing to the lack of space on the mound occupied.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.97.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.113.

considered Nyikang in the form of an abstraction somewhat removed from the real person he is for the Shilluk. Even for the Shilluk there is an element of the ideal in Nyikang, who is to that extent an abstraction. Their divine being, *juok*, is a still more abstract notion and ultimately explains a wider range of diverse phenomena. 776

Juok is usually said to be the supreme being of the Shilluk, to be spirit, and to be 'the greatest spirit', and to be in some sense above Nyikang.[1] He is thus not inappropriately spoken of as 'God', provided that the use of this name is not allowed to introduce a more sharply defined concept of his nature than the notion of him formed by the Shilluk themselves. In many cases it would make the Shilluk texts more intelligible, and involve fewer contradictions in translation, if we were to think of *juok* not so much as the supreme being in a quasi-social hierarchy of 'beings', but as that being upon which, for the Shilluk, everything else is contingent. It is clear that if the Shilluk are asked whether God has a body or is spiritual, they answer that he is spiritual or 'like the wind', for he exists for them in no single mode, is omnipresent or multipresent, and is inviaible. I do not think, however, that this separation between the material and the spiritual, by which *juok* must be placed in one or the other category, is one which would spontaneously occur to the Shilluk. They have different words for the 'spirits' of the dead. [774] 'Spirit' generally, if it is to be distinguished from matter or body, is *wei*, which comes from the common Nilotic root meaning life or breath, and thus soul or spirit, and distinguishes what is active and alive from what is inert and lifeless. So, in translating the word *juok* as 'God', and saying that he is spirit, it is desirable not to introduce foreign conceptions of the nature of the Shilluk God as he is in himself. There is no Shilluk definition of his nature comparable to that with which those accustomed to revealed religions are familiar.

Juok, the being which created and still maintains all the world and what is in it, is one in essence, though, as it were, with many facets, which seem to refract him into a multiplicity of 'beings'. These resemble what we think of as spirits and manifestations of various sorts, and for us our use of these different words is enough to separate what they denote, conceptually, from God. For the Shilluk, who use the same word *juok* for each item in the multiplicity of forms and manifestations, and also for the principle manifest in them all, the conceptual distinction between the supreme being and other beings associated but not identical with him is not verbally made.

Hofmayr records a complex metaphysical statement made about *juok* by a Shilluk, who explained that *juok*, God, 'is from one side spirit (*wei*), and from the other side spirit, but from front and back he is body (*del*)'.[2] By this we can only understand that the human experience of *juok* may be an experience of something which takes material forms, but that these have

[1] The fullest account of the meaning of the word *juok* is in Hofmayr, op. cit., and most of what follows comes from that source unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Op. cit., p. 205.

Northern Shillukland and southern Shillukland 631
are the arches of the politico-religious kingdom of the Shilluk of which the kingship is the keystone. That segmentation has taken this particular form [361]
is doubtless due to the peculiar ribbon-distribution of the Shilluk settlements.

The whole Shilluk people recognize a single 643
head and we can therefore speak of the Shilluk 173
nation and of their king, and it is with his place in the national polity that this lecture is particularly concerned. According to Shilluk tradition the present king is the thirty-first of his line. All the [775]
kings are believed to be descended from Nyikang, the leader of the Shilluk in their heroic age, who led them into their present homeland, conquering it from its inhabitants and dividing it among the lineages of his followers; and Nyikang, or, as we would say, the spirit of Nyikang, is believed to be in every king and to have passed from king to king down the line of his successors. Nyikang is thus a mythological personification of the timeless kingship which itself symbolizes the national structure, a changeless moral order.

The rule of succession is that only a son of a king can be invested with the kingship. As many sons 644
of kings have never succeeded to the throne, there 565
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631 particular, ceremonial services at the king's investi-
778 ture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and
182 those of past kings. These shrines are widely dis-
778 tributed throughout the country so that every
[794] section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and
182 in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion
643 and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

• [775 We can only understand the place of the kingship
[771] in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the
776] individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

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Nyikang who is the medium between man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way to participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyikang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The participation of Nyikang in the king raises the kingship to a plane above all sectional interests, whether local or of descent. All the Shilluk share in the kingship, [185] however their loyalties may pull them apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common to all the people: success in war against foreigners and the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, and of those wild beasts which are of service to man. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thomson tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*piny bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shilluks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the investiture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* p. xliii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

shrine of Akurwa to the Nyikang of the king in Fashoda. The king is now reverenced and the effigy is sent back to Akurwa. 643 775

It is Nyikang, mark you, the symbol of the whole Shilluk people, who is the king-maker. The kingship belongs to all the people and not to the royal clan. Indeed, I think it significant that when Nyikang captures the king-elect the latter is ostentatiously surrounded by a block of his own clan. In this connection it is to be hoped that more will be learnt about the distribution now and in the past of the royal clan. The traditional home of Nyikang was Fanyikang, a settlement in the south, and the ritual equivalent to the southern half of the kingdom is Gol Nyikang. It seems likely on these, and on other, grounds that the royal clan was at one time found chiefly, perhaps only, in the south and spread from there to those northern settlements in which it is found to-day, as has happened among the closely related Anuak people. Hence in the ceremonies of investiture it seems as though the Shilluk people, represented by Nyikang and the army of the north, capture the king and take him away from his clan, represented by the army of the south, to be the head of the whole nation. The ritual of investiture appears to be an 643 644 614 [173] [174]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2] [539]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773] as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3] [539]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the
opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely [775]
associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows :—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
● 775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] 773 [1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis. 776 775 825

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2] 776 778 824

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (*ajuago*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her 776 775 825

[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwai, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwai, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwai, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyadwai being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it
796 with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain
[775] some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For
[171] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it
[781] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Papit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Munro by an Egyptian officer—not apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Munro's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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We have already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi. 771 775

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors :— 771 769 [114] [539 782]

> *tere kwaje mayegen*
> "The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
> *tere kwaje tiengen*
> "The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5] 752 775 761 [769]

[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.

[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawng's place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
● 775 might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[113] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *ajwo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *can* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *anaka*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *wiryo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing. 774 [775]

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it. 763 764 [177]

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:— 766 [565] [764]

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

"The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the ox [see in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 199.

1773 a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was called Dwat (*Dwąt*). The name *Ding* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ñíkáŋ*, but the final *ŋ* is often omitted: *Ñíkí*; the form *Ñíkké* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyikam, Nyikom. *Ñíkáŋ* is a composition from *ní*, do "son" and *Kíáŋ*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ñíkáŋ* means: "son of *Kíáŋ*." The name *Kíáŋ* occurs also in *Okíáŋ*, which is composed from *O* and *Kíáŋ* and means "descendant of *Kíáŋ*". *Okíáŋ* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kíáŋ* the traditions, as far as they are known, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rí* "king".]

1776 *Nyakayo* (*Ñakáyą*), the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This 1775 is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Ñakáyą*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being incurred by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

1773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Dwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Ongí*, his brother, and his half-brother *Ju* (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Dwąt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

[1] "Inspecting villages and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. H. S.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

773 775 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dâl*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

776 HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED. Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *bet rig* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurowar, Wau,[2] Fanyikang, Nyikodo (*Nyikk*), *Otpio*, Nyakwal, *Ookiry*, *Otyo*, *Dâdyo*. These houses, the small as well as the large, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of religious are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

[532] [782]

776 786 In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

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[1] Till the subjugation of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have hitherto died from the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonkin and Kodok.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient rôle in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even condemned to death. — Besides these the word *jal pej* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajodgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

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When possessed by a spirit (or by *Jwok*?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his followers, vide page 149. ECSTASY

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The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of ox-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the ox-god[1]. MYTHOLOGY

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The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *uri* and *ajoj*; *uri* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ajoj* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *ocoko*; the word is derived from *ocoj* to kill; *ocoko* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *ocoko* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

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On the shade of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jô pê jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

ISLAM

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Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas *Anywaks*, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

4:Butt K-4 (no date) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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nyireth and their descendants continue to live near those of the *nyireth* as a fictitious lineage.

The Colo

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The *colo* consists of the main body of Shilluk clans, of which there are about a hundred. They are patrilineal clans tracing descent from the original followers of Nyikang, and also from those who have since migrated into and settled in Shillukland or were in occupation when the Shilluk immigrants arrived under Nyikang's leadership. Their origins are obscured in myth.

The *colo* clans like the *kworeth* are patrilineal and exogamous and marriage occurs between them. The difference is that the *kworeth*, through their connection with the founder of the present Shilluk regime and their ritual importance to the people as a whole, are treated with special respect and have special privileges.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ORGANISATION

The Reth

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The Shilluk people recognise one supreme head, the *reth*, who represents the country as a whole, regardless of territorial, social or kinship divisions. According to Shilluk tradition the present *reth* is thirty-first of the royal line which began with Nyikang, who led the Shilluk into their territory, conquered it, and established the social order. The spirit of Nyikang is thought to reside in every *reth* and to be passed from one to another down the line of his successors.(1)

The Settlement Chief

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The settlement chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *reth* and executes his orders. He has certain religious obligations to the *reth*, such as building a house at Fashoda or maintaining the local shrine of Nyikang. The chief settles disputes in his territory, endeavours to keep order and harmony and to lead in community matters. He is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and not by the *reth* who merely recognises his authority and position by investing him with the *lau*, personally knotting this robe over the *jago*'s shoulder.

The Headman of the Hamlet

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The *jal dwong par* has a status which varies according to whether he is headman of the principal hamlet of a lineage - in which case he is also a representative of his lineage within the settlement - or whether he is the headman of a subsidiary hamlet, in which case he is hamlet headman only and merely the senior member of a group of homesteads. The headman of a principal hamlet often receives a *lau*, sometimes directly from the *reth*, in other cases from the settlement chief. This, however, is only in confirmation and recognition of his status and there is no question of appointment by the *reth* or the *jago*. The headman of a principal hamlet represents

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, p.9.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REth

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a cow for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 693 713

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. 773

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth's* investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 771

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organization of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and *Juok* - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the spiritual forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in *Juok* as he does in the *reth*.(2) 775

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyareth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
780 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in my case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches
825 the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiwa, is reported to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

777 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengwit, and also a belief
779 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pun juat*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
824 often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are
823 animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Bitchdoctor (Ajuogo)

756 *Ajuogo* means 'man of *Juok*'. Such people are regarded as possessing
761 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the ajuogo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

In addition, the

Shilluk believe in ren which is thought to be the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died with a grievance and is angry at some wrong that has been done to him.(1) They also speak of winyo, meaning a bird, but Seligman was unable to discover what this meant. 774 [775]

A dead body is buried at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is usually dug by elderly male relatives. The body is wrapped in skins, and sacrifices of oxen, goats and fowls are made after the burial, according to the family wealth. The mourners bathe in the river; no food taboos are laid on them but they shave their heads and do not wear ornaments or go to dances during the period of mourning. After a month has passed the mortuary ceremonies are held, a number of sacrifices are made and beer is brewed for the mortuary feast. According to Westermann the horns of an ox are often placed on the grave.(2) 764 765 [764]

THE ANUAK

Detailed information on the Anuak is derived almost entirely from two articles by Evans-Pritchard. 800

ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

The Anuak are, like the Shilluk, a riverain people and their villages are distributed along the banks of rivers in the Eastern Sudan and in Ethiopia. In the western regions of Anuakland the ecological conditions are somewhat different from those in the east. The western areas are true savannah, flat, almost treeless grassland, which is flooded in the wet season. In the east there is forest savannah which gradually turns into tropical rain forest. In the rainy season the western half of Anuakland is cut off from the eastern half by deep water-courses and swamps. These factors have had considerable repercussions on the political organisation of the country and largely determine the distribution of the villages and the economy.

In the savannah areas of the west, villages are built on rising ground at the edge of the flood plains and the occupants may have to move during the rainy season for fishing, fresh pastures and for drinking water. Villages built some miles back from the river (owing to flooding during the rains), also have to move. For such villages there is a wet-season village site and a dry-season village site. The regions in the west are thinly populated; small independent villages are strung out 5-20 miles apart and often with swamp and rivers in between so that in the wet season a village community may be completely cut off from the rest of the country for several months. In certain localities, as along the Gila river, villages are surrounded by dense beds of reeds and it is impossible to reach them except by the few paths available. Such villages are very difficult to attack. Where the villages of the savannah areas are not protected by these banks of reeds they are, or were in the past, protected by stockades and moats, the homesteads being closely wedged together owing to the lack of space on the mound occupied.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.97.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.113.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the smaller units which they comprise. Such a logical model would be misleading for the interpretation of the significance of the moieties, Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. These seem to function primarily, if not exclusively, in the election of the Shilluk kings, successors to Nyikang. In the election of 1943–4, of which we have a full description,[1] the two leaders of the religious moieties had first to reach agreement upon the successor of the dead king, and their choice was confirmed by a representative of the king's clan, which is not identified with either moiety. An electoral college, representing various settlements of Shilluk-land, then confirmed the choice, which, according to Shilluk custom, had to be one of the princes whose father had already been king. In this case the choice was very limited, and the electoral college at once accepted the proposal made by the leaders of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang. Disagreement between these over the choice of the king is said to have led to fighting between the moieties in the past, and thus to civil war in Shilluk-land.

The division of the kingdom into Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang thus becomes effective at the election of the king, and the preliminaries to the installation of the new king do indeed create the division which Nyikang, the king's ancestor, is said to have created in the past.[2] When the leaders of the moieties have reached agreement, there is still a ceremonial opposition between them until the king has actually been installed, when the moieties are again put together in a single kingdom, the kingdom which Nyikang originally united under himself. The Shilluk kings conceive their country as a unity by dividing it into moieties, which separate and then unite, over the election of the king. The theme of the resolution of duality and separateness, perhaps an idea paralleled by that of crossing from one bank to another of the river, in order to make a unity consciously recognized by the Shilluk, may also be seen in other features of the installation ceremonies of 1943. The Shilluk king must be possessed by, or identified with, Nyikang, so that some writers say that he 'incarnates' Nyikang. At the installation ceremonies an effigy of Nyikang is brought from northern Shilluk-land, where Nyikang is said to have disappeared during a dance.[3] There is a mock fight between this effigy, accompanied by the effigies of Dak and Cal, and the king-elect. In this fight the king first retreats from the effigy, is then captured by it, and finally must seize from it a small girl, who plays an important part in the ceremonies. She appears to represent the wife of the king's office and, since the king is to take the place of Nyikang, who represents that office, he must also take the wife. Hostility between the king-

[1] The election may have been considerably modified by European and earlier rule, and the element of election by vote may have been stressed at the expense of a rather different principle, described below (p. 157).

[2] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 30. Pumphrey (1941) quotes a story in which the ceremonies of Gol Dhiang, which may well be of later foundation than Gol Nyikang, is attributed to a later Shilluk king, but it is still a king who made it. This seems to refer to an earlier stage in the evolution of the kingship. Here we speak of the kingdom as it was at the election of 1943.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 45.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 832.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[4] Oyler, 1918, (i), p. 108.
[5] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 26.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
728 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[599 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwer kwob nies ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[836 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[4]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[4] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

643 776 of his followers. The Shilluk do not say that Nyikang died or passed away, but say -as my informants told me- he was angry with his people, and, in a stormy night, was gone. This assumption is necessary for the conception of Shilluk kingship. The idea may be summarized thus:

1. Every king who rules the Shilluk is an incarnation of Nyikang,
2. as the soul of Nyikang is thus incarnated in the body of the king, it would suffer every kind of weakness the body suffers;
3. as this would mean the loss of the protective and guiding spirit of the whole nation, it was necessary that the kings should not be left to die of old age;
4. and thus came what we term the ritual killing of the king.

171 Among the Fung, we have no such idea about kings, and the post of kingship itself. This is due to the fact that the Fung were Moslems, and as it is implied in Islam, there is only One God, and there is no possibility of incarnation, or such would be a return to paganistic practices. No one who wrote about the Fung kings ever hinted at the existence of such an idea. Thus, one of the conditions of divine kingship, indeed the core of this kind of kingship, is lacking among the Fung.

b) The Mode of Accession to the Throne:

643 It is easy to understand the Shilluk notion of incarnation from the way they apply it. The important feature which dominates the installation ceremonies of Shilluk kings is the seating of the king-elect on a special stool brought for the occasion from the Shrine of Nyikang at Akurwa. At first, the wooden effigy of Nyikang is placed on the stool by a priest, symbolizing that Nyikang himself is sitting on the stool; then the effigy is removed and the king is seated. In this way, the soul of Nyikang takes possession of the body of the new king. And after this ceremony, the king is considered a king. [776]

Another important rite in a king's installation is that a king must pass a month in complete seclusion before going to Fashoda for the seating ceremony, and another ten days in a special place called Aturwie in Fashoda after the seating ceremony. In this time, the king is considered to be in a solemn mood of contemplation, and in communication with his great grandfather, Nyikang, and other ancestors. During this time of seclusion, the king is provided with a girl, who is given to him by a special clan. It was the custom that the king would marry this girl afterwards, but now it is according to his wish. Human sacrifices at the installation ceremony are said to be given up now, but they were practiced in the past. 58)

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58) In former times, it was usual that the king would pass over a bounded old man as he marches towards Fashoda, and the multitude of the Shilluk followers of the king would also tread on this man, and naturally he dies. Now a sheep and bull are used instead of the man. See Seligmann, p. 94, and Howell, p. 196.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 63 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka. They have, however, an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy, of which there is no counterpart among their more democratic Nilotic neighbours, and which shows more definite and developed principles than those found in the institution of kings among the Anuak and chiefs among the Acholi. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere or a natural and spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking peoples is a controversial subject, which we do not propose to discuss here.[4]

SHILLUK RELIGION AND THE TRADITION OF NYIKANG.

776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and amoral diety is called Juok. Juok is the Shilluk conception of God and is present to a greater or lesser degree in all things. Juok is the explanation of the unknown, the reassuring justification of all the supernatural phenomena, good or bad, of which life is made up. The principal medium through whom Juok is approached is Nyikang. The distinction between them is not clear. Nyikang is Juok, but Juok is not Nyikang, for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place as the hero-leader of Shilluk tradition. He is also the first *reth* of the Shilluk and the founder of the royal 643 house. Further the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk 776 *reth*, and thus exists both in the past and the present Nyikang is [775] the *reth*, but the *reth* is not Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define. The Shilluk themselves would find it difficult to explain. Juok, Nyikang, and the *reth* represent the line through whom divinity runs, a conception which may be expressed as an analogy to the ancestor cult, only the cult is symbolic of the tribe as a whole rather than of the Kwareth alone or other individual kinship groups. The *reth* is clearly himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, Juok are approached, and is the human intercessor of mankind with God. Voluntarily by

4. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (1934), p. 60.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reth* and every action he takes, the death of a *reth* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. 643

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe no less than their figure-head from one status to another A false step will cause disaster to the tribe

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reth* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly appointed *reth* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position [775] To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor Even after the new *reth* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him [669]

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. [781] Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reth* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either in the choice of the new *reth* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. [648] How much greater then must

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
782 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
[173] is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
775 at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Dak are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Dak. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Dak makes periodical ex-
643 cursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stools[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 61 ff.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 the public gaze, and the ox-hides upon which it is placed, had already
[778] been brought out and set up at the entrance of the shrine, and the stool itself, heavily swathed in white cloth, was hurriedly carried out. Behind stood a Shilluk holding the fish-spear of Dak, which was also wrapped in white cloth. The party escorted by the Kwa Nyikwom with Dak well to the fore then moved up to the canopy, and the effigy of Nyikang was set upon the stool, while the *reth* knelt down and clasped the legs on the north side. The chief of Kwa Nyikwom knelt down and clasped the legs on the other side, and *nyakwer* seated herself to one side of the *reth*. After a long period of much chanting but no visible movement, the effigy of Nyikang was lifted from the stool and hurried into the shrine immediately followed by Dak, and the new *reth* took his place upon the sacred stool of the Shilluk, facing the crowd, but still well screened by the canopy. The place of the *reth* holding the stool for Nyikang was now taken by the *jal tyel kwom reth* (chamberlain). It was not possible to follow all the ceremonial which followed. The party was screened on three sides by the canopy, and the *reth* himself was surrounded by functionaries. The *reth* himself, seated on the stool but screened by the canopy, was facing the crowd, and the chamberlain and another Shilluk knelt on either side to hold the legs of the stool, while *nyakwer* was sitting on the ground to his left. In front was held the sacred spear of Nyikang, which had accompanied the *reth* from Debalo. The majority of the crowd had already dispersed and either took no further interest in the procedure or were not allowed to do so, and those who were watching close at hand were for the most part Kwareth, Ororo, or the attendants of Nyikang. Nevertheless this was the crisis of the ceremonies. The act of substitution upon the stool symbolizes to the Shilluk the poss-
[779] ession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang, and we saw that the *reth* was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards, when he walked across to the temporary camp opposite the shrine.

After sitting on the stool for about twenty minutes, facing the people, still screened by the canopy, the *reth* arose and escorted by the chief of the Kwa Nyikwom, who held his right hand, and by *nyakwer*,

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorleiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debalo. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 30 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golbainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

114 643 669 541

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak, while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

[795] [783]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life. 643

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there. 114 778 775 324

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocoro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up. 301 643

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1948. 114 643 644

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of 643 644 778

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the flight of the *reth*-elect to Debalo where he remains in seclusion while the warriors of the south (*gol* Nyikang) gather to his aid; the gathering of the host of Nyikang supported by the warriors of the north (*gol* Dhiang); the *reth's* march against Nyikang, the mock battle and his defeat and capture by Nyikang; his substitution for Nyikang on the royal stool and his possession by the spirit of Nyikang; his purification and seclusion in a temporary camp outside the capital; his vigil in the sacred mound of Aturwic; a further battle with Nyikang and the establishment of peace between them, and finally, after these important ritual events are over, a public ceremony in which the chiefs of the country publicly declare their allegiance while exhorting him to perform his duties justly. 643

Each event in this procedure is a further step towards the transference of the soul of Nyikang from the dead *reth* to his successor, which has always been an essential feature of the Shilluk monarchy. Each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies is another crisis passed, for until the substitution has been made, the Shilluk people are in a condition of extreme spiritual danger as well as of actual political danger since at any time civil war may break out over the choice of the new *reth*. This is manifest throughout. [775]

The *reth*-elect, who was chosen by the electoral college shortly after the death of his predecessor, is Kur, son of Fafiti *wad* Yor who was *reth* of the Shilluk from 1917 until 1943. At the time of writing the installation ceremonies are not yet completed and we are here concerned only with the death and burial of *reth* Dak *wad* Fadiet. We must remember, however, that these ceremonies are part of a whole chain of events designed to achieve the safe and successful transference of the spirit of Nyikang from the old *reth* to the new and to bring back to the tribe its former stability.

reth Dak *wad* Fadiet died in Malakal on the evening of May 8th, 1951. His death was not unexpected since he had been ailing for some time and under treatment in hospital for advanced tuberculosis. He was attended personally in hospital by a medical dresser who was also his nephew, and his wives and followers were to some extent excluded from direct contact with him. There was an intense atmosphere of potential danger to his life and a feeling that he would be despatched by his wives before he died a natural death, for it was widely known that he was seriously ill, but I believe that this derived mainly from the medical dresser himself, who, acting in an entirely untraditional capacity, sought to stress the conventional attitudes demanded of him. At any rate there is no evidence that he was put to death or even "assisted to die." [1] 643

[1] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11 and p. 19, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 reths. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[778] Of Kwoikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
[178] they sing, *Kurjang* (Kwoikon) *cie hoey ahoi cho nyimang hardi cho nodi nini*, "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one, death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dernin, Fakang and Malabai attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
[783] ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ocwo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[777 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okab nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approaching
them was seized by the *ocwo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fadul, was present on the first day of the *nowe*,
as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ocwo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of reth Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kojo where the actual bodily

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fadiet. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fadiet was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet had been interred in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Gulwany, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorkiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fadiet, notably that of Nyawelo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *Jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debaio, during which his followers are converging from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arrepjur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfur*) nearby. 693

The submission on the sacred mound

In front of this shrine the sacred mound of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of submission and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adal*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ocwo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Ashurwir

On the next evening, he ascends into *Ashurwir*¶, the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ocwo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Ashurwir* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. 644 651

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of such [illegible] as Yiid Abiri in 1944 and Reth Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur wad Fadol which follows, it will be 643

¶ Variously spelt: *Awurwir*, *Ashadowir*, *Ashurwir*.

25: Anonymous 1-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debuło run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debuło until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debuło. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lol are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debuło to Fashoda the coronation is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

[753] 828 [644] [664]

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebujur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

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In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyek holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of

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643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of 233 the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debuło. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debuło, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
824 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
643 men. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
766 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
775 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention
776 from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

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869] Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an
769 ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made [illegible] he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

devotion. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king
claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person
is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and
his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they
are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about
or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these
signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to
tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be
treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims
head. With the other hand he seizes his head, and thrusts it into the
boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to
run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that
case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put
under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under
the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a
second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not
burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep
are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads
are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich
egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's
hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then
revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king.
[illegible] also presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king 787
and the person who had charge of the case gave him a gourd. A sheep
is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The
ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562] the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from [563] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [126] called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[718] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

• 775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the 756 [illegible] merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their dares told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 king, that is, the son of a former king, to attempt to kill the
682 reigning king and seize the power for himself. The king is,
669 as it were, considered fair game for anyone who, provided he has the requisite credentials, considers himself strong enough singlehandedly to take the life and the title of his lord.

Uneasy then, indeed, is the head which wears the Shilluk crown, for the owner may wake to feel throttling fingers encircling his throat, or heavy folds of cloth muffling his face, or, should he have any reason to think that a pretender seeks his throne, may spend night after night in unwinking vigil, divested of clothes and ornaments which might betray his presence or movements, carrying a blackened spear, prowling ceaselessly around his own village, pausing where the shadows are darkest, magnifying each noise of the night and interpreting it as the stealthy approach of a marauder intent upon his life. I must confess that I have never heard of an attempt being made upon the life of the king by a would-be usurper in recent years, but it would appear that the possibility is always present, and it seems that an attempt to assassinate King Papiti was made about 1930 by a son of the deposed king, Kur. During the past ten years three Shilluk kings have died, and although there is no certainty that any one of them was violently 'assisted' to die, there is equally no certainty that he was not.

643 Once the king is dead, either from natural causes or
731 otherwise, a great disquietude and uneasiness settles on the
[775] country. Officially 'the land has ceased to be'; the spirit of Nyikang has lost its dwelling place and the country and the people have temporarily lost their protector. All manner of evils may fall on them; famine, pestilence, invasion, and—what comes nearer home and is always a potential danger during the interregnum—civil war may break out should any one of the nyireth who has a sufficiently strong following make a bid to seize the throne for himself. Hence, after the death of a king, the election of his successor is proceeded with as quickly as possible, but it is only with his inauguration, about a year afterwards, that the shadow of disaster is lifted and the land may be said to live again.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, 643
when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that 666
the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A [787]
number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected.

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs 643
goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyireths are required to remain in their own homes and [669]
not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyireth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyireth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyireths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since 643
with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an 669
armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyireth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as [178]
many of the nyireths as he could lay his hands on—a most effective method of reducing the potential danger to himself.

The period between the election and the solemn installa- 643
tion of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land 642
is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its [775]
habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the late [535]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 643 [535] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [326] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species [237] of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced [326] with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 796 778 [614] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Fa Juak*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

Z9:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753] taken ill and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasion as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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631 particular, ceremonial services at the king's investi-
778 ture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and
182 those of past kings. These shrines are widely dis-
778 tributed throughout the country so that every
[794] section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and
182 in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion
643 and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

[775 We can only understand the place of the kingship
[771] in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the
[776] individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

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Nyikang who is the medium between man and God (*Juok*) and is believed in some way to participate in God as he does in the king. 'Nyikang is the *reth* but the *reth* is not Nyikang.'[1] The participation of Nyikang in the king raises the kingship to a plane above all sectional interests, whether local or of descent. All the Shilluk share in the kingship, [185] however their loyalties may pull them apart in other matters, because in Nyikang are centred all those interests which are common to all the people: success in war against foreigners and the fertility and health of men, cattle, crops, and of those wild beasts which are of service to man. Professor Westermann tells us that 'everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him'.[2] Mr Howell and Mr Thomson tell us that when a king dies the Shilluk say '*piny bugon*', 'there is no land'[3]—the centre of the Shilluks' world has fallen out. It is restored by the investiture of a new king, for though kings may perish the kingship, that is Nyikang, endures. Mr Oyler tells us: 'They say that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish.'[4]

[1] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* p. xliii.
[3] Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 18.
[4] Rev. D. S. Oyler, 'Nikawng and the Shilluk Migration', *S.N. and R.* (1918), p. 115.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.); OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz.:—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. *He is far above* Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yimiri*

[1] These points may be summarily illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; to the Dinka *jok* are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *juok ciw* who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 185–208.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, [539]
> and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773]
as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (uokatang), God the Protector [539]
> (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely [775]
associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197-201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached
771 to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—
196

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an
[638] enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five
[173] epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., p. 44.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareek* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareek* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareek* (op. cit., 141). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[774] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*ikom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *rek* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *kafi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
782 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[808] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[843] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *kawak* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *kawak*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, brother's son to Ayuriel, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobego and Pamiri. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that Ayuriel was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayuriel finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayuriel was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwas* (Ar. *gamal en nabi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwas* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] According to an account, perhaps of Arabic origin or at least showing Arabic influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Jook created a great white cow, Dwong Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a male child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two women, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's marine attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1908, 197).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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information from Col and his people. According to Reichelmann (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis.

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2]

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-men (*ginge*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her

[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyakang, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyakang, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyakang, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyakang being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

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776 776 825 776 782 825 [95] [78] 55 776 782 776 784 771 [78] [712] 776

villin into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for no sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Holmayr states that the *kawak* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiya, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *kawak* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *kawak* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ear* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human faculties

[1] Op. cit., 100. [2] Holmayr, op. cit., 101.

2:Seligman & Seligman K-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 100) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
769 called *kwayo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *rwa*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[340] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*kwoth*) of
[743] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kwayo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *kwoth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made to it at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] In kings the word "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

[782 643]

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entrance. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.

This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and swordsmen to battle, acted the part of fire, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old lady with great heavy mouthed cow and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house, and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long wand as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Dinka with spears, rifles, cloth, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and cattle.

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluk three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. *Jwok (Jwok)* or God; 2. *Nyikang (Nyikang)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluk; 3. *ajwogo (ajwogo)*, the which doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"*Jwok (Jwok)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to *Jwok*, though this is done more frequently to *Nyikang*; prayers are also offered to *Jwok*, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to *Jwok* (for which vide page 171), while to *Nyikang* there are many. "Praying" to *Jwok* is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to *Nyikang*; the first is *ding "to pray"*; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to *Nyikang* literally "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to *Nyikang* are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to *Jwok* is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. *Jwok* has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk *Jwok* does not possess a deep-rooted truth. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

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77) WORLDS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE SHOLISH

bates, when a person is ill, they may say: *gy jogh* "Why, *Jwok*?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by *Jwok*. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; *Jwok* has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of *Jwok* is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *gi lal jogh* "you have brought *Jwok*"; to one starting on a journey they say: *gi wiep jogh* "you may hold that *Jwok*". — *Jwok* has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that *Jwok* is the cause of sickness; "he is sick", they suppose by "he has *Jwok*", "*Jwok* is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not concern with the word *Jwok* the same notion as we do with "God", *Jwok* is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a *Jwok*; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[In other literature the name *Kelpe* appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of *Nyikang*. This tradition runs thus: *A white or yellow grayish cow, giant which, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it* (vide page 176). The name of this man was *Kelpe*. *Kelp* begot *Gwang*, who begot *Wut Bil* ("son of Bil"); *Wut Bil* begot *Okwa*. *Okwa* used to go to the riverside; there he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day *Okwa* seized the girls and carried them away. Their women brought out their fishes, who all then had not been seen by *Okwa*. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be *Odiji*, he prevented against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. *Okwa* married the girls. The names of the two maidens were *Nyakoyo* and *Ongwa* (*Nadiya* and *Gwada*). One of *Nyakoyo's* sons was *Nyikang* according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. *Nyakoyo* had more children besides *Nyikang*; of one son the name is known, he was *Gugi*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. G.) *Ad Dol*, *Ad Uaken*, and *Bongwang*. *Okwa's* second wife *Ongwa* gave birth to one son, *Ju ar Bwony*. *Okwa* married

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773 a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was called Dowat (*Dowat*). The name *Dong* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Nyikáŋ*, but the final *g* is often omitted: *Nyikéi*; the form *Nikéi* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakang, Nyakom. *Nyikáŋ* is a compound from *ní*, do "son" and *Kiéŋ*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Nyikáŋ* means: "son of *Kiéŋ*." The name *Kiéŋ* occurs also in *Okiéŋ*, which is composed from *O* and *Kiéŋ* and means "descendant of *Kiéŋ*; *Okiéŋ* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kiéŋ* the traditions, so far as they are known, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *ríŋ* "king".]

776 Nyakayo (*Nakáyo*), the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Nakáyo*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

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695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being devoured by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Dowat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Ongi*, his brother, and his half-brother *Ju* (and his three sisters), left the country,* seeking for a new abode; where he started, *Dowat* threw a digging stick after him, whereewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several fellow whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

* "emptying village and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. H. S.

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713 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

713 715 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dak*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED. 776 Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kpa rij* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurowar, Wau,[2] Fanyikang, Nyikodo (*Nyikak*), *Ogang*, *Nyakwal*, *Gokiro*, *Okpy*, *Dokpy*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of relicpots are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of aubach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

776 776 In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant corn, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] NB. the adoption of the Shilluks by the Dinka all succeeding Shilluk kings have Dinkaised their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonjiha and Kodok.

SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Nikni ahi!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Nikni anen!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Nikni a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Nikni a Nhwal*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ojwiyg* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the forms of certain animals, as ichneumons, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, terror fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 772

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to *Jwok*, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the nearest descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rôr*, which is the plural of *rig* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rôr*". 643 [778]

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than *Jwok*. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the sublime model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, *Jwok* is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his infliction of evil.

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VII. TRADITIONS ON ŃIKĀŃO.

50. Nyikang's Parents.

Ochyółó ye Okwa, ye �u wan lí mayi Ńiłwó, Ńokac, ne Ke. Ke ji ní kgo wan. Owya Ńokac fowa ńwó, lółó lí ółg. Ke ji ní tuyg kwyng, kjac: wółó yan! A kg Dłk, a kwó ne ńwó, a włgí gin, a łółł, a yółł, a łółł Dłk kjac: á łółł gin! Kjac: á łłk yí ołł? Kjac: a chówó! Kjac: Ńokwyg, kwłwó a chów yí łwłwí! Kjac: a chówó ygo? Kjac: yo kgło kgó? Kjac: ń wówó! Kjac: ł! yí łłwí yí ygo lí chówó, ebe ji łwjłó wan. Ke ółg wołłó yí ołó. A łółł ńwó kjac: wan ka łłł gin łłł! Dł fo wołg ń! Kjac: dí dpń! y ywłłó gin, yí łółł wjł yí łłłł łłł. Yí fo ní wówó wjł yí ní ówyło wjł. A łłł łwó, a ní łłn ńwó wgł, ebg dgło łwłłó. Ke yg wołłó ołó. Ke chwł włwó yí ółgó łí ołó.

In ancient times Okwa (the father of Nyikang) married the (woman of the river, the mother of Nyikang, Nyakac, the daughter of Ke. And the people used to go to the river. The brother of Nyakac was the crocodile, it lived with the men; and the people used to play on its back saying, "Our grandmother, ah!" One day Dak went, he took the children of the crocodile, he killed and roasted them. When the children were searched for, Dak said, "I have roasted them." Nyikayo (the brother of Nyakac) said, "How is that?" He replied, "I have eaten them." Then the mother of the crocodile said, "Nyakayo, my grandchildren have been eaten by your grandchildren." He replied, "Have they really been eaten by them?" He asked, "Where will you go now?" The woman replied, "I will remain in the river." Nyakayo said, "No, because you (and your children) will in your turn also be eaten by it (the crocodile), when the people (your children) come to wash." So the men now are caught by the crocodile. The crocodile said, "You (men) can never pass a river again, and you never will drink water from the river." Then Nyakayo (the man) said, "All right, if ever I find you (crocodile) lying outside the river, I shall surely stab you. You shall never sleep outside the river, you (shall only have sufficient time to) lay your eggs on the river bank." And a harpoon was made. During the time when the crocodile comes out of the river, the cows swim across the river; but (when) they are seized by the crocodile. This is the beginning of the enmity between man and the crocodile.

[Another Report on the Descent of Nyikang and on the origin of the Shilluk people, given in A. E. S. page 197:

In the beginning was Jo-ok (*jogó*), the Great Creator, and he created

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Dwong Adok *(dwoi odok)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kola)*; Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro *(Omaro)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maal *(wot mal)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Dijil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Dijil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kiryo *(Nyakoe)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Jo, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kiryo, was called Nyikang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, — *Nyiim*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Dwom.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyikang and Dwom as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyikang, with his sisters Ad Doi, Ari Unkor, and Ibon Tung, his brother Umri and his half-brother Jo, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1000 A. D., or later.

Nyikang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creatures and their offspring form the Shilluk race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyikang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kiya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is so however when Nik-Kiya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lamble, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Dowad, Ju, Odi, Odo, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Dowad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Dowad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dinn, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dinn, and the Dinn said, "Bosh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obugi kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow did not hear." Then Obugi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dinn people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people was dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the house of the Shullas.

[1] i.e. Shillukes.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a cow for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibudho.(1) 643 773

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. 773

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643 775

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and *Juok* - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the spirit forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in *Juok* as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a succession may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) Ibid., p.19.

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary ore relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is ore in the second degree. B, C and D may have an ore relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an ore relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. Deaths sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual: the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Seligman(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, S.A.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) Ibid., pp.32-4.
(3) Seligman, Pagan Tribes, 1932, pp.[illegible] and p.[illegible].

Juok *Fiere*, means a whirlwind;
Juok *Nen*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acwari*, " creator;
Juoc Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tie*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayin*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail.

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become embelished in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every rich at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fanyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as kerath; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The kerath keep the shrine clean, manage the cattle flows and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine.

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new rich should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick or that he may should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

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made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaive, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to pan juak, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Rainmaker (Ajuang)

Ajuang means 'man of luck'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajuang are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Die Shilluk, 1925, p.230.
(2) Ibid.

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partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we have try to understand by analysis and systematisation, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *Juok*. Though *Juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *Juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organisation. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their views are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle populations. The figures given here are quoted from Sheppard by Mr. John Dendel, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. F. G. Thomson, 1946.

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ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1950, p. 30.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxiv-xxv.
[3] Ibid., p. 170.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 130. This is a summarized of Howell and Thomson, 1948, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Shilluk, 1912, p. 19.

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or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'manner of the earth'. Thus, all these regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them.[3] It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all these regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[4] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[5] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end: 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[6] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[7] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 42.
[2] Ibid., p. 42.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., passim.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 119.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 3.

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which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an initial meal, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Mussum, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Mussum, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Beersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 136; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 232.
[4] Oyler, 1928 (ii), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

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663 shrine and the effigy of Nyikang then comes, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness
182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the societies of the
663 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the
631 king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again
616 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the necessary nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come
776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and group that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a preference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang,
[773] who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.
[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 356.

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considered Nyikang in the form of an abstraction somewhat removed from the real person he is for the Shilluk. Even for the Shilluk there is an element of the ideal in Nyikang, who is to that extent an abstraction. Their divine being, *juok*, is a still more abstract notion and ultimately explains a wider range of diverse phenomena. 776

Juok is usually said to be the supreme being of the Shilluk, to be spirit, and to be 'the greatest spirit', and to be in some sense above Nyikang.[1] He is thus not inappropriately spoken of as 'God', provided that the use of this name is not allowed to introduce a more sharply defined concept of his nature than the notion of him formed by the Shilluk themselves. In many cases it would make the Shilluk texts more intelligible, and involve fewer contradictions in translation, if we were to think of *juok* not so much as the supreme being in a quasi-social hierarchy of 'beings', but as that being upon which, for the Shilluk, everything else is contingent. It is clear that if the Shilluk are asked whether God has a body or is spiritual, they answer that he is spiritual or 'like the wind', for he exists for them in no single mode, is omnipresent or multipresent, and is invisible. I do not think, however, that this separation between the material and the spiritual, by which *juok* must be placed in one or the other category, is one which would spontaneously occur to the Shilluk. They have different words for the 'spirits' of the dead. [774] 'Spirit' generally, if it is to be distinguished from matter or body, is *wei*, which comes from the common Nilotic root meaning life or breath, and thus soul or spirit, and distinguishes what is active and alive from what is inert and lifeless. So, in translating the word *juok* as 'God', and saying that he is spirit, it is desirable not to introduce foreign conceptions of the nature of the Shilluk God as he is in himself. There is no Shilluk definition of his nature comparable to that with which those accustomed to revealed religions are familiar.

Juok, the being which created and still maintains all the world and what is in it, is one in essence, though, as it were, with many facets, which seem to refract him into a multiplicity of 'beings'. These resemble what we think of as spirits and manifestations of various sorts, and for us our use of these different words is enough to separate what they denote, conceptually, from God. For the Shilluk, who use the same word *juok* for each item in the multiplicity of forms and manifestations, and also for the principle manifest in them all, the conceptual distinction between the supreme being and other beings associated but not identical with him is not verbally made.

Hofmayr records a complex metaphysical statement made about *juok* by a Shilluk, who explained that *juok*, God, 'is from one side spirit (*wei*), and from the other side spirit, but from front and back he is body (*dei*)'.[2] By this we can only understand that the human experience of *juok* may be an experience of something which takes material forms, but that these have

[1] The fullest account of the meaning of the word *juok* is in Hofmayr, op. cit., and most of what follows comes from that source unless otherwise indicated.
[2] Op. cit., p. 205.

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776 a third, a spiritual or ideal, dimension. To put this in another way, the Shilluk quotation suggests that what is material has another, non-material, dimension, and we are told that *juok* is 'present to a greater or lesser degree in all things'.[1] Although *juok*, as the first principle, is the ultimate explanation for everything, the notion of *juok* seems to be particularly used to account for such phenomena as elude explanation in less abstract terms. It is a necessary logical concept for the Shilluk. Seligman quotes Dr. Hesaty as saying of *juok* that 'he appears to be one, and yet seems to be a plurality as well . . . anything the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*'.[2] That
771 is, what the Shilluk cannot otherwise account for, they account for by this
776 concept. So, for example, the creation of the world and of life is the work of *juok*, and he may also be an explanation for sickness and death. The presence and powers of the foreigners are explained with reference to *juok*, for those who are specially gifted are supposed to be so by virtue of the stronger flow, in them, of the being which created and animates the universe. *Juok*, therefore, is the support of Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.
776 Since they represent, for the Shilluk, the order of the society and the world in which they live, and since *juok* has his place in that order, it is to be expected that for them Nyikang should also be an indication of the nature of God. So, in what Hofmayr says is the oldest Shilluk song, Nyikang is represented as speaking for God 'thus God says'.[3] This association between God and Nyikang is, of course, what has led to the anthropological study of Nyikang and his successors as 'divine kings'. God and Nyikang are two terms of Shilluk thought which cannot be reduced to any third term, but co-exist and participate in each other.

Relation of Nyikang to God

776 Examples of this are numerous. It is said that there are few direct appeals
782 to God, and that Nyikang is usually invoked as an intermediary. Westermann quotes a prayer which 'is said to be the only prayer to *juok*', and says that the Shilluk were taught it by Nyikang. This explanation was, presumably, given him by a Shilluk, and is an example of their interpretation of God by Nyikang already mentioned. Part of the prayer runs:

[539] There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick).[4]

776 The association between Nyikang and God in this prayer is so close that it is sometimes difficult to know which is addressed. Since the Shilluk myth and tradition tell them much more about the nature of Nyikang, who is a man, than about the nature of God, who is not, it is to be expected that they

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.
[2] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 7.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 171.

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should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

'We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the cause, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.'

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juak piey* (*piey* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juak*, or *juak mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[1] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nubs from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[2] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyer, 1918, (II) p. 283.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 431.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

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cosmological system. *Juok* and Nyikang are the most general explanatory concepts the Shilluk have, *juok* or God accounting for the existence and nature of reality, and Nyikang for the way in which the Shilluk order and interpret it. Though Nyikang may be called *juok piny* (God below) he does not represent the totality of what the concept of God means to the Shilluk. God is also apprehended in other ways, and is addressed as God the Preserver, God the Giver, God the Creator, and by other titles which correspond to the various situations in which the Shilluk need to invoke him, or explain effects which they attribute to him. *Juok* is thus a common explanation for illness, for the Shilluk seem to use this word to account for what is unknown in its nature but experienced in its effects.

The Shilluk God is the final explanation both for what is good and what is evil, from a human point of view, but he is not himself good or evil. Howell describes him as 'a remote and amoral deity . . . present to a greater or lesser degree in all things',[1] and there are many indications in the literature that it would be a mistake to understand, by the Shilluk word for God, a being which could be defined in ethical terms. It is well, in discussing Shilluk ideas, to distinguish their ethical from their religious conceptions; for though Nyikang is the foundation of and sanction for Shilluk customary behaviour, and God is the support of Nyikang, in neither case is there any emphasis on intrinsic ethical qualities. Nyikang is not the teacher or founder of an ethical system, and the attributes which he shares with God refer, not to judgements of ethical value, but to the nature of reality and its interpretation. In the biographies of the Shilluk kings their traditional reputations are not mainly founded upon whether they were just or virtuous, but upon whether the Shilluk prospered under them, whether they were effective in war, whether they were brave, and whether they were clever. Their caprices are also remembered.

Nyikang and Duk were the most important Shilluk kings and may be regarded as models of what the ideal Shilluk king should be. Some account of their lives has already been given, but it has perhaps not been made clear that the stories recorded of them emphasize their intrigues, deceptions, and intelligence, and the craftiness which seems for the Shilluk to be a sign of the particular gifts of God. Thus, in the story of the attempt by Dimo to kill Duk, when Nyikang made the effigy which was speared in Duk's stead, it is said that[2] Dimo said 'Nyikang is a fool, but Duk is full of talk', which means, says Oyler, that Duk was a man of ideas. He also says that Nyikang 'was an inventor, and many of the things in everyday use . . . were first made by Nyikang'. In their contests with Dimo, Nyikang and Duk show themselves both more powerful and cleverer, and in this cleverness they are alike. Duk particularly, the son who effectively succeeds his father and is second in importance only to Nyikang himself, is shown to be not only

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.

[2] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 108. In this account, it is said that Duk made the effigy, though in other accounts, e.g. Westermann, 1912, p. 132, Nyikang made the effigy.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Wauvermans[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *jook*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or deposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *jook*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61.

[2] 1956, p. 186.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, through misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

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a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *Juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that cleverness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck separate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juogo tuer*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be identify associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *Juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supernatural than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward signs of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1945, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 376.
[5] 1929, p. 356.
[6] Op. cit., p. 155.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 183.

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judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the disembodied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 232.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[4] Oyler, 1928, (i), p. 198.
[5] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 66.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

theme of these ceremonies was the avoidance of Nyikang and a fear of his power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 150. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

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The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and ancestral deity is called *Juok*. The principal medium through whom *Juok* is approached is Nyikang, but the distinction between them is not well defined. 'Nyikang is *Juok* but *Juok* is not Nyikang'[1] for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place in Shilluk history as the culture-hero of the Shilluk people,[2] the founder of the royal house; as the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk *reth*, he thus exists both in the past and in the present. Nyikang is the *reth*: the *reth* is Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet separation of the three is not easy to define and the Shilluk would find it difficult to explain. *Juok*, Nyikang, and the ruling *reth* represent the line through which divinity runs, a conception which is similar to the ancestor cult, but the cult is associated with the tribe as a whole rather than with the royal clan (*Awareh*) or any other more restricted kinship group. The *reth* is himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, *Juok* are approached and is the human intermediary for mankind with God. Voluntarily by ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the *reth* affects the fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The *reth* is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as well as the symbol of political unity. He is responsible for the welfare and fortunes of the people both spiritually, as the present manifestation of Nyikang, and temporally, but less closely, as the leading tribal authority. 'The Shilluk would not seriously dispute the *reth*'s divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion),[3] though some might resist his more mundane powers.'[4]

The Problem of Authority

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The course of the *reth*'s authority is naturally of considerable importance to an analysis of Shilluk law and legal procedure, especially in the past, and an answer must be attempted even though the evidence is scanty and it is now probably too late to obtain more. The first factor of great importance in this discussion is historical, for the Shilluk have not been entirely free of alien government since 1821 and external influences prior to that date, so that, whatever the political authority of the *reth* may have been previously, since then it has been influenced by external forces. Moreover, not only the present Government, but also the Turco-Egyptian administration, appear to have attempted a rudimentary form of what in Africa has been called 'Indirect Rule', through the agency of the *reth*. However unsuccessful this may have been, it must have increased the powers of the *reth* to some extent and given to him an authority which in the past he may well not have possessed. This argument is not, I think, affected by the fact that so many *reths* suffered sudden death or exile at the hands of their own people or the Turks; but it is significant that during the Turkish régime the position of the *reth* was nearly always insecure. He was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious spirit[5] who hoped to gain the support of the Shilluk people and supplant him as reigning monarch. This potential opposition

[1] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] The meaning of Nyikang in Shilluk society will not be discussed here in detail. There is considerable literature on the subject which is listed in the Bibliography.

[3] The Dinka cult of Deng has sometimes found favour with certain Shilluk individuals and as such is subversive of the status of the *reth*, though it has never provided a serious threat.

[4] Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Son of a *reth* who has reigned and therefore a claimant to the throne. See Howell and Thomson, op. cit., p. 11, and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

I have proposed Jebel Ahmed Agha as a site of the Fung question, because it is well protected by the mountain, and the other area was mentioned by Burton as Sennar in 1858, by Schweinfurth in 1868 as Jebel Dalam, by the Mahdi (Emperor) of the Sudan, as Jebel Shalam, and by Sulivan as Jebels Tulla and Fung. 96) It appeared to me to fit Schweinfurth's description of the Fung. It could imply the homeland of the Fung.

The other choice, the present Sennar area as a site for a Fung question, is supported by the Shilluk tradition. Here, we seem to solid proof that the Fung and the Shilluk did contact each other. At the very beginning of the Shilluk history as told by their tradition, Nyikang, while consolidating his power in the Shilluk land by subduing the various segments of the original inhabitants, met with a force called Gul or Jo gung 97), which are both identical with the people of Sennar, or the Fung. The Shilluk tradition tells of a battle at Wau -a locality a little south of Sennar- between the Fung and the Shilluk under Nyikang's leadership. Though the Shilluk were not victorious in this battle, the Fung seem to have retreated to the south, perhaps to Jebel Ahmed Agha.

This was the first Shilluk-Fung encounter; a hostile relationship!! Afterwards, we hear of more relations, of wars and alien herding, and even of a kind of alliance to restore. The end result of such changing relationships was the existence of many Shilluk clans and warriors among the inhabitants of the Sennar area, in addition to other clans from the Bahr Ghazalies, and other parts of the Bagirmi and Bagra Sudan.

Thus, we may see that the Fung were expanding to the south always, and if they expanded in the Bar Fung area -which is a mountainous area- it would be easier for them to extend their rule up the White Nile basin, which offerred no such geographical hindrances, and simultaneously afforded a bigger and other indies of resources such as slaves, ivory, and other articles of trade, which were not only consumed in Sennar, but found other markets in Western Asia and Europe through Cairo. But as the upper White Nile basin is more or less an area infested with swamps and other ecological conditions alien to the Arabs and to the Fung settlers, there were no well defined borders. It was merely a highway, and in a political sense a no-man's land.

B) The Cultural Aspects of Kingship

a) The meaning of kingship:

Among the Shilluk, all writers agree that the notion of kingship is an undivided part of the Shilluk religion. Nyikang, though a national hero and possibly a real historical personality, is considered by the Shilluk to be still living to protect the land

96) Ashall, (A), p. 218.

97) Lienhardt, p. 146, see footnote No 1.

of his followers. The Shilluk do not say that Nyikang died or passed away, but say rather Jakwemeka told them to be angry with his people, and, in a strange sight, was gone. This assumption is necessary for the assumption of Shilluk kingship. The idea may be summarized thus:

1. Every king who rules the Shilluk is an incarnation of Nyikang.
2. as the soul of Nyikang is thus incarnated in the body of the king, it would suffer every kind of weakness the body suffers;
3. as this would mean the loss of the protective and guiding spirit of the whole nation, it was necessary that the kings should not be left to die of old age;
4. and thus came about as we have the ritual killing of the king.

171 Among the Dang, we have no such idea about kings, and the part of kingship itself. This is due to the fact that the Dang were Muslims, and as it is implied in Islam, there is only the God, and there is no possibility of incarnation, as such would be a return to pagan/idolatrous practices. So one who wrote about the Dang kings also listed all the attributes of such an idea. Thus, one of the conditions of divine kingship, indeed the core of this kind of kingship, is lacking among the Dang.

b) The Rite of Accession to the Throne

It is easy to understand the Shilluk notion of incarnation from the way they apply it. The important feature which dominates the installation ceremonies of Shilluk kings is the seating of the king-elect on a special stool brought for the occasion from the Shrine of Nyikang at Akurwa. At first, the wooden effigy of Nyikang is placed on the stool by a priest, symbolizing that Nyikang himself is sitting on the stool; then the effigy is removed and the king is seated. In this way, the soul of Nyikang takes possession of the body of the new king, and after this ceremony, the king is considered a king.

Another important rite in a king's installation is that a king must pass a month in complete seclusion before going to Fashoda for the seating ceremony, and another ten days in a special place called Akurwa in Fashoda after the seating ceremony. In this time, the king is considered to be in a solemn mood of contemplation, and in communication with his great grandfather, Nyikang, and other ancestors. During this time of seclusion, the king is provided with a girl, who is given to him by a special clan. It was the custom that the king would marry this girl afterwards, but now it is according to his wish. Human sacrifices at the installation ceremony are said to be given up now, but they were practised in the past. 88)

88) In former times, it was usual that the king would pass over a hundred old men as he marches towards Fashoda, and the multitude of the Shilluk followers of the king would also trend on this man, and naturally he dies. Now a sheep and bull are used instead of the man. See Seligmann, p. 84, and Howell, p. 198.

13: Oyler K-S (ca. 1918) 1920 F323 Shilluk F323

THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to apply the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine men.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or youngest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony consists of a dedication prayer something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

[p. 110]

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would 628
do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man 639
seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had [643]
arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respected distance. Akol called the Haimam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Fallo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbors. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the chief of the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it entangle you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremony. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified [785]
that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made 537
talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the importance of a 628
conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk 643
in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had 776
bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the [648]
evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 that its ancestors had also been owned by Duk, son of Nyikang.
628 (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour
613 to Duk.) The king added most seriously. "The flesh of this animal
776 is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cowed by the blood."

537 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or
628 not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and
613 both sides declared they were.

628 Then the king called Abol saying "take the spear". The king
613 then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had
782 been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Abol
782 pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Fallo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked
[781] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Abol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Every then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward
[782] Fallo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Fallo was responsible for its death, that is Fallo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Fallo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Fallo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1946) 1946
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105 similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka. They have, however, an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy, of which there is no counterpart among their more democratic Nilotic neighbours, and which shows more definite and developed principles than those found in the institution of kings among the Anuak and chiefs among the Acholi. Whether this established and institutionalized monarchy is the result of diffusion from elsewhere or a natural and spontaneous development from the politico-religious functionaries who exist in embryo form among other Shilluk-speaking peoples is a controversial subject, which we do not propose to discuss here.[4]

SHILLUK RELIGION AND THE TRADITION OF NYIKANG.

776 The all-powerful being who exists in the minds of the Shilluk as a remote and unpaid deity is called *Juok*. *Juok* is the Shilluk conception of God and is present to a greater or lesser degree in all things. *Juok* is the explanation of the unknown, the remaining justification of all the supernatural phenomena, good or bad, of which life is made up. The principal medium through whom *Juok* is approached is Nyikang. The distinction between them is not clear. Nyikang is *Juok*, but *Juok* is not Nyikang, for Nyikang is also a mythological figure who takes his place as the hero-leader of Shilluk tradition. He is also the first *reth* of the Shilluk and the founder of the royal 693 house. Further the soul of Nyikang is reincarnate in every Shilluk 776 *reth*, and thus exists both in the past and the present. Nyikang is 776 the *reth*, but the *reth* is not Nyikang. This paradox of the unity yet 778 separation of the three is not easy to define. The Shilluk themselves would find it difficult to explain. *Juok*, Nyikang, and the *reth* represent the line through whom divinity runs, a conception which may be expressed as an analogy to the ancestor cult, only the cult is symbolic of the tribe as a whole rather than of the Kwareth alone or other individual kinship groups. The *reth* is clearly himself the medium through whom both Nyikang and, more vaguely, *Juok* are approached, and is the human intercessor of mankind with God. Voluntarily by

4. See C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. (1934), p. 60.

19: Howell & Thomson E, C-5 (1943-1944)1946
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ritual acts, involuntarily by reason of his very existence, the reth affects the fortunes and fertility of the tribe and controls the natural phenomena which react upon crops and cattle. The reth is therefore the central figure of tribal religion as much as he is the actual symbol of political unity. He is responsible for their welfare and fortunes both spiritually as the present manifestation of Nyikang and temporally as the leading tribal authority. No Shilluk would seriously dispute the reth's divine attributes (unless a follower of some alien religion) though some might resist his more mundane powers.

The genealogy of the royal house of the Shilluk goes back for fourteen generations, but Fofiti Yor, who ruled the Shilluk since 1917, was the 29th reth because in many cases the succession has passed to brothers of the same generation or even back a generation to an uncle. This is clear from the genealogy recorded by Hofmayer and adopted by Seligman and Pumphrey (*Vide* Appendix IV).

The main factors governing the succession of Shilluk reths are these:

1. That only the son of a reth who has ruled the Shilluk is eligible. More distant relatives have no claim. The son of a reth is entitled *ayiotch* in Shilluk.

2. That it is recognised that a *ayiotch* may at any time attempt to usurp the throne after killing the reth.

3. For this reason the reth's sons or sons of previous reths are always potentially in opposition to the ruling reth, and they are not allowed within the confines of Fashoda at night. Theoretically at any rate, the reth must take every precaution to avoid this danger. For example it is never known in which of the many huts he sleeps at night; he is said to move from one to another, and prowls round Fashoda at night if he suspects a marauder. The new reth Anei showed us some spears with a special black finish, which he had imported from Dinka country, and

19: Howell & Thomson E. G.-I (1943-1944)-1946
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dance at Pawith Fafiti lasted three days only, and no dance was held at Fashoda at all.

The duties of organising the dance and of beating the drums fall on a class called Kwanyikir, the majority of whom live in the vicinity of Kodok. They are responsible for discipline among the dancers, and in particular for keeping unauthorised persons out of the sacred spots. About two hundred and fifty bulls were slaughtered for the occasion, fifty of which were provided by the family of Fafiti and the rest by well-wishers, who included a number of Arab merchants. The distribution of meat was arranged by Kwanyiroth Kir, chief of Fadiang, who is chief of all the *kwanyik*. As he is senile, blind and deaf, he was assisted by Kwanyiroth Bol, chief of Lol and government court chief of the Fashoda division for the portion of Gol Nyikang.

The new rith has no special functions to perform, and it was noticeable how careful he was to keep himself in the background. He never appeared in public while the dances were in progress, and though he attended on all three days he always went straight to his hut on arrival, and remained there during the day, and until he was ready to return to Fashoda. It was obvious that the proceedings concerned the late rith alone, and it was his son Byawo Fafiti who acted as host.

We had hoped that the form in which the contingents of dancers came in would throw some light on the traditional grouping of Shilluk sections and former political organisation. We had been told by the rith that all sections in the three divisions of Fashoda, Golbainy, and Detwok would be represented, and no one else. In fact a contingent also came from the Athodwoi division from north of Detwok. As far as could be seen the size of the contingents corresponded with the poll tax lists, and from those contingents who did come, very few warriors could have been missing. In the confusion of the dance it was not easy to see how the sections grouped themselves, but we got the impression that the Golbainy division split up into what, in government terminology are called "sections," but which tribally are more like the other divisions which participated. For example the sections

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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by a number of his wives carrying his personal luggage and his food, and with him also were some of his personal bodyguard. During his three days seclusion at Debalo, the *reik* is said to be in especial danger of attack by his rivals, and extra precautions are taken for his safety.

We were told—but did not see at close quarters—that fires are ceremonially lit and that fire-sticks were used for this purpose. There are three possible explanations of this; that the fire is lit as a ritual act and as part of the initiation of the *reik*; the Shilluk expression *pic mac* suggests some form of symbolic purification or initiation, for it is an expression used in that context by other Nilotics; that fires were lit round the confines of the village as an added precaution against marauders; or merely numerous fires lit to cook the meat of sacrifice. Both the latter explanations are suggested by Munzo in his account of the installation of *reik* Fafiti in 1917.

Whether the lighting of fires was a precautionary measure of security, a ritual act, or merely for purposes of feasting, the measures taken to safeguard the *reik* were manifest in other ways. A special homestead had been built for his reception in fine style with the eight cross-ties which are a symbol of royalty. It was situated in a particularly ostentatious position in the village of Debalo. But the *reik* did not occupy it. Instead, in order to deceive his enemies, he took up residence in a very ramshackle hut, which had no embellishments whatever.

The *reik*'s stay at Debalo is not truly a period of seclusion. He has removed himself from all possible contact with Nyikang or his followers from the northern division of Gol Dhiang, but holds court among his own supporters, who flock in to pay homage from the division of Gol Nyikang. As yet we have formed no definite conclusions as to why the *reik* moves so hurriedly to Debalo as soon as Nyikang reaches Nyigir. Shilluk say that the *reik* has "fled" from Nyikang, and that he sends messengers to Nyikang beseeching him to stay away. It may be that this is considered a suitable sign of humility in accepting the office of *reik* of the Shilluk. Nyikang's attitude of arrogant

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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resentment at the new *reth*'s presumption in occupying Fashoda at all becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies. 643 776

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were being made. The small grass huts called *adol*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands. 643

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived from Lul and passed through Debale. This was the party responsible for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocwo in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not allowed to see them. According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Aturwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle. If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy. 643 778 [644] [787]

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643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [177] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though [169] he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113] [1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyaweilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

123 country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here,
643 with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rôle of Nyikang

643 We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person
776 of the late *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak, son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and ambatch surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers*, sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are
778 dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable.
[781] Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by
[64] men of the *kwa* Nyikwom and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth *to Debalo*

643 As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and retreats to the village of Debalo a few miles south of Arepejur, the watercourse which
[63] is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang; *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Luak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context**. At Debalo, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

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* See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 159.

** Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

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643 seen that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Dak, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[a] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*gwel*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bung* Nyikango (slaves of Nyikang) and orders them to take this silver to the shrine of Akurwa where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of the raiding party.

[778] "Then the effigy of Dak (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[b] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Dak watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jum* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang) and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany
776 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is
778 wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Dak and the *kwa* Nyikwom. At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Dak, represented in the effigies, came

[a] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[b] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

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forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this purpose

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 and also the official residence of the Ret [1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or [535] three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

202 The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post bet-
643 ween the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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[1] His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is [644] known as Du-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Du-Kot' afterwards.

[2] Dak is the son of Nyakang: his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but [776 778] smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ader son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

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NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief. 173 [212] [887]

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence. 776

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given. 776 782 539

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok; you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. »

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship, 776 769 782

[p. 283]

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769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently
addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and
sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
776 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the
782 ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in
a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the
water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the
sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
[425] go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased.
The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is
made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as
the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach
and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is
cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the
deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with
a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in
the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
[262] to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the
sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man
of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are
carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the
bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined
by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given
as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we
thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

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God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep [787]
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true [781]
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death [761]
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, [821] [782]

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776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769 made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
787
776
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devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king
claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off deep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king [431] and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

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756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462 The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787 They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the 756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* 576
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a 753
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the 731
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. 782

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782]
to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753]
taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755]
to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [787]
upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty calabash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825]
of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782]
washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362]
meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417]
spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358]
repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

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bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadōke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

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Riṭ Ḍọ́kḍṭ ká è mụ́ńọ̀, mụ́ń2 fōṭe Ḍọń, ka ḍ̄ál yi Ḍọ̀ń, Ḍọń ńi rọ́ńá mál wiy kit. Ka e ko: bụ́h, dẹ Ḍọń a ḍ̄áĺ yán, ɥ ṭìch èdì? ḕ rei (ɾei) wá ṭàch! Ka ṭày rêi, ka e ko: yey kit! Ka kit e yèch, ka ḍọgọ́ kọ́ńé feń. A māgi Ḍọń, a kụ́ĺ gọ̀n, a gḕri gọ pàrḗ, gọ lọgọ̀ bánḗ; a chágḗ ńíńe fān gni gọ Aḍọkọń.

A kụ́ĺẹ́ mạ̄r, a ńwań gọ bwońọ́, ka bwońọ mágḗ, kụ́ĺ gọ̀n, a lọgọ bánḗ, a gḕrí pach, gọn Awarejwọk. Ka Chọ́lọ̀ kōbọ kíne: a rāṇe ńọ, a rich mụ́ń? A ko kíne: bụ́h! Kíne: Chọ́l, bẹ́ńḗ kwọ́ḕpí ànàn? A kwań mạ̄r, a lẹ́ń gọ̀ nàm, ka Chọlọ e wań kí yù màr ki bḕle pàrḗ.

Pay mẹ́kọ chwọlá Ońḕgọ̀, ka Chọl ńi kẹ́tọ̀ ki jụr, ka Chọle ńi chyẹ́tḗ. Ka rāṇ ḕ rọ́ń, Chọ́l dẹ chyẹ́tọ; a rọń Akwọt. Ka Akwọt e mụ́ńọ; ka lén chyẹ́tḗ, ka e bẹ́ńọ̀, ka e ko: bụ́h, wá gḕgọ̀ dí? A bẹ́ńḗ bọl Ońḕgọ́, a chọ́ńḗ bāńe Ḍọ́kḍṭ, a pyeje gin kíne: mạ̄r e lẹ́ńè kẹ́ń? A kōbi jal mẹ́kọ kíne: ɥ ṭìch edi? Kíne: ɥ dwáí nám! Kíne: bụ́h, Akwọ́t, dḕ bá gḕn? yi ky wańe kẹje? A kōbi kíne: yá bà wań! Kíne: ńḕ! A keau yụ́t, a keau gẹn. A kụ́l ḍọ̀k, a mak ḍeań Ońḕgọ, a kụ́l ḍeań mẹ́kọ, a mágḗ Wajwọk, a kụ́l ḍeań mẹ́ko, a māge yi Aḍọkọń, a kụ́l ḍeań mẹ́kọ, a kẹ́ṭi ṭ̄rọ gọt, a lḕmḗ, a chwọ́p ḍèań. A kẹ́ṭi Akwọt fén, a rọń ṭa pī, ká é chwọ́nọ̀. Ka Chọlọ kōbọ kíne: rḕṭ ṭḕk, ba bi kẹ́ṭẹ! Ka chań wapọ mal, chań e kḕchọ̀, ka rḕṭ bẹ́nọ, ka mạr kụ́ĺẹ́ ki ṭa pi. A kōbi kíne: tìń lén! A kẹ́ṭ lén, a mạń Dińjọl, a nágḗ, a mań ńwọle, ka ḍọk e kōl ki mụ́ńd. A mạńa Agẹ́r, a mạńi Chai, a māk peń bẹ́nè, a kōbi Chọ́lọ̀ kíne: a rāṇe ńọ, a chḕgọ̀ kípà lén? A ko: bụ́h, kwọ́pí, yina Chọ́lọ̀! A kwań mạ̄r, a lẹ́ń gọ̀ nàm.

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King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adọkọng.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwọk.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.
[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.
[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom, it was to be filled with "holy water" *(pi jwọk)*, which was used for different religions rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.
[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

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[777]

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [482]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

778 643 535 Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

It is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*. 173 778

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since. [777]

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice. 174

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Erbai.*

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [431]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] [574] [854]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

He[1] makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

[1] [i.e., the King. - Analyst]

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631 particular, ceremonial services at the king's investi-
778 ture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is
both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang,
and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and
182 those of past kings. These shrines are widely dis-
778 tributed throughout the country so that every
[794] section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang,
who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-
divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king
at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines
of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his
cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-
shrines of dead kings and they have the same
ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in
the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and
182 in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion
643 and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with
the political system through the identification of
Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the
centre of Shilluk moral values.

[775 We can only understand the place of the kingship
771] in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the
776] individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

chiefs of branches of the royal clan which have 631
become dominant in powerful settlements in the 649
country. Thus the backing, if only passive, of all 666
parts of the kingdom is necessary before a prince can be invested with the kingship. The participation of the halves of Shillukland in the making of a king is further emphasized in the intense opposition between them expressed in the drama of the investiture, which at the same time enacts the conquest and settlement of the country by Nyikang and his followers.

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Without the collective participation of the halves 643
of the country the investiture of a king, which takes 631
place about a year after his election, cannot be held. The ceremonies would seem to have precisely this function, for the kingship represents the whole country and a king can only be made by rites in which the whole country takes part. Hence also in the investiture all sections of the population are represented. The royal clan, its dispossessed branch, [614]
the commoner clans, especially those whose ancestors were among the original followers of Nyikang, and the client clans, all have essential roles in the drama. Different settlements in different districts of Shillukland and different clans [293] [778]
are responsible for performing various parts of the

182 ceremonial and for providing the various objects
631 required in its enactment: silver and cloth from the
643 Arabs of the north (presumably obtained by raiding
293 in the old days), ostrich feathers for the effigies of
778 Nyikang and his son, skins of the rare Mrs Gray antelope from Fanyikang island for the ceremonial robes of the king and the other more important participants in the ceremony, sacred spears, royal drums, fibre of the dom palm for ceremonial robes, cowrie shells, new huts, beasts for sacrifice, and so forth.

643 I will recount briefly the chief phases by which
778 the kingship envelops the king-elect. The effigy of Nyikang, which is kept in the principal of his provincial shrines, at Akurwa in the most northerly district of Shillukland, is brought out by his priests, to whom the king-elect has to make considerable gifts for their service in this matter, and together with the effigy of his son Dak is taken to beat the northern bounds of the kingdom and then southwards, supported by an army of the north, to fight the king-elect for possession of the capital. As the effigies pass through each district the people gather to pay their respects to Nyikang and to escort him to the next district, for it appears that during the interregnum the effigy is believed to contain the

spirit of Nyikang, to be Nyikang in fact. Nyikang's 643
army of the north meets in mock combat an army 778
of the south, supporting the king-elect, at the Arepejur watercourse just outside the royal capital. In the words of Mr Howell and Mr Thomson, this meeting in battle of the two armies on the Arepejur, the boundary between north and south, 'symbolizes the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points.'[1] The army of the king-elect is defeated and he is captured by Nyikang and taken by him to the capital. The kingship captures the king. There Nyikang is placed on the royal stool. After a while he is taken off it and the king-[775]
elect sits on it in his stead and the spirit of Nyikang enters into him, causing him to tremble, and he becomes king, that is he becomes possessed by Nyikang. The concluding ritual acts follow. The new king has married a girl, traditionally provided by a certain clan, and this girl has an important role in the ceremonies of investiture. After the king's enthronement Nyikang seizes the girl and refuses to surrender her to the king on the ground that she was married with cattle from the royal herd, which is Nyikang's herd, and is therefore Nyikang's wife.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 48.

643 On this issue Nyikang and the king summon their
•778 supporters to a second mock battle, in which the king captures the girl. Nyikang thereupon pays the king a visit to make his peace with him. On the following morning the king receives the homage and exhortations of the chiefs and undertakes to be a good king. Nyikang does not again contest the king's authority and some weeks later the effigies are sent back to the shrine at Akurwa.

643 Even so brief a sketch as I have given enables us
775 to perceive the basic symbolism of the events of investiture. Nyikang is always king of the Shilluk and when a king dies his spirit is conceived of as departing in some manner from the king's body to take up its abode in the new effigy specially made for its accommodation at the shrine of Akurwa. By entering anew into the body of a prince Nyikang once again rules in his capital. The most adequate interpretation of the succession of rites of investiture would therefore seem to be that when the effigy and the king fight for possession of the capital the army of the effigy is victorious because Nyikang is in the effigy, but when they fight again over the king's bride the army of the king is victorious because Nyikang is now in the king. Power has passed from the Nyikang of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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631 on page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbañ as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with ●[778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while Gar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and Jangoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VI

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Fashoda, Aturwic

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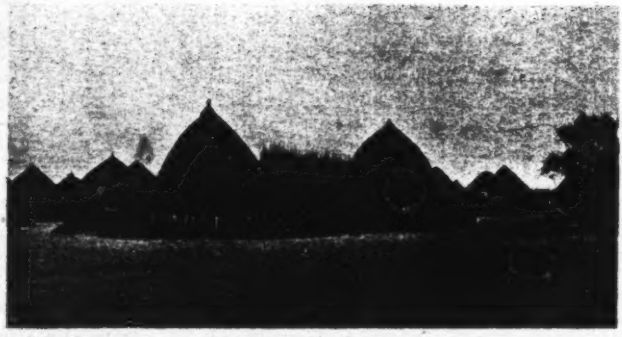

Akurwa, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

[See p. 48]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated. 776

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows :—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang. 776 778 346

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children [1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, 793 767 [158]

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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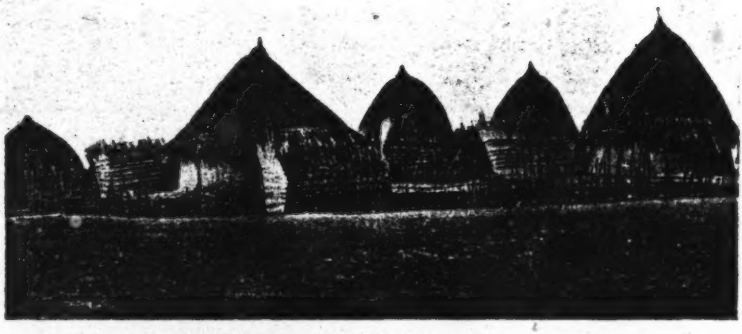
PLATE VII



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1922

[face p. 78

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

● 778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114 of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kejo respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE VIII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910, Kwayo (Dewad)

[532]

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang, wall-paintings

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[776] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

782 The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
796 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis. 776 775 825

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2] 776 778 824

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (*ajuago*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her 776 775 825

[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwai, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwai, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with suspect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwai, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyadwai being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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PLATE IX

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Dum-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fenikang, shrine to Dang

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 778 764 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 643 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his [644] friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
643 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[781] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 284-5.)

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. Village scene 2. "House of Nyikang" 3. A Shilluk giant
4. Typical group of Shilluks; bodies covered with ashes; at the left a Shilluk dog

[FACING P. XL]

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3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

773 775 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

776 HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED. Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kgá rif* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo (*Ñibōdo*), *Otgno*, Nyelwal, *Oshāro*, *Otīgo*, *Dīdīgo*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

[532] [782]

776 776 In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

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[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonkiña and Kodok.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Ñikań ahgl!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Ñikań anan!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Ñikań a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Ñikań a Ñelual*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ajwōgo* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the forms of certain animals, as ichneumons, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, terror fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 782 643

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the nearest descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rōr*, which is the plural of *rīǵ* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rōr*". [778]

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the sublime model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obōgo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 791 793 SORCERY

The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ȧjwȱgó*, and what is connected with him; *ȧjwȱgó* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

*539 *būtę. Ka e kōbǫ kịne: Shǫ́lǫ́, nẹ̄nì yán bẹ̄ne! fā fà wà kịfà kwá! yú nẹni kị ria kị dẹ̄ch. Ka ḍāṇ ye: wuò wuò wuò bẹ̄ne. Ka ḍeaṅ kạ̄l, ka shwǫp kịfa kōbe rịṭ. Ka ḍọk kạ̄l, wèkè tyẹṅ Ńikaṅ. Ka jal ẹni gǫ́ṅ, ka ɔ kẹḍǫ. Ka ḍeaṅ shwǫp, mẹ́n ṭùmà kwǫ́p. Ka rịṭ e kịṭị kị lān mẹ̄kǫ, lān duǫṅ, lāne jāgǫ. Ka tẹ̄rǫ e kẹ̄tù, mẹn kẹḍǫ fōṭe gẹn, mẹn kẹḍǫ fōṭe gẹ́n*

*539 643 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. [778] They are brought from Akuruwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dāk, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is sought, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

173 614 643 [According to Hofmeyer (Anthropos V, page 333) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okāl: "The Kwa-okāl come from the Bahr el Ghasal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, lances, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called nya kwer (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

[1] or: "one day"?
[2] or: "is held fast by"?
[3] vide page 128, 2 a.

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without much interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated. 631 643

THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho.(1) 643 [782]

It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult. 182

(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans. [173]

(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth*'s investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth. 182 622 643 778

(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organisation of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*. 182 776 643

(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2) 775

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime. 643

Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may 643 644 669

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

symbol of unity and cohesion. The main events are as follows:- 643

The funeral of the dead *reth* is carried out and is followed, a year later, by mortuary ceremonies and funeral dances. These events are chiefly a family affair and are organised by the *ororo* and the *kwareth*.

The election of the *reth* concerns the whole of the Shilluk people who are represented by the chiefs of the North and South Provinces. The *reth* is chosen from among the *nyireth* by an electoral college, composed of the descendants of the men who were, traditionally, made chiefs of the first degree by Nyikang when he parcelled out the country between eleven of his followers.(1) Three representatives from the *kwareth* are also included, but the *ororo* and *bang reth* have no representatives and take no part in the election although they are important in the ceremonies of installation. 643 666

Just as Shillukland is divided into two territorial divisions, Gerr and Lusk, so for ritual purposes this structure is represented in special ritual terms. The Northern province becomes *Gol Dhiang*, the Southern province becomes *Gol Nyikang*. There is a rough correspondence between the two political and the two ritual divisions. The chiefs of the ritual divisions are the political chiefs of Golbany and Kwom, the two settlements just north and south of Fashoda. 182 631

The election of a particular *reth* must have the backing of the whole country, although at first sight it may appear that the choice lies with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. The election cannot take place unless they agree and this does not involve their own personal opinions solely. The other chiefs all take part and represent the views of each section of the country and if there is disagreement between the two provinces civil war may follow. Agreement is usually reached before the electoral college sits and formally proposes and elects the new *reth*. During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the election of his successor custom requires that all potential claimants should stay in their villages. This is the chance to seize the *reth*ship by force, if a candidate wishes to do so and has the necessary backing. Co-operation between the candidate and his settlement chief is essential for only the latter has the necessary force and only a *reth*'s son is eligible for the *reth*ship. Other chiefs join the rebels and fighting will begin. Until one side is defeated, or the *nyireth* is killed there will be civil war. 631 643 666 643 669

The Installation Ceremonies

Skins, ostrich feathers and the various trappings for the pageantry of the ceremonies are provided traditionally by certain clans and settlements. The principal shrine of Nyikang is at Akurwa, where he is believed to have disappeared in a storm. At his shrine are kept effigies of Nyikang and his son Duk. Into these effigies the spirits of Nyikang and Duk may enter at any time. On the death of a *reth* new images are made, for it is believed that Nyikang's spirit, formerly in the *reth*, transfers itself to the new effigy and remains there during the inter-regnum. At the installation 643 778

(1) Howell and Thomson, *S.N.R.*, 1946, Vol.XXVII, p.29.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Dak are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabele settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable inform-
171 ation, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set
561 organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three
[881] or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind; 776
Juok *Nan*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acwaci*, " creator;
Jane Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tin*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayin*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail. [753]

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bareth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine. 346 778 778 793

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are 778 782

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengait, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

emblems.[1] The story shows that, from the earliest times, the Shilluk suppose the kingship to have been a source of rivalry between the sons of the previous king. Nyikang is not thought to have been the elder of the brothers, and there is no account of any superior claim on his part, except that he also had a following. There is no emphasis in the myth on any customary order of succession, and so today any son of a king who has once been installed is theoretically eligible to become king if he can press his claim. In the past, at least, a man could retain the kingship only if he was able to defend himself against rival claimants. Rivalry over who shall be king is intrinsic to the Shilluk type of kingship, and may perhaps be seen as the most extreme form of the separation of the person from the office consistent with hereditary right to succession. 173 173 182 643

In the course of their wanderings, Nyikang and his followers came to a country occupied by Dimo,[2] where they lived for a while, and Nyikang married Dimo's daughter. She bore children, of whom the most important was his son Dak. Dak then quarrelled with Dimo, whose people wanted to kill him. Nyikang made an effigy of Dak, which was speared in Dak's place by the followers of Dimo. Effigies of Nyikang, Dak, and another son of Nyikang called Cal, are now used, as will be described, in the ceremonies for the installation of the Shilluk king. This is the first mention of an effigy, which was thus an idea of Nyikang. In one story Dak is a mischievous and quarrelsome figure, who grew to a tremendous size. He is also very intelligent, and there are accounts of how he and Nyikang, in contest with Dimo, were able to blind Dimo's people and his cattle, thus forcing Dimo to give up the fire, which he had hidden, and to release the rain, which he had stopped. The significance of this power of Nyikang and Dak to cause blindness will later be suggested. Here we remark that the effigy of Dak, used in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is now a long figure made from bamboos and surmounted with black ostrich feathers, and that Dak is still a symbol of the warlike qualities of the Shilluk king. He is the fighter while Nyikang is the leader. The third son, Cal, who is also represented in effigy in the ceremonies for the installation of the king, is made not of ambatch, like Nyikang, nor of bamboo, like Dak, but of rope, and the feathers which form his head are the grey feathers of the female ostrich.[3] He plays a less important part than Dak or Nyikang in the ceremonies. We are told that Cal was a coward, and therefore Nyikang thought it safe for him to remain with him and Dak, while he sent away another of his sons, Buro, because he was as headstrong as Dak.[4] It is said that Cal succeeded his father as king, but did not reign for long and disappeared, to be succeeded by his brother 173 [778] [778]

[1] Hofmayr, p. 14. The emblems then were a skin for slinging across the shoulder of the king, and a hoe of some kind. Other emblems were later acquired. The story shows how Shilluk ideas of kingship are bound up with the possession of distinguishing emblems by the king. [643]

[2] Who is sometimes said to be a brother of Nyikang. The relationship varies with the context of the telling of the story.

[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 68.

[4] Oyler, 1918 (i).

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The
782 walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the
821 mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deṅ. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deṅ present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deṅ. While the servants of Deṅ put the higlig branch (ȳk Deṅ) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer.
821 One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deṅ. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An
778 object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deṅ is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deṅ's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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of the Detwok division came together, and so did all sections of Fashoda division, but the component sections of the Golbainy division split and formed separate contingents. It is probable that there is no deep tradition behind this, but that grouping is largely governed by what is considered a suitable size for a contingent. Lemmo is a small section and could not produce a contingent of its own, so it joined up with Kodok its larger neighbour. It is not clear whether the sections of Shilluk society have any definite traditional function to perform at the funeral wake of a *reth*. The *reth* had orginally planned that the four days of dancing should be apportioned as follows :— 631 766

1. Fashoda 2. Golbainy 3. Detwok 4. Fashoda (again).

This arrangement was carried out on the first day, and the dancing confined to Fashoda division, but Nyigir turned up and were regarded as intruders. Next morning, however, everyone else appeared, and the decision was taken to cut the dance to two days only. 766

The late *reth's* mother (Note 3) was a Nuba woman from near Fungor, which is on the western boundaries of Shilluk country. Some of her relatives arrived on the second day of the ceremony. Naturally they played no significant part, but it is interesting that they should have come at all. 644 648 602

Layout of the village Pareth Fafiti.

Pareth Fafiti, also called Abwogatho, "fear of death", the village which the late *reth* built for himself, (Note 4) is of medium size and of the usual Shilluk type. There are three cattle byres built round an open space, which is about 70 yards in diameter. The houses are built round the outside of this open space and five of these, in which the wives of the late *reth* reside, had been repaired and the fences round them renewed. The tomb of the late *reth* is the house where his senior wife lived, and in form is no different from any Shilluk homestead except for the eight cross bands on the fence and a stockade of withies outside, which was built after the late *reth's* burial. This 361 766 778

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766 homestead, including the stockade, is the form of all tombs of Shilluk
[778] *reths*, and also of the numerous shrines of Nyikang which are scattered throughout the country. Outside the tomb a temporary semi-circular screen had been erected, and against this the banners of the divisions were leant and also the spears of the deceased. At the end of the ceremonies the horns of the bulls which were sacrificed were hung upon this screen.

The preliminary day of the funeral dance was confined to Shilluk chiefs. It was said to be a "dance of swords", and only the spears of the late *reth*, about thirty in number and carried by his widows, were brought at all. Those who possessed them carried swords, most
[411 727 439] of which had been captured from the Dervishes or the Turks, or bought from Arab merchants. The sword is not a Shilluk weapon, and it is probable that they were produced on this occasion to express the
[177 648] anti-Dervish nature of the ceremonies, an attitude of mind which was emphasized by the Shilluk songs of hate against the Dervishes, which on this day and later were sung at frequent intervals. It is difficult to say why the funeral dance of the *reth* has associations with their struggles with the Dervishes, but it may be connected with those Shilluk *reths* who were killed in battle, hanged or died in captivity. The dances are public, and, apart from the funereal aspect of the ceremonies, the defensive unity of the tribe against outside aggression must be made apparent. The tribe is without a *reth*, who is the symbol of their unity, and such occasions call for a dramatization of their co-operation against external enemies. Those who had no swords carried millet stalks, which they plucked from the fences in the village.

At four in the afternoon, the Kwanyikir, after they had set up the drums, (Note 5), walked in procession round them in an anti-clockwise direction, while the dancers began to collect in the centre of the village. After a short interval, a white bull was speared, and the carcase was handed over to the Kwanyikir as a reward for their service. The

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175 643 648 had nothing to do except to warn the Shilluk that a *reth* chosen by violence would not be accepted by government.

643 During the interval between the death of a *reth* and the final installation of a successor the Shilluk lack, in a certain degree, their chief mediator with Nyikang and God, and the *reth*-elect lacks certain attributes of divinity, which are bestowed upon him later by Nyikang. Both parties express this inadequacy by certain prohibitions on their behaviour, many of which, in the case of the *reth* at any rate, are not signs of mourning but signs of respect to Nyikang, as they endure till his installation, and do not in all cases cease with the wake of the deceased. It is forbidden for Shilluk to light grass fires (except perhaps [688] along the drying marshes, by the river banks) between the death of one *reth* and the installation of his successor. Any offender is liable to a fine. There are two types of building among the Shilluk; walls 341 are built from mud alone laid in circular layers, or else a framework 643 of millet stalks is first erected and then packed with mud outside and in. The latter technique is regarded as inferior; the former is the royal or divine style of building. Fashoda is built like that, and all the shrines to Nyikang, *reths* and *nyireths* throughout the country. [174] Men of substance also build their houses after this fashion, and it seems as if this may have been the original traditional form of Shilluk building, and the other form is looked upon as something foreign. This royal style of building is forbidden in the same way as the burning of grass. It is said that the prohibition upon this royal style of building is a sign of respect to Nyikang; "you must not build in Nyikang's style, while Nyikang's houses are down". Nyikang's houses are not [778] actually thrown down, except the great shrine of Fanyikang, but [346] each shrine of Nyikang is rebuilt by each new *reth*, or should be; and there is a general feeling that there is a rebirth of the whole Nyikang tradition at the installation of a *reth*. During the period of the interregnum there is a general feeling that something has passed away from the Shilluk, and requires renewing by Nyikang's reappearance, and until Nyikang himself has come to renew his contact with the Shilluk the people mark the interval by abstaining from building in the way they associate with Nyikang. Building of the inferior style

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There were various dignitaries created *jagos* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *nyireths*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January. A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372 326]

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle.

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

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THE MARCH OF NYIKANG AND DAK TO NYIGIR.

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1.—Dak Wadi, borne by his bearers. Nyikang follows. Behind is the forked branch known as "Nyikang's bed" and the basket which holds his food.

[342]

2.—Nyikang and Dak leave the village of Ketl Pabi.

[FACING p. 40]

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643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
782 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
[773] is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
[775] at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Dak are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Dak. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Dak makes periodical ex-
643 cursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stool[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 60 ff.

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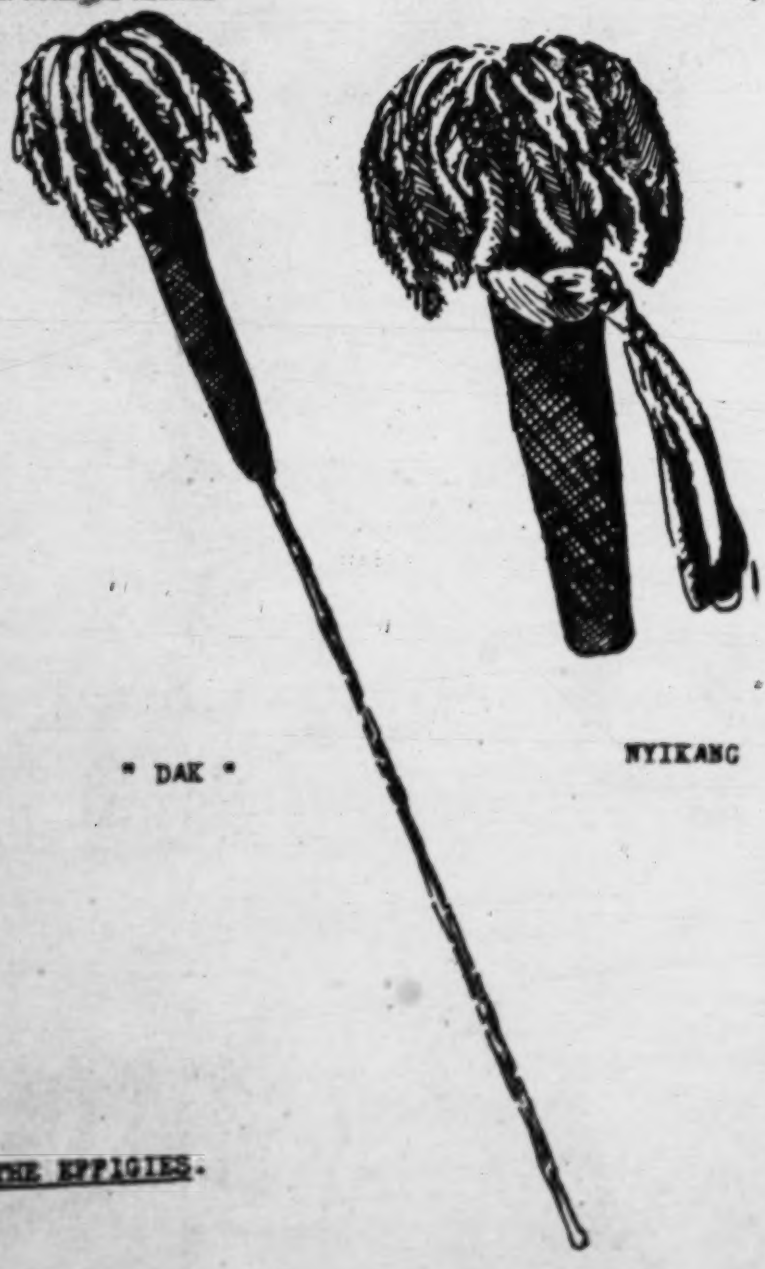

THE EFFIGIES.

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to lift. However the delay was quite simply explained. Nyikang was not ready. A hitch had occurred in finding the cloth for his body. (A new effigy of Nyikang is made for each *reth*, and on the death of a *reth* the old effigy is destroyed). Another delay was caused by the Ororo messengers sent from Fashoda to Akurwa to say that all was ready. They dawdled on the way. 643 778

On the 26th February "Nyikang" and "Dak" started on their way. First they must beat the bounds of Shilluk country proper, and they went to Moro, some five miles north of Kaka market. The procession was first observed in the section of "Thorr" just south of Kaka.

Nyikang and Dak are carried by men of the Kwanyikwom clan who live at Akurwa. They are surrounded by the youths of the Kwanyikwom carrying whips to drive away the inquisitive or profane. As Nyikang passes through a section of the Shilluk country, the men of the section escort him to their borders. Anyone who is beaten by the whips of the Kwanyikwom is said to be held to ransom until he pays a fine of a goat. There are various offences for which Nyikang penalizes people on the way. Nyikang's image is made from ostrich feathers and bamboo. It is therefore sacrilege for a Shilluk to be seen with an ostrich feather in his hair or carrying bamboo. The ritual of burial must be completed for all who have recently died. Nyikang must not pass anything unclean. In Nyikang's presence Shilluk must not present a warlike appearance. A man carrying a spear may not have a shield as well, and a man with a shield is only allowed a millet stalk. Nyikang advances with his son Dak at a loping trot of about 6 m.p.h. escorted by the Kwanyikwom and the men of the section through which he is passing. As he approaches a village the people dash out as if to ward him off, but quickly over-powered they soon join the procession. It is usual for gifts of a sheep or a goat to be presented to or exacted by Nyikang, and it was noticeable how all small stock and fowls were either shut up or driven away from the vicinity of Nyikang, for Nyikang has a right to anything he fancies. As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants

[614] 643 628 778 [164] 643 778 [481] [431]

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak his son beside him, the escort chants
643 the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest.
778 From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to
[533] threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his
[417] progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The
[533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village,
[574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around
533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large
533 contingent of female *bangreth* were the most obvious element led by
643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, 533
while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual 535
songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed 643
the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a [201] byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. [516] Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying [482] baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The 535
two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced 643
before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they 778
proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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535 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had
643 done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while
778 the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to
643 it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol
778 Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped,
[533] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the
[535] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for cover-
[415 ing pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put
285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular
[533 song was :—
539]

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still
[755] used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced 643
an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed."

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew 643
up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep 778
was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang [533
and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house pre- 535]
pared for him and went in. Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house.

The Reth's flight to Debalo

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He 643
and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days.

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the [644]
morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied

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resentment at the new *reth's* presumption in occupying Fashoda at all becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies. 643 776

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were being made. The small grass huts called *adul*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands. 643

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived from Lul and passed through Debalo. This was the party responsible for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocoro in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not allowed to see them According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Aturwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy 643 778 [644] [787]

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643 We did not witness the selection of the bead. During the *reth*'s stay
[778] at Debalo the period of amnesty for adulterers and seducers, which is mentioned by Munro, comes into effect. Adulterers and seducers of unmarried girls are able to avoid the full legal consequences of their
[684 sins by paying a small fine in goats and sheep to the *reth*. A few
686] Shilluk took advantage of this, and some thirty sheep and goats were brought in.

During the period of semi-seclusion, apart from the preparation, both parties remained comparatively inactive. After three days all was ready for the final and public phases of the installation ceremonies.

The Installation Ceremonies.

631 The conventional opposition between the northern and southern
643 divisions, of the country Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, now becomes clearer. The boundary between them is the watercourse called
616 Arepujur, which means "the gathering of the peoples", and which lies about half a mile to the south of Fashoda. Headed by the chief of Gol Nyikang, chiefs, warriors and headmen had been flocking in to Debalo to join forces with the *reth*-elect, and it is their traditional duty to guard him and to support him in his struggles with Nyikang. Nyikang has taken up residence at Adodo a few miles north of Fashoda, and the people who live north of the boundary muster to his aid. The three days semi-seclusion of the *reth* at Debalo and Nyikang at Adodo is thus primarily a period of preparation for the mock battle to come. The march of the *reth* from Debalo and Nyikang from Adodo and their meeting on the high ground above Arepujur symbolises the ceremonial division of the country into two moieties. The balance between them is strongly emphasized at all points. Nyikang must have his shield borne by a special bearer; so must the *reth*. Certain ritual objects, spears, beads, and the like must accompany the *reth*; others must be carried with Nyikang. Moreover, the joining in battle of the two parties, the capture of the *reth*, and the subsequent rites and ceremonies is an occasion in which all classes and sections of the Shilluk participate, and the formal election and installation of the new

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reth had left his house, when they drew up on the north side of the village to take over the heifer which traditionally they must lead backwards from Debalo to Fashoda. This heifer, a brown one, had been brought into the village previously, and was already tethered in the centre. The Kwa Ojul, however, had brought with them the sheep over which the *reth* must step at Khor Arepejur. 643

Meanwhile the *reh's* body-guard and the Ororo were clustering round the entrance to the *reth's* hut. It was difficult to see any definite formation of cans at this point, and there was some confusion about positions, but the Kwa Okelo, and with them *Nya kwer*, who was completely surrounded by women, were in the centre of the village. Jago Yolsiker Ajang, the chief of Gol Nyikang, was much in evidence and dressed in a Mrs. Gray antelope skin (Note 8), and it was presumably his traditional duty to get the assembly into some order. [644]

From out of the *reth's* compound there first came his women attendants who had accompanied him from Fashoda and carried with them cooking materials and food in baskets (Note 9). Immediately after this the assembly drew up in roughly semi-circular formation facing the *reth's* hut and began to clap and sing in honour of the *reth*. The *reth* then appeared at the door of the homestead, and, stepping over a white sheep which had been pegged down in front of him, he stood with his back to the fence facing the multitude. The spear, wrapped in white cloth, and which together with the beads of Ocoro is collectively known as Nyikang was brought out and held beside him. After much singing and acclamation the *reth* moved forward and, heavily guarded by the Ororo, took up his position in the centre of the village. The procession was then ready to start. Kwa Ojul, who never came into the centre of the village, began to drag the heifer backwards at the front of the procession, but abandoned the attempt lower down the slope. Thenceforth it was led in the normal way, but scarcely visible for the crowds who surrounded it. The party then moved off in the direction of Fashoda, and a white bull, which had been tethered in the centre of the village alongside the heifer already mentioned, [644] [778]

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643 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared
773 in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.
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821

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth's* army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows :-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak
[778] were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not [782] [778 576 788] [793]

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

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643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty' [273] and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no [778] one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying
643 the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and
[534 each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle
778] of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
" *Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *engero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong=.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together " *Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong* ", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say " *Kwaa dibong* ", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the " things of Nyikang " such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and [793]
she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows :—" Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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643 782 so many cows, sheep, spears, etc., and now the people were thrusting themselves upon Nyikang to make sure these things would be delivered to them. They were begging Nyikang to speak to them and assure them that the things would be forthcoming. In all the ceremonies I witnessed the element of begging was paramount, the people begging Nyikang to speak to them and promise them "things of the [781] earth" to enrich them. The element of worship and adoration was singularly lacking. (Note 14).

643 778 After this song everyone turned their backs to the opening of the *kal* (enclosure), and the drums started to beat again. This time the people were silent, and soon Dak appeared and came out of the enclosure. Dak was about twelve feet high, carried on a long bamboo pole. The body of the figure was about eighteen inches long and approximately five inches thick, of a cylindrical shape wrapped about with blue and white checked cloth. It was crowned with a splendid plume of ten to dozen ostrich feathers, all black. Dak was carried by a middle aged man, and I was told that he would receive 'great riches' for his work, probably three or four cows. Dak circled the house three times and then came to rest again at the entrance. At [782] this time two sheep were sacrificed, one at the door of the *kal* and the other beside the road in the direction of Fashoda. These sheep were allowed to lie where their throats had been cut, but I noticed later that, as soon as the procession had passed, the women of the village went out and dragged them in to be eaten.

As Dak stood at the entrance, the drums changed their beat and everyone began to chant "*Kwaa*, you are great". Then Nyikang appeared out of the house and took his place beside Dak. He was carried by a man of middle age. Nyikang was much larger in body than Dak, though not nearly so tall. I estimated the body of the figure as being about five feet long and a foot thick. It was wrapped in the same cloth as Dak and crowned with a much more profuse plume of ostrich feathers. Two long streamers fell away from the head and

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [782] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal wi jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our beggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [481] [533 539] [778]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

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17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

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THE FIRST DAY OF THE INSTALLATION.

643
541

3.—The battle between the two armies outside Fashoda.

[718]

4.—After the battle the *rath* is seized by Nyikang and led off to Fashoda. The *rath* is concealed by Nyikang.

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643 Just as the king's party was sighted, four men came out of Fashoda
[778] carrying the sacred shield and spear of Nyikang. As Nyikang and Dak approached this group there was something of a scuffle, as if the shield and spear were loath to join the procession. But after a short sham battle and much waving of spear and shield, they were persuaded to march with Nyikang, and the procession again moved on to meet the king and his followers at Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda. This
643 is the traditional battle ground, on which the forces of the king and
511 those of Nyikang join in a great sham battle, both sides using corn stalks instead of spears, and fighting until the followers of Nyikang overcome the guardians of the king and capture the king to carry him away into Fashoda.

The two armies were now drawn up facing one another, the host of Nyikang awaiting to join battle with the *reth* and holding the high ground to the west of the capital.

The Battle

(P.P.H.)

As soon as the *reth* had crossed the watercourse, he and his army advanced at a fast pace in the direction of the host of Nyikang, who had remained on the high ground opposite Fashoda. When the distance between the two parties was no more than two hundred yards the shield-bearer of the king moved forward, and began to dance in a threatening manner, dodging and retreating and advancing in the direction of Nyikang. Small parties of warriors broke away brandishing their millet stalks in the air. The warlike attitude of the opposing armies became apparent. The Kwa Nyikwom who were leading the army of Nyikang began to move, and a few of them broke away in front, brandishing their whips and ropes. Women in the background cried out in exultation and encouragement, and with wild shouts and holloas the armies fell upon each other. The air was filled with flying millet stalks, and such was the confusion that it is difficult to record accurately what happened, but the *reth's* army was considered to be repelled,

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and the *reth* himself captured by Nyikang. Shortly after the first onslaught he was seen in the midst of a crowd of Kwa Nyikwom, cut off from his own followers, and as the procession moved on towards Fashoda he took up, or was forced to take up, his position under the shadow of Nyikang, clasping the effigy with both arms and the black ostrich feathers screening his face. 643 541

The eldest son of Fafiti then remarked with relief "*rony arum*," "the installation is assured", meaning that the great crisis was passed.

The Reth carried off to the Shrine by Nyikang.

The party with Nyikang and the *reth* in their midst then turned towards Fashoda, and walked slowly in the direction of the cleared space which marks the pool of Cerfuc (Note 15). The drums of Nyikang, of which there are two sets, and which accompanied Nyikang from Akurwa, were carried in front and beaten with the rhythm characteristic of the march of Nyikang. The procession drew up to the cleared space called Cerfuc and halted. In the middle were a group of people clustered together. They were the Kwa Okelo, who were engaged in wrapping the brown heifer from head to tail in white cloth (Note 16). When this had been done, they remained in the centre of the square while Nyikang, with the *reth* immediately behind him and apparently entangled in the cloth wrappings which hang down from the head of the effigy, processed three times round them. With much singing and drumming the party then faced the shrine of Nyikang, while the Kwa Okelo speared the heifer, and tore off the white wrappings, which immediately were seized and carried away by the crowds as sacred relics. 643 [614] [778]

The Enthronement and Substitution.

After the spearing of the heifer, the *reth*, still closely led by Nyikang, advanced towards the shrine. Meanwhile the canopy of white cloth, which is held up to screen the sacred stool (Note 17) of the Shilluk from 643 778

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643 the public gaze, and the ox-hides upon which it is placed, had already
[178] been brought out and set up at the entrance of the shrine, and the stool itself, heavily swathed in white cloth, was hurriedly carried out. Behind stood a Shilluk holding the fish-spear of Dak, which was also wrapped in white cloth. The party escorted by the Kwa Nyikwom with Dak well to the fore then moved up to the canopy, and the effigy of Nyikang was set upon the stool, while the *reth* knelt down and clasped the legs on the north side. The chief of Kwa Nyikwom knelt down and clasped the legs on the other side, and *nyakwer* seated herself to one side of the *reth*. After a long period of much chanting but no visible movement, the effigy of Nyikang was lifted from the stool and hurried into the shrine immediately followed by Dak, and the new *reth* took his place upon the sacred stool of the Shilluk, facing the crowd, but still well screened by the canopy. The place of the *reth* holding the stool for Nyikang was now taken by the *jal tyel kwom reth* (chamberlain). It was not possible to follow all the ceremonial which followed. The party was screened on three sides by the canopy, and the *reth* himself was surrounded by functionaries. The *reth* himself, seated on the stool but screened by the canopy, was facing the crowd, and the chamberlain and another Shilluk knelt on either side to hold the legs of the stool, while *nyakwer* was sitting on the ground to his left. In front was held the sacred spear of Nyikang, which had accompanied the *reth* from Debalo. The majority of the crowd had already dispersed and either took no further interest in the procedure or were not allowed to do so, and those who were watching close at hand were for the most part Kwareth, Ororo, or the attendants of Nyikang. Nevertheless this was the crisis of the ceremonies. The act of substitution upon the stool symbolizes to the Shilluk the possession of the *reth* by the spirit of Nyikang, and we saw that the *reth*
[178] was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards, when he walked across to the temporary camp opposite the shrine.

After sitting on the stool for about twenty minutes, facing the people, still screened by the canopy, the *reth* arose and escorted by the chief of the Kwa Nyikwom, who held his right hand, and by *nyakwer*,

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who held his left, walked across the open space in front of the shrine. 643
Here another ox, this time a black and white one, also swathed in white cloth and covered over the back with a leopard-skin decorated at the edges with cowrie shells, was tethered. Beside it stood two men of Kwa Ojul, one holding a crude straight-bladed sword, the other holding a spear. These were said to be yet further weapons of Nyikang, [778 782]
and each in turn was handed to the *reth*, who stood at the tail end of the ox, and with each he made three passes in the air over the back of the ox, which was then led off to be sacrificed.

The Temporary Camp

After this ceremony, the *reth*, still accompanied by the chief of Kwa Nyikwom and by the small girl *nyakwer*, entered the screen, which surrounded the temporary huts, and he himself entered the larger of them. These huts were built under the personal supervision [631]
of Jago Yor Leiker and Jago Tabo, the chiefs of the south and north. The huts were built of grass, and similar to those built in Shilluk cattle camps. The larger was considered the *reth's* temporary residence, the smaller the kitchen, where his food should be prepared and where the water was heated for the ritual bathing. The bull mentioned above was stripped of its coverings, which were again torn to pieces [782]
by the crowd, and the leopard skin was taken into the shrine of Nyikang. The bull was speared and fell to the ground immediately in front of the *reth's* temporary camp. After this the public part of the first day's ceremonies was over. The *reth* had retired into seclusion, and those Shilluk who had remained to watch the ceremony of the stool soon dispersed and went off to rest in the shade around Fashoda. Only the Ororo, Kwareth and Kwa Nyikwom, the immediate attendants of the *reth*, remained to guard him and minister to his wants.

The effigies of Nyikang and Dak had already been carried into the shrine. The drums were also put away, and the sacred stool, which had been carelessly left with the canopy draped over it, was carried off, the canopy held around it so that no one could see it go,

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643
778

The Fourth Day of the Installation.
Nyikang and Dak go up into the mound Atarwic to make peace with the rek.

293
643

The Fifth Day : Speech Day.
The rek comes down from Atarwic.
He is second from the left and dressed in a Mrs. Grey antelope skin, and behind him is the fan made from the wings of a Saddle-bill Stork.

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643 with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this
644 time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth's* demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second
683 battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning
541 Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon.
[533 Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song
539] indicating that Nyikang was angered, and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at
[78] their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

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643 their return journey to Akurwa some weeks later. The *reik* himself remained up on the mound, while the crowds dispersed to their homes or sat about drinking and chatting round the houses of Fashoda.

(W.P.G.T.)

The final ceremonies on 15th. March consisted of a general assembly of all important chiefs and elders from all over the Shilluk country. Speeches were made, mostly of exhortation. The *reik* was confirmed [693] as supreme judge of the Shilluk people; and finally he was ceremonially shown round Fashoda by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang stopping at each house in turn.

The scene was laid in the open space south of Aturwic, and all [202] the chiefs had been summoned by drum in the early morning. At [778] the bottom of the mound we noticed the *kwom* (sacred stool), draped in white cloth as before; two spears, one wrapped in cloth, were held by bearers, one on each side of the *kwom*, and a small kettle-drum shaped like a basin, the property of the Kwa Wung who live mostly round Detwok, was set on the ground close by with its drummer. The lancebearers and the drummer were all from Kwa Wung.

Facing this stage were the assembled chiefs and elders of the Shilluk, with no conspicuous absentees, each one sitting down holding a spear. There was a clear space of some ten yards between the *kwom* and the chiefs.

In front of the entrance to the huts on Aturwic there was a sheep held tethered. Shortly the *reik* emerged from the huts followed by a group of women, wives and sisters: he and his important entourage were dressed in white with Mrs. Gray skins over the garments.

After stepping over the tethered sheep, the *reik* was led down [644] the slope by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang. His retainers followed him, and most of them stepped over the sheep too; when he reached [245] the bottom of the slope he was lifted on to the sacred stool, and sat facing the chiefs with his retainers grouped behind him: immediately

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on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reik*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reik* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reik* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reik* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reik* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of Nyikang over the new *reik* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, the *reik* and the *reik's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle of the small throng. The Ocoro woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reik's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 20 paces away. A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang—when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reik* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

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Such was the atmosphere as Nyikang left for home after his thirtieth installation. 643 778

NOTES

1. The Great Divisions of the Shilluk Kingdom. The Shilluk kingdom is divided into two parts in two different ways. An archaic religious division into two "sees" called Gol Nyikang (south) and Gol Dhiang (north) seems only to be important on ceremonial occasions such as the installation of the *reth* or the rebuilding of Fashoda. Each "see" has one ceremonial chief. 631 616

Investigation has shown that these two "sees" are not coterminous with the two great temporal provinces of Gerr and Luak. The traditional boundary between Gerr (northern province) and Luak (southern province) is some 15 miles south of Fashoda between the sections of Both and Fathau. The sections from Both northwards to Yoiny are small sections composed of a succession of small villages, which the Shilluk liken to the beads of an ostrich eggshell necklace and call collectively Wirek (an ostrich eggshell necklace).

In the 19th. century there was opposition between Gerr and Luak over rival candidates for the *reth*ship, when the Turkish Government tried to get Ajang accepted as *reth*, and between Akol and Kur, Gerr supporting Ajang and Kur, and Luak supporting Kwikwon and Akol. 616 631 669 643

When the two great provinces mobilized against each other for civil war, for their organization is primarily military, the small sections of Wirek were overawed or defeated by the forces of Luak, though they should have mobilized with Gerr, and they turned traitor.

After *reth* Kur returned from Omdurman and defeated the forces of Akol (Luak and Wirek) and exiled Akol, the old boundary was restored, and Wirek returned once more to Gerr.

This is one of the few occasions when we diverge from Pumphrey's account of the Shilluk *S.N.R.* Vol. 24 p. 27 ("The Shilluk Tribe"). [114] The distinction between the two sets of divisions becomes clearer when dealing with an occasion such as the installation of the *reth*.

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are not a clan now, and are messengers chosen *ad hoc*, as far as we could judge. *Twoi* is the word used for the *reth's* messengers.

12. These messages amounted to a bargaining about how many cows the *reth* should give Nyikang. Whether the intention was to bribe Nyikang to come and instal the *reth*, or to persuade him to stay away because of his "holiness" is not clear. We incline to the latter explanation, but Mr. McClure favours the former.

13. *Nyakwer*, meaning the girl, or woman, connected with the ceremonies, could be used of any individual female participant.

14. Our impression of those ceremonies witnessed by us was that Nyikang was held in manifest awe.

15. Cerfuc, and Kal wi Jang. Cerfuc is what the Shilluk say used to be a pool and is now filled up, but was carefully weeded for the occasion. Kal wi Jang, or Ujang, is 200 yards N.E. of Cerfuc.

16. All objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth. The wrapping of cattle in cloth may merely signify their ritual value, and the necessity for screening them from the public gaze, but with all cattle it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold. After wrapping the animal the cloth itself was greatly prized as a sacred relic, being imbued with the sanctity of the animal.

17. Tradition says that the original stool was captured by the "Funy" and never returned. The present stool is a substitute. The cloth wrappings made it impossible to see the exact shape, but it had four legs, and appeared to be about twenty inches long and ten inches wide.

18. P. Munro, "The installation of the *reth* of the Chol". *S.N.R.* Vol. I, pp. 145 ff., reprinted as Appendix I in *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, p. 546.

19. This remark shows that the property of the *reth* is also property of Nyikang—at least after the installation is completed. Actually the cattle paid to the Kwa Okelo belonged to Fafiti, but

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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such is the spiritual oneness of Nyikang and all *reths* that their property is ultimately under the authority of Nyikang, and belongs to Nyikang. 643 778

20. There are two traditions about Cal. We think there must have been two sons of Nyikang called Cal. One is said to have been the second *reth* of the Shilluk, and the other is said never to have come to Shilluk country, but to have stayed behind in Uganda to become the ancestor of the Acholi. It was the latter tradition which was more in evidence in connexion with the effigy of Cal, but the former explanation might have been more reasonable. 173 778

21. It is the tradition that a man should be tied down between the opposing armies to be stepped over by the combatants. In 1903 however, at the time of the installation of *reth* Fadiet, a young man went to the Governor at Kodok, and petitioned him to forbid the *reth* to tie down his father to be stepped over. The Governor forbade this practice, for the danger of the man being trampled to death was considerable, and ordered that a bull be substituted. A bull was used at the installation of *reth* Fafiti as well, but now the petitioner of 1903 a man of the Kwa Nyidiang, whose duty it was to provide the man for tying down, asked if he might be tied down in place of the bull, for, he said, his defiance of the custom in 1903 had caused his family to sicken and die. Nyikang was consulted about this, but he said "If you wish to carry out the old custom, you must do it completely, and provide me with a girl to take back to Akurwa." The negotiations broke down, as no one would provide the girl, and a bull was substituted. But it was rather halfheartedly drawn across the battleground, and not tied down between the two armies. Seligman (*op. cit.* p. 95) suggested that the man should have been tied down at Khor Arepejur on the first day of the ceremonies. We think that he must have been wrongly informed by the Shilluk, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the hitch in this second mock battle. 177 643 648

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The Electoral College of 1903 consisted of 12, 13 and 14, 1, 2, 7, 8. 631
(only seven names are given). 643
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The Electoral College of 1917 consisted of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13. There also appeared the chief of Athodwoi, in place of the chief Bur Nyiliec (6), and the chiefs of Nyigir, Abienyai (in Detwok division), and Kodok. The chiefs of Bur Nyiliec, Owaliny Obwa, Fanyikang and Yoiny were not present. The chief of Abienyai may have represented the chief of Yoiny.

It is noteworthy that in 1917 the chiefs of Kwom and Golbainy and the Kwareth chiefs of Padiang and Acago were all bribed by Coti Ajang, the pretender. This is an indication of who were the most influential chiefs in the college. N.B. The chief of Yoiny was not there to be bribed. [662]

APPENDIX II.

Nyikang and Dak, and the Equipment carried with them.

Nyikang and Dak.

The effigy of Nyikang was made up of a tubular framework of bamboo rods covered with blue check imported cloth. The body at the top appeared to be about 14 inches in diameter tapering to about 9 inches. Wound round the top and tied in a knot like a cravat was a separate piece of cloth hanging down below the base of the body. On the first two days of Nyikang's journey this 'cravat' was of black cloth. When the party reached Golbainy, it was of the same blue check cloth as the body. The head of the effigy consisted of a mop-like plume of black ostrich feathers which hung down over the knot in the cravat. Overall the effigy was about 5 feet long. 643 778

The effigy of Dak was differently constructed. It consisted of a long bamboo pole, about 8 feet in length, with a cylindrical body of the same blue cloth some 2 foot 6 inches long, at the top of the pole. The head was made of a smaller bunch of black ostrich feathers than that of Nyikang.

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Personal Equipment.

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The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

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1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411]

2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[45]

3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Atarwit wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller.

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1927, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

sheep over which he had to step on entering *Adul*, defaecated on the way. The man holding the sheep picked up the droppings and rubbed them on the sheep's back. After he had done so he made gestures showing that he had restored the situation, indicating that the sheep was no longer defiled. 643 783

For the following account of the final ceremonies I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Nicholson, then Deputy Governor Upper Nile, with whom I witnessed them. 643

The final ceremonies of the installation of the new *reth* of the Shilluk took place at Fashoda on 3rd and 4th January. This time there were no large crowds, but only the chiefs and leading notables and the attendants of Nyikang and the *reth*.

On the evening of the 2nd, the *reth* had come out of the special grass hut into which he had been led with the small girl, his symbolic bride, Nyakwer, 'the girl of the ceremonies,' after the spirit of Nyikang had entered into him and he had been ritually seated on the sacred stool or throne. He had come out to go up into Athudowic, the hill of the throne, the great mound which dominates Fashoda, on which are set the four sacred houses which constitute the shrine of the Shilluk kings. With him was a girl, but it was not his bride. In accordance with tradition her place had been taken by a girl of the Ororo clan who had enticed him away. Next morning, when he discovered this, the *reth* sent out to search for his wife, and eventually learnt that she had been taken by Nyikang to his shrine. He sent envoys to ask for her return, and when Nyikang refused, he came out, stepped over a sheep, marched down the hill with his army, stepped over a grey-white bull and challenged Nyikang to battle. Nyikang's drum was then heard, sounding a distinctive beat, the lion call, and Nyikang accompanied by his sons Dak and Cal (a smaller figure made of the grey feathers of a female ostrich) came out from his shrine at the head of his army. After marching round his shrine, from right to left, he advanced to meet the *reth* and his party, who were waiting on the open ground in the middle of the village. Twice Nyikang advanced towards the *reth* and retired again to march round the shrine, while his drum sounded a new insistent beat. The third time the armies joined battle armed with millet stalks, and also, in the case of Nyikang's men, with special rope whips. This time the *reth* prevailed, and seizing Nyakwer who was with Nyikang's army, drew her with him at a run up into the hill, while Nyikang and his men withdrew to his shrine at the other side of the village. [778]

Next morning the stage was set for the last act, the *kel long*

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of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life.

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Heasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there.

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ocero,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *nyireth* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up.

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *bareth*, i.e. will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1946.

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of

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Athudowic stands had been plastered with smooth mud from top to bottom.

5. *Fanyikang.*

As in 1944 the sacred shrine of Nyikang at Fanyikang was thrown down and rebuilt after the ceremonies.

Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fathworo at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Palo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *hango*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jamkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambatch seat (*kwom*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

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1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the late *reth's* ambatch seat (*kwom*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwom*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kowo reth*, "*to visit the reth*." News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

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Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed.

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny,* "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Dehale and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21.

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

By A. Paul

Deputy Governor, Kassala Province

IT is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*. 173 778

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since. [777]

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice. 1944

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahr*[illegible] much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Ethai.*

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643 I have assumed in the reader some knowledge of these accounts, for the observations which are recorded here are not part of a full and detailed description, but of a note intended to amplify previous records.

643 776 Although the spirit of Nyikang may appear almost anywhere in Shilluk country and in the numerous shrines which are found there, I think it is safe to assume that, where the new *reth* is concerned, Nyikang disappears at the time of the actual burial of the late *reth*. His spirit appears again in the effigy [778] which is kept at Akurwa, the most important shrine in the country, and remains there pending the final ceremonies of the installation. Until the obsequies [172] of his predecessor are completed, the *reth*-elect is not finally accepted, though [669] he must follow the rules laid down by tradition and must avoid pollution. Theoretically, though this no longer holds true with the administration of the present government, his position may at any time be challenged by a rival and civil war might follow. After the old *reth* has been buried, though the danger [775] from rivals is always present, he has to face the spirit of Nyikang and to undergo the trials to which Nyikang will subject him before he is accepted as a worthy successor and is himself possessed by the spirit. Actual physical 643 danger from other claimants, the danger of an uprising against him, which is never entirely absent throughout his reign, is at its peak, but wanes as each stage is successfully passed. All this is expressed by the conventional attitudes displayed by him and his people and in the ordeals he must undergo. Thus, though there may be no real danger of armed conflict, the situation demands that these conventions be followed and throughout there is an atmosphere of insecurity.

We are here concerned with the election and installation of Kur *wad* Fafiti. As the son of a *reth* who ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully[1] and coming immediately after two *reths* whose reigns were short and by no means universally popular, Kur was a likely candidate and it was generally accepted that one of the house of Fafiti was the obvious choice. The Electoral College of chiefs sat at Fashoda immediately after the body of Dak *wad* Fadiet [115] had been immured in the hut at Debwor. Mr. J. L. Baker, who was present, describes the procedure as follows:

"On the 13th May, 1951, the Electoral College sat without further delay as the chiefs wanted a new *reth* quickly owing to the approach of the rains. Also the issue was pretty clear from the outset as, apart from one or two chiefs in Golbainy, the Shilluk were solidly in favour of *nyireth* Kur—a man known to me as a very well-behaved and dignified type, from Bapi behind Kodok. The College on this occasion was ten strong (no Tonga people had arrived, but this was not considered important). The following sat:

1. *jago* Yorleiker (Gol Dhiang)
2. *jago* Thabo (Gol Nyikang)
3. *kwanyireth* Cayo (*jang kwareth*)[2]

[113] [1] There were occasional conspiracies against Fafiti, notably that of Nyawcilo *wad* Kur in 1932. See Pumphrey, M. E. C., *The Shilluk Tribe*, S.N.R. Vol. 24 p. 5.

[2] *jago jang kwareth*, lit. "the chief of the chiefs of the *kwareth*." The title was apparently given to this branch of the royal house by *reth* Nyakwac.

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country to the other, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarise the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk *reths* of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor alterations in ritual.

The rôle of Nyikang

We have already seen that when the soul of Nyikang has finally left the person of the late *reth*, he appears in effigy at Akurwa. This effigy, together with that of Dak, son of Nyikang, made of bamboo and ambatch surmounted by huge plumes of ostrich feathers*, sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a *reth*: normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this effigy. To the Shilluk the effigy is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the effigy and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable. Throughout the ceremonies the effigies are treated by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread; mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried forth from the shrine at Akurwa and beat the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by men of the *kwa* Nyikwom and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the reth *to Debalo*

As soon as the *reth* hears that Nyikang draws near, he abandons the capital and retreats to the village of Debalo a few miles south of Arepejur, the watercourse which is the boundary between the two ceremonial divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The *reth* is always supported in the conventional hostilities which follow by the occupants of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang; *gol*, literally "homestead," and a word used to describe the smallest domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is historical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the conventional opposition displayed during the installation. The two ceremonial divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gerr and Luak, which have a periodic significance in quite another context*. At Debalo, the *reth* remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and most carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

* See Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 159.

* Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 75 (I).

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The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Ashurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Ashurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Ashurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

[1] Variously spelt: *Aturwic*, *Ashudowic*, *Ashurwic*.

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643 seem that in general all these essential stages were faithfully fulfilled, though there was some variation in detail.

The Installation of Reth Kur wad Fafiti

Preparations for the installation began almost as soon as the late *reth* was laid in the hut at Debwor and reached a crescendo of activity towards the end of the year. One of the most important ceremonies is the expedition to *podhe manyo* which lies to the north of the present Shilluk boundaries. [173] According to tradition, this region was originally occupied by *reth* Duk, son of Nyikang, or at least regarded as legitimate raiding country, which in fact *podhe manyo* means. Mr. J. L. Baker has added to our information on this subject[a] and writes as follows:

"One of the major ceremonies (*kwer*) prior to the installation does not appear to have been recorded. I was not able to attend myself, but I am creditably informed that this is what happens.

"On the return of the men of Akwabai from *podhe manyo*, having brought silver wristlets and a number of rings (*geef*) such as are normally worn by important Shilluk on the first knuckle of each finger, they visit Abworo and then Fashoda. Here the *reth* calls the *bang* Nyikango (slaves of Nyikang) and orders them to take the silver to the shrine of Akurwa where it remains. I suggest that represents the spoils of victory of the raiding party.

[772] "Then the effigy of Duk (the old one) is taken to Nyikang's island to find Nyikang. He is carried in a Shilluk canoe by the *kwa* Nyikwom and accompanied by the men of Moro whose job it is to dive for Nyikang when the time comes. When they arrive at the island, which is just north of Geiger,[b] the small drum (that of Nyikang) is beaten near the bank of the river and Duk watches the water. A white bird (no special kind) should appear to show that Nyikang is near.

643 "The diver then picks up the *jaw* Nyikango (offerings for Nyikang) and searches for Nyikang under the water. If Nyikang is pleased to accompany
776 the party, he comes out of the water and, having accepted the offerings, is
778 wrapped in cloth and taken to Akurwa, escorted by Duk and the *kwa* Nyikwom. At Akurwa, it is for him to give his agreement to the proposed *reth* as candidate for the installation. The stage is now set and all that remains is the collection of hippo-hide whips (*angero*) for the *kwa* Nyikwom, which must be prepared for them, and the making of the new effigy of Nyikang. Without these preliminaries and the consent of Nyikang, signified by his presence, the installation could not take place."

By mid-January, 1952, these preparations and those which concern the *reth* were nearing completion. The installation was due to take place. There were, however, the usual and inevitable delays and it was not until towards the end of that month that Nyikang and Duk, represented in the effigies, came

[a] See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 37.

[b] On the east bank and well north of the present boundaries of Shilluk country.

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forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Musmo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.* Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.* This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (mainly the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

* Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to dispute his invitation at the dissatisfaction of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established customs if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

* For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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Opposite Fashoda. The *kwe* Nyikwam lead Nyikang and Dak in their advance against the Reth.

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The substitution on the stool. Nyikang has withdrawn and stands on the right. The Reth is still seated on the stool underneath Nyikang's spear (wrapped in white cloth) on the left.

Photograph: J. C. M. Dawson

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In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

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Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

643 [778]

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.**

[782] [783]

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

* From the *kwa* Nyikwom of Limo.

** In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay in *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwang*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Abur, to Col (or Bura, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Gudo. Nyikang was apparently enraged by this action, but decreed that [illegible] [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible] by [illegible] (see Bibliography), but I had not realized that the actual rituals beneath of the rules of exogamy and called [illegible] actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jogo*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote blood-relation than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

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Then *Nyikang* emerged from his shrine in an angry mood. The people fell in procession behind the effigies and, dancing and singing, circled the shrine and then set off for the *gol* Ongar where the whips of the *kwa* Nyikwum are stored. Both *Nyikang* and Duk entered this house, and when they came out again a third effigy, that of Cal,* was with them. Cal was the brother of Duk and his effigy is made with grey (female) ostrich feathers in contrast to the black feathers of the others. The drum began to beat louder and faster, the singing increased in tempo and all the time the crowds gathered. Simultaneously at the other end of Fashoda, the *reth's* forces were gathering round the mound, the *reth's* police in their scarlet *faus* again conspicuous on the left flank.

There followed a succession of sallies by the assembled forces of *Nyikang* and the *reth* from opposite ends of the capital. First *Nyikang* would surge forward and the shield-bearer of the *reth* would conduct the temporary retirement of the *reth's* forces, rattling the bells inside the shield in defiance of *Nyikang*. Then it would be the turn of the *reth's* followers to advance menacingly and for *Nyikang* to withdraw in the same manner. Finally a bull was brought forward to be cast on the ground so that the *reth* could step over it before going on to seize *Nyakwer*.* Once again the casting was mismanaged and with a disdainful wave of his hand, the *reth* motioned to his retainers to drag the bull out of the way, and swept on to wrest *Nyakwer* from the clutches of *Nyikang*. Millet stalks began to fly and as the *reth's* party returned to the safety of *Atkurwic*, an unsuccessful counter-attack was staged by *Nyikang*. Its failure was obvious and the drummer then beat the retreat of *Nyikang* and his men towards the shrine. They did not enter it immediately and although *Nyikang* had never reached the summit of the mound, he and his followers marched round the shrine and appeared to be about to renew the onslaught. Such forces of the *reth* as remained on the ground seemed to melt away into the host of *Nyikang*, but somehow the new attack never materialised, despite much drumming and singing, marching and counter-marching for a period of some ten minutes, while the *reth's* guard stood watch on the slopes of *Atkurwic*. *Nyikang*, tired of the proceedings, finally withdrew into his shrine, while Duk, Cal and his supporters, perhaps disappointed, gathered outside to sing and dance his praises. The battle for *Nyakwer* had ended.

Speech Day

The sequel of events on this occasion followed former precedents. The *reth* came down from *Atkurwic* surrounded by the *arwo* and sat down on the covered stool, while a fan made from one wing of a saddle bill stork was held to shade him. He did not, however, step over a sheep as had happened at previous installations. The chiefs of the country, with the exception of those from the east bank who had been discouraged from attending on account of the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis since, sat opposite the *reth* on the ground at about twenty-five yards distance.

* See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

* *Ibid.* p. 79, Note 21.

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A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

693 The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 22nd, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Faditi wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Faditi wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Faditi himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Faditi therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[10] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Lokichokio and that

[10] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

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any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Koka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang drews near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dobolu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fadiri went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dobolu: it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amnich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mol[15] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

E. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[16] from outside, and the temporary hots[17] built for the Ret.

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[15] Kwa (descendants of) Mol stated by Westermann, p. 108 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on north: their home is Mahdal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that delay in following the Ret.

[16] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's Illustrations of Nyakang at Fashoda fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[17] About 80 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

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and also the official residence of the Ret[1]. About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was en route from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak[2] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again according to correct tradition Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This I understood to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda — they were chiefly from the Southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them, and turns back. Eventually

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(1) His house consists of four fine built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as Do-Kot', and in it are kept the sacred stools, the spear, the sword and the shield. The Eastern hut is for the Ret's wives, and the other two are used for any thing the Ret likes. The stool etc. are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in Do-Kot' afterwards.

(2) Dak is the son of Nyakang: his effigy is much taller and thinner in body, but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Adar son of Abol Adong of Akurwa.

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643 his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flounted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pool at Fashode. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been unwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo[1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and
[92] the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be
613 kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of
778 Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 109 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwarro». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odek son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them
565 and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children
773 were left. At this time Dowat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped,
614 and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Dowat came to his own, and he then took from those others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Dowat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: a) to carry the Ret; b) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me
643 by him: «Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the «temporary hut» during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then
[34] there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks[1]. When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the «battle» was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

[778] «Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

«The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come
[537] out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become
[422] the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows
[582] up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases.»

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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[114] [1] Seligman (p. 226) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you have the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 767
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 781
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day. 769
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 769
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 781
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should 521
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28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
824 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 men. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

783 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
797 made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

969 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of butter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 643 [536] reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 796 [324] [301] During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

[237] [324]

643 796 778 775 There is great activity during this period of preparation in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

[237]

643 796 778 [214] When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

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643 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the
796 king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open
[782] space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a
[776] screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the
[787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for
[782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of
[783] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

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king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village. [372]

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *esterwgs* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved [778]

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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 693 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [781] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Juak*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29;Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be [753] taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [755] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made [778] tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He explains this tattooing as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paslo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *akok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *akok* are caught. The Paslo proceeded to represent an *akok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paslo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *akok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 133.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 [1909-1910] 1932
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643 796 homestead, and is speared by an *awwo* after the king has marked it with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nyu kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates. [715]

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *awwo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Anurwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasising his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *awwo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have [771] [771]

[1] Pugin, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Moore by an Egyptian officer—who apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Moore's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

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781
973
[799]

a man by windscreen, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient role in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If the latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jol yaj* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajolya*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by *Jwok*?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of *Nyikang*, which falls on his followers, vide page 149. SORCERY 781

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgement. A reminiscence of sun-worship is evident from 33, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with those in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god *Ɔ*. MYTHOLOGY 973

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wot* and *ŋjaŋ*; *wot* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ŋjaŋ* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *ocaŋ*; the word is derived from *ŋaŋa* to kill; *ocaŋ* probably means "one who killed", or "who is killed". The *ocaŋ* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT 774

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jɔ pɔ jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED 775

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets besides their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM 177 771 747

* This doubtfully relates to the cows of *Nyikang*, vide the preceding.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 230.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[4] Oyler, 1928, iii, p. 108.
[5] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 66.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

643 theme of these ceremonies was the evidence of Nyikang and a fear of his
● 781 power, accompanied by the veiling of the objects particularly associated with him. The complexity of this behaviour, particularly the 'fear and laughter', demands a more penetrating analysis than is possible here.

Conclusion

121 In such a brief account it has been possible to give only an outline of the
772 cosmological ideas and social values of the Shilluk, and it has been inevitable also that these should have been somewhat over-formalized and systematized. Shilluk cosmological ideas are embedded in belief and action. They are not systematized by the people themselves, who reveal them only by their sayings and their behaviour. It is impossible to give an account of them without abstracting them from the reality, formulating them as ideas with a certain degree of coherence between them, and thus constructing a system which has no exact counterpart in the thought of the Shilluk themselves. Such an account is bound to show, here and there, that effort to achieve consistency which is part of our tradition, but not of theirs. I have
776 tried to show how the order known to the Shilluk is dependent upon their belief in a mythical hero and king, Nyikang, who is the figure to which
[781] every subsequent Shilluk king is assimilated in thought. This assimilation
643 is enacted in the ritual for the installation of each new king. Nyikang is an analogue, for the Shilluk, of the power which created and maintains the universe. That power, which I have been content to call God, is of greater importance to the Shilluk as a source of vitality, both intellectual and physical, than as a being with ethical attributes. Nyikang and the kings similarly belong not to an ethical, but to a metaphysical system. Shilluk religion is
[643] 649 concerned with the maintenance, as a divine order, of the order in which they live and have always lived. The kings, and Nyikang, are held to represent that order, which without them would not exist. The death of a king
643 and the installation of his successor, are therefore of critical importance in the Shilluk kingdom, and that importance is marked by ceremonies of great imaginative and symbolic richness. The importance and uniqueness of the king is similarly emphasized by the existence of a special vocabulary used of him, and by various special observances which may be studied in the literature. They mark him off from ordinary men, no less than his titles—'first-born of God', 'child of God', 'reflection of the ancestors', 'master of the world', 'last-born of God', and others.[1] Any particular king, however, is also, as an individual human being, to some degree unequal to the office. The Shilluk have no superstitious reverence for the individual human king, and many kings have been removed by violent death when, for one reason or another, their people have tired of them. It is, perhaps, chiefly after the climax of the installation ceremonies that the dignity of the office, and the human nature

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 130. The 'first-born' and the 'last-born' have special status, at least in Dinka thought, because the first 'opens the way' for the others, while the other 'closes the way'. They are, so to speak, the alpha and omega of generation.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

1. Since the well-being of the Shilluk tribe depends so necessarily on the very existence of the *reik* and every action he takes, the death of a *reik* and the installation of a successor must be most carefully regulated by ritual and religious observances. [693]

2. The occasion demands strict observance of all the rites and ceremonies necessary to carry the tribe so less than their figure-head from one status to another. A false step will cause disaster to the tribe.

3. The period of the interregnum is one of intense danger for the Shilluk tribe. Spiritually it is dangerous, because there is no human symbol of tribal cohesion. The *reik* is "out of status"; the whole tribe is in a like position. The soul of Nyikang is without a home. The newly appointed *reik* will later incarnate the spirit of Nyikang, but he does not yet possess fully the divine attributes which have the effect among his people of stabilizing his position. [715] To the Shilluk the political situation also is full of potential danger because civil war may break out at any moment over the choice of a successor. Even after the new *reik* has been appointed by the traditional college of chiefs, his life is endangered and every effort must be made to safeguard him. [669]

4. Therefore each stage in the burial and installation ceremonies successfully concluded is yet another crisis passed. Emotional tension is manifest throughout—a rise and fall of political and religious feeling until the final climax is reached when the new *reik* is confirmed in his position by the homage of the temporal heads of the country. [791] Although the Sudan Government did not intervene either in the choice of the new *reik* or in the form or timing of the events, the Shilluk knew well enough that no blood-shed would be tolerated. How much greater than most [648]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 this emotional tension and political excitement have been in the past.

[781] 5. Although many of the Shilluk treated the ceremonies light-heartedly and on occasions with much laughter, deep in their hearts was a profound respect for their own religious beliefs and a feeling of awe at the presence of Nyikang.

[778] 6. Despite the stormy path of recent Shilluk history in which *reths* were assassinated, hanged and exiled by an alien government, and despite the disintegrating influences of civilisation, the continuity of tradition and the pious attempt to follow it was remarkable.[1]

182 693 645 7. The songs and ceremonies were characterised by a marked anti-Dervish attitude which dates back to the persecution of the Shilluk and their rulers by the followers of the Mahdi. The facts show that these attacks increased rather than weakened the unity of the tribe and indeed, strengthened the institution of the *reth* as the symbol of tribal cohesion in the face of opposition.

104 It is sometimes difficult to translate Shilluk terms accurately and concisely into English. Original Shilluk terminology is therefore used extensively in the text. The following Shilluk terms are consistently employed :—

Reth : The "king" of the Shilluk.

Nyireth : A son (or daughter) of a *reth*.

Kwa : Literally "descendants of", refers to a clan and precedes the name of the clan. Thus *Kwa Okelo* "the descendants of Okelo", *Kwa Reth* "the descendants of the *Reth*."

Nyikang and Dak : Tribal heroes of the Shilluk. The first king of the Shilluk and his son.

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1. Cf. P. Munro, "Installation of the Reth of the Chol." *S.N.R.* Vol. 1, pp. 141 ff. (and reproduced in full in C. G. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, Appendix I.)

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

contingents of Fashoda began to come in and marched around the outskirts of the village. The various performances carried out by each group did not vary to any appreciable extent except perhaps in the order. The main events recorded were :-

The warriors, (Note 6) with shields, spears and sticks, entered the arena regimented with remarkable discipline into their sections. They first marched round the outside of the village, sometimes kneeling down as a body and beating their shields with their spears. They then moved in procession round the drums, turned to face them and danced with a jumping motion in a circle round them, with their spears raised. They then turned to the tomb of the late *reik* and, mingling with the women who were standing outside and singing the songs of Fafiti, knelt in homage towards him, sometimes beating their shields and clapping hands in time to the drums. The word *wuo*, the traditional form of opening a conversation with the *reik*, was repeated by all at certain points in the song. They then arose and advanced round the village, once more visiting the houses of the late *reik* in turn, some of them peering inside the doors as if seeking for him. They then marched outside the village, and another contingent of warriors entered to take their turn.

Twice during the day, there was a spontaneous panic, and the crowds fled shrieking from the village. The explanation given was that the spirit of the late *reik* had been brought back by *Nyikang* and was now in their midst. Hands were clapped to drive the spirit away. The attitude of the Shilluk to this supposed phenomenon is important. There is no doubt that they were seized with fear, and fled as if the devil were behind them, but it was also regarded as a joke, and they all laughed heartily immediately afterwards. This mixture of fear and laughter is also characteristic of their flight from the effigy of *Iuak*, which is described later. The panic was not started by any particular signal except that on both occasions someone heard somebody say "Nyikang has appeared."

The ceremonial dancing performed by the warriors and others, and the panic at the arrival of the departed spirit were repeated without

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere.

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang.

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *ayiorths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *ayiorths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *ayiorths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

693 782 so many cows, sheep, spears, etc., and now the people were thrusting themselves upon Nyikang to make sure these things would be delivered to them. They were begging Nyikang to speak to them and assure them that the things would be forthcoming. In all the ceremonies I witnessed the element of begging was paramount, the people begging Nyikang to speak to them and promise them "things of the [781] earth" to enrich them. The element of worship and adoration was singularly lacking. (Note 14).

693 776 After this song everyone turned their backs to the opening of the *kel* (enclosure), and the drums started to beat again. This time the people were silent, and soon Dak appeared and came out of the enclosure. Dak was about twelve feet high, carried on a long bamboo pole. The body of the figure was about eighteen inches long and approximately five inches thick, of a cylindrical shape wrapped about with blue and white checked cloth. It was crowned with a splendid plume of ten to dozen ostrich feathers, all black. Dak was carried by a middle aged man, and I was told that he would receive 'great riches' for his work, probably three or four cows. Dak circled the house three times and then came to rest again at the entrance. At [782] this time two sheep were sacrificed, one at the door of the *kel* and the other beside the road in the direction of Fashoda. These sheep were allowed to lie where their throats had been cut, but I noticed later that, as soon as the procession had passed, the women of the village went out and dragged them in to be eaten.

As Dak stood at the entrance, the drums changed their beat and everyone began to chant "*Kwee*, you are great". Then Nyikang appeared out of the house and took his place beside Dak. He was carried by a man of middle age. Nyikang was much larger in body than Dak, though not nearly so tall. I estimated the body of the figure as being about five feet long and a foot thick. It was wrapped in the same cloth as Dak and crowned with a much more profuse plume of ostrich feathers. Two long streamers fell away from the head and

country to the east, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles. Here, with the help of Mr. J. L. Baker and Mr. J. O. Udal, I can only supplement our previous accounts by recording actual observations made on this occasion with additional information from Shilluk who attended. Mr. Baker was unfortunately transferred to another district a few days before the final ceremonies.

Before describing the events as they occurred on this occasion, it will be as well to summarize the main features of the ceremonies according to traditional practice. In the installations of the various Shilluk reths of which we have records there has been no great deviation from the general principles and what differences are found concern the actual timing and minor observances in ritual.

The rith of Nyikang

We have already seen that when the rith of Nyikang has finally left the person of the last rith, he appears in village at Akurwa. This village, together with that of Dak, seat of Nyikang, made of bamboo and thatch surrounded by huge planks of outside boulders[1], sometimes appear in public during the lifetime of a rith: normally they are dormant and their principal functions are concerned with the installation ceremonies. Nyikang is everywhere, but for the moment his personality is concentrated in this village. To the Shilluk the village is Nyikang, so that in all our accounts we have always spoken of Nyikang meaning both the village and the spirit: the two are indistinguishable. Throughout the ceremonies the villages are visited by the Shilluk with a mixture of hilarity and dread, mixed emotions which are always apparent. When all the preparations have been completed, Nyikang and Dak are carried both from the district at Akurwa and into the bounds of Shilluk country to the north. They are carried by men of the Ayu Nyikwum and surrounded by a bodyguard of the same clan armed with whips to clear the people from their path. They then march southwards on Fashoda.

The flight of the rith to Dolodo

As soon as the rith leaves that Nyikang drives away, he abandons the capital and retreats to the village of Dolodo a few miles south of Kaqwanar, the watercourse which is the boundary between the two commonest divisions of Shilluk country, Gol Dhiang (the north) and Gol Nyikang (the south). These divisions are of great importance in the installation ceremonies and on other occasions have no real significance. The rith is always supported in the ceremonial hostilities which follow by the residents of Gol Nyikang, and Nyikang, in his march from Akurwa to Fashoda is supported by Gol Dhiang, and literally "homeward," and a word used to describe the southern domestic unit of Shilluk society, here merely means "home" or "country of." The origin of these two divisions is hypothetical and the names themselves have no direct connection with the ceremonial opposition displayed during the installation. The two commonest divisions do not correspond exactly (though nearly) with similar divisions, Gor and Lach, which have a periodic significance in quite another context[2]. At Dolodo, the rith remains in strict seclusion for three days, guarded by day and night, and the village is not open to anyone who is not a personal attendant or from the divisions of Gol Nyikang. The belief that he is in danger is expressed in a number of ways, including the lighting of fires all round the village at night and the fact that although a special house is built and more carefully decorated in the royal manner to receive him, he actually sleeps in one of the more dilapidated and less conspicuous houses.

[1] See Thomson, op. cit., p. 198.

[2] Howell & Thomson, op. cit. p. 75 (2).

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient crones, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for: he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwanieret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary table and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Orero and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalo[17] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fofiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[17] Kwa Ujalo is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Ryal Wuh and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 108 also list compiled by Rev. B. Oyler of Dabdib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captive any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of caring on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 539
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 769
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom
if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 769
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 769
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself
in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of
the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the
son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard
to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 776
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred
houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their
statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At
night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to
him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the sleep-
dazzle enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the
sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred
house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng
walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is 776
actively watching over his people.

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should 521

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for 643
victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle 743
for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau [182]
and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. [173]
Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with 182
religious cult can be seen at every point of the 613
structure. The territorial segments of the nation 681
and their association with lineages is, as we have [713]
noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his 182
saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of 631
settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in 622
778
i.e., the King. - Rodgrd

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.): OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

711 There are present three important and clearly defined elements in
716 the religion of the Shilluk, viz. :—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

711 The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the
716 Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular conception of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

716 Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at
● 712 once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yiwiri*

[1] These points may be summarily illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; in the Dinka jok are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *juok* tree who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 163-208.

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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

"We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ."[2] [539]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dower songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):— [773]

"I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokawng), God the Provider (Juokagim); I have taken [Good] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when seated cluster like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he dwells the spears, spear thrown are of Juok."[3] [539]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pun Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pun Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having [775] [753]

[1] "Nilamugi's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 184.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 190-191.

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778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[714] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*akow*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyalwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heanty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *kodi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

782 The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
716 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[808] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[543] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *kawak* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *kawak*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *kwoth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kanga Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *kwoth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

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782 796 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the *kawak Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 782 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *kawak*.

785 782 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 796 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December, 1911, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete:—

[194] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1911, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *yaghawi*.

[579] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony in

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performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the danidh chief, Dimijok of the Gokdengo clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Buro owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dimijok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his danidh. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this present to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Buro, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dimijok would provide the bull.

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At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smaller weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open space to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the bons on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in overall masculine style. She

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782 783 786 danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the [293] dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *kadi* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pamiril class remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile

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776 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
776 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
125 fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the
125 river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the
[153] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into
[781] the river.
[553] Hofmayr states that the *kawak* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *kawak* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *kawak* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
784 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is,
[778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron
[782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "salve of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *rwo*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their enclosures have terminals in
[348] wooden egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*kawed*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *kawed Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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173 643 who was so distressed by the smell from his companion's body that he showed to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the sons, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed cows. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony

• 762 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
774 describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the skellion and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Moore, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 178.
[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. A, Khartoum, 1911; F. Moore, "Installation of the Rain Chief (King of the Shilluk)": *S.N. & R.*, 1, 1918, 140-41; Hofmayr, op. cit., 140-50. Moore was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Fadl, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a few dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

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leave in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was crowned with fever, and was so bewildered by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-shell by men of *Ŋwe* Obol, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2]

At last the king-shell enters Fashoda, *ocwo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ocwo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ocwo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-shell, the *ŋwe ŋwe*, and the stain holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-shell, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he claps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to prosper and bless the new ruler. The *ocwo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ocwo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—containing we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *ŋwe Ajid* has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously more concealed in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to obtain. Also informed us that the effigy would be lying underneath when the king emerged over him, treading him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would shake and fall. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great cows"—including certainly the *ŋwe ŋwe*—assembled near the shrine and each spat from a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the effigy, who was left naked, shut up—or perhaps pegged out—until dawn, although it was not specified that he would die the same night. It was said that the effigy was not substituted from any special shrine or place. [182]

[2] This girl, known as the *ŋwe ŋwe*, stands the king-shell during the ceremonies of installation and later, in place of the effigy—the *ocwo* are nearly her kinsmen—according to her informant. *Ŋwe* Obol formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she is one than was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *Ŋwe Ajid* of the Asholi is a matter for future investigation. [649]

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already referred to *pun Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yaugjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *ow*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi.

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:—

> *ney kwajo mayagan*
> "The people answer their mothers (ancestors)."
>
> *ney kwajo ciangan*
> "The people answer their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *nang tiang pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Bambitzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuage* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5]

[1] Op. cit., 150. [2] Op. cit., 109. [3] Op. cit., 150. [4] Loc. cit.
[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of porridge and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a meal" ("Nikanyang's place in the Shilluk Religion", *J.R.A.I.*, lx, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirits with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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769 Mr. Hemry, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
770 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A supplicant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, breaking every sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's house to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

●772 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally confined with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 91), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
772 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
773 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
774 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[541] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and that to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the man. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the man offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep screamed]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the man is circled. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

" While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

[539] " We pardon you, you, who are God, is was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, when you left. Have help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes dead (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 184-5.)

I:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk : F323

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuogo*; special virtue resides in the tongue, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuogo*—literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyao*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyao* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands used to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyao* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and burned or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyao*—recognized by their albinos, especially do they speak envviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyao*. The magic of the *daiyao* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyao* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (yuep) is associated with the *jalyao*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye—largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

* When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man burns a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 194-6.

3:Westermann E-6 (1910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have almost as different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on formal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Juok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are herded in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of cane stalks and covered with zeriba, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A few of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are secured in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the few has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Ashat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Ashat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which in, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

233 [912] [732] [935] 234 [362] [916] [771] [235] 243 233 221 233 [962]

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge.

This day repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and swordsmen to battle, acted the part of fire, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old lady with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long wand as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, cloth, and dura, which they exchange for cheap and valuable

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components are clearly distinguishable: 1. *Jwok (Juok)* or God; 2. *Nyikang (Nyikang)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. *ajwago (ajwagi)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"*Jwok (Juok)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to *Jwok*, though this is done more frequently to *Nyikang*; prayers are also offered to *Jwok*, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to *Jwok* (for which vide page 171), while to *Nyikang* there are many. "Praying" to *Jwok* is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to *Nyikang*; the first is *ñang* "to pray", its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to *Nyikang* loudly "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to *Nyikang* are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to *Jwok* is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. *Jwok* has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk *Jwok* does not possess a deep-rooted reach. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

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others one against the one and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with astonishment at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dak*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kyt rij* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurowar, Wau,[2] Fashoda, *Nyikodo (Nyiddy)*, *Ongiro*, *Nyakwal*, *Ombiro*, *Okyg*, *Dhiliyy*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of religious are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of sesbank-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjugation of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tonkiin and Kodok.

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By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions usually used in swearing an oath are: *Nikani ahp!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Nikani ewen!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Nikani a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Nikani a Nikanil*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 645

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the priests who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and pour the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

Nyikang at times appears in the form of certain animals, as lobsterscorpion, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is immediately dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, never fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [976]

Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some remote the sacrificial demonstrate of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rin*, which is the plural of *rij* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rin*".

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 772 643 [978]

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the archtype model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

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773 THE COWS OF RYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Ryikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Ryikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dinkahns took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Ryikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "Ye Ryikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman swears falsely, may she escape?" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Ryikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Ryikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, sees of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Ryikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwo Ohjo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Ryikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

956 SORCERY
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ajodjo*, and what is connected with him; *ajodjo* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jogé* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Ryikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Ryikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

3:Westermann K-5 (5910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

III. SICKNESS.

11. Treatment of Sick People.

[illegible] kpi yi jwoh, ka ji dwoi, ka ji kji, kjwo: [illegible] wup ki jwoh? Ki ji i kjiki: [illegible] wikpi kjoh yi jwoh? Ki dyji dwoi, ka [illegible] jwoh, ka yij dyji kji, ka yi wyi ny, ki dyji i wjh, wpwy kuju fwo, ka ebbo yi [illegible]. Ki [illegible]. Ki dyji a kji jwoh i dwjh ki ny, ka wjwdyy dwoi. Ki wjwdyy kjwo, ka i kiby kjwo: kjwi kj kwjo, ka i ko: kjwi kj kjj, ka i ko: kjwi kj ffo, ka i ko: kjwi kj dyji? Ki dyji kji, ka [illegible] i kjo fjki, ki dyji ebbiji wij [illegible], ka dyji pyja kiki, ka pyja ewwoi kkpi; ka [illegible] kjo fwoh, ki jwoh i wkuj.

When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?" And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still had on him, a recurrer is sent for. When the recurrer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and "Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!" When the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on the top of a white ant hill; its body is cut open; when this is finished, the man is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

12. Another Report on Sickness.

Jwoh wijiy eiiy fi dwiji. Ka wjwdyy dwoi, ka wjwdyy kjwo, ka i ko kjwo: kjwi kwjo, wup kwoi pyj. Ka dyji kji, ka ffo kji, ka ewwji kji, ka pkiji kji, ka kij kji, ka ywoh kji, ka kki kji, ka kjwo kji, ka ewwji kjj fwo kj ebbjo, ka yyja ffo wwi. Ka ffjwy kji. ffjy fjwo pyja, ka wo yil pjw ebjo ebjo, ka wo wkiij ebjo ebiwy; ka ewwji wkiij, ka ewwji i ffj. Ka yy fwoiji wwi, ka dyji yijj kkh, ka wki pjkoh wii pjw; ka wwwj kji, ka ebbwj kiii, ka dbiij kji, ka yy kwoi wiy ffj. Ka yyj ffjh, ka wwij yi yi, ka wkki ebo fwi, ka yj wwji fw. Ka wkjyj rijy, wwiwwiy, wiiy yjkoh, ka yy kwkoh ebjy, ka kki kkh, ka kiji kkh, ka ywoh kwiii, ka kjjo yjki yi yi, ka fjkki yi yi, ka yi kjjo yoy kwji, yy ebbj fwi; ka kjj kwiiij fw, ka kwjo kwiiij fw, ka f'kiy kwiiij fw, ka eiiy kwiiij fw, ka dyji kwiiij[1] fw.

Another sickness is called *dwiji*. When this falls on a man, the recurrer is sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then

[1] These all are the ins of the which-doctors.
[2] kwiii yi fw.

3:Westermann E-5 (9910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

VIII. PRAYERS AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

61. A Prayer to God.

Wiid piu, piuu jwoh, ky pg kwichik piu ky wup. A kiir jk kjik chiii kpu. Ko 539*
chiiy ky kjik thau, chiiyi ri, a wiwi ky wuji, wiwi ri. Dij pj wuiik piu ky piu chuu a
ny wuiik jk, ky piik a ny wuji, ky wik a kiiri piu. Bjuk ow jkjik wuji, piuu jwoh; piuu
kjik kuu Nikiang; jwoy wiw a chiiyi ky jwoh; piuu kjik kwoi, ky wiwi Dak. A pjpg
ryuuk, ryuuk fo wuiji piu? Nimni a chiiyi jwoi jjiiii, jk dk, ryuuy fo kuiy pi; piuu
jwoh, ky pj ny thwoj wuiu? Jwiy piu, piuu jwoh, ky pow pjik Nikiiii, ky wiwi Dak?
Dij wuik fo wuiyi chij? Fuuy piu y kiiii wuiii.

Chiiy, kii jjwoi chwiiy, kii wiii kwiii, ku Bjk ny kuuu a ny du jwoh, ky pj wuiu ny.
Ko pij jjiiii kjil, tuuy ryuiiy, ku kiir piii ryil, ku pjil kwiwiwiu; fo kjil pj jk. Kii
chwiii wuiiyiil, ku kjui jiii, wuji jwoh.

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people 539*
kept by thee all days! And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I 782
walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray 755
for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou bearest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou bearest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thee: If she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who bearest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who lifteest up (the sick)."

That is all; and the cow is sparred; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("in with God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off. (It is cut into strips, these are tied together and the whole) is tied round the leg (of the sick one). And the right forelegs (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste of it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground: it is the thing (property) of God.[1]

63. A Prayer for Rain and the Ceremonies connected with it.

Tyyi a wuju ki kjwij, ku pg kpu kpu kpu, kpu kj pjip kj kiiiji, ku pg kpuy, ku 539*
rij a wiiu, ku pg wuuyuy, ku pj pwjiij kj kur kuiiy, kj kur kjiji, kj kur tur, kj
chiiy. Ko rium pg pwjk, ku pg chjiiji, ku kyyi a piii, ku jjwoi kjil, ku jjwoi chwiiy,

[1] This is said to be the only prayer to Jwoh. It is prayed on any occasion when a child, an sickness, famine, war, falls on the people. The prayer is said by "old people", by the chief, or some other respected person of the village. The chiiiiii were taught to by Nyikang.

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*539 [illegible]

[illegible]

*539 *[illegible] 786

The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they come and hammer the temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make stripes on the temple with red ochre, and with black ochre, and with white ochre, and with mud. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dance is ended, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikang, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king".[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lonydhar[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyidwal, to Akolo, the children of Nyikang."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

786 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the shrine) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the people, and addresses them. "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
787 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!"
233 He says, "Well, being the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Dwar", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

4:Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 F323 Shilluk F323

It would appear, therefore, that in judicial and administrative matters the Shilluk *reth* is far from being an over-riding or autocratic political authority. Local chiefs seem to be free to follow their own traditional courses without such interference. In actual powers of government and administration, and in personal prerogative, the *reth* may be little more than a mediator in disputes and perhaps the balancing force which decides a quarrel one way or another. It is in ritual matters that his real position and powers are indicated.

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THE RITUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RETH

Evans-Pritchard writes: "Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Tum and a cow for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibudho.(1)

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It is noticeable that everywhere there is the closest connection between the political structure and the religious cult.

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(a) The territorial segments and their association with certain dominant lineages are explained in terms of the myth of Nyikang's division of the country among his followers who became the founding ancestors of many of the Shilluk clans.

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(b) The lineage heads who are chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship. They perform ceremonial services at the time of the *reth's* investiture, are responsible for building huts in Fashoda and for the upkeep of Nyikang's shrines and those of past *reths*. The tombs of the dead kings are indistinguishable from the shrines of Nyikang and have the same ceremonial importance in rain-making ceremonies, harvest rituals and so forth.

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(c) The traditional customs of the people and the organization of society in every way are considered to be the work of Nyikang directly or acting in the line of *reths*.

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(d) The identification of Nyikang with the king is the central point of the Shilluk political, ritual and moral system. The people believe that Nyikang reigns and manifests himself in the *reth*. Nyikang is also the medium between the Shilluk and Juok - their chief spirit. The Shilluk consider the *reth* to be in close communication with the mystic forces of life, and Nyikang is the connecting link, participating in Juok as he does in the *reth*.(2)

The *reth* is considered to come under the category of Divine Kings, as described by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. This is clear from the mode of his death and succession as well as from the duties he performs during his lifetime.

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Succession of the Reth

Only the son of a *reth* who has reigned is eligible, and a *nyireth* may

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(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, 1948, pp.16-17.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.19.

4:Bull E-4 (no date) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

would marry women from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,[1] but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary are relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is are in the second degree. B, C and D may have an are relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an are relationship between the two lineages as there is through A and B. Death sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,[2] among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual: the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups although beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang. The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind; 776
Juok *Nen*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acwari*, " creator;
Jene Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tin*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayin*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail. [753]

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bureth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bureth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine. 346 778 778 793

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are 778 782

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
780 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
779 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954. FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 a third, a spiritual or ideal, dimension. To put this in another way, the Shilluk quotation suggests that what is material has another, non-material, dimension, and we are told that *juok* is 'present to a greater or lesser degree in all things'.[1] Although *juok*, as the first principle, is the ultimate explanation for everything, the notion of *juok* seems to be particularly used to account for such phenomena as elude explanation in less abstract terms. It is a necessary logical concept for the Shilluk. Seligman quotes Dr. Heasty as saying of *juok* that 'he appears to be one, and yet seems to be a plurality as well . . . anything the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*'.[2] That 771 is, what the Shilluk cannot otherwise account for, they account for by this 776 concept. So, for example, the creation of the world and of life is the work of *juok*, and he may also be an explanation for sickness and death. The presence and powers of the foreigners are explained with reference to *juok*, for those who are specially gifted are supposed to be so by virtue of the stronger flow, in them, of the being which created and animates the universe. *Juok*, therefore, is the support of Nyikang and the Shilluk kings. 776 Since they represent, for the Shilluk, the order of the society and the world in which they live, and since *juok* has his place in that order, it is to be expected that for them Nyikang should also be an indication of the nature of God. So, in what Hofmayr says is the oldest Shilluk song, Nyikang is represented as speaking for God 'thus God says'.[3] This association between God and Nyikang is, of course, what has led to the anthropological study of Nyikang and his successors as 'divine kings'. God and Nyikang are two terms of Shilluk thought which cannot be reduced to any third term, but co-exist and participate in each other.

Relation of Nyikang to God

776 Examples of this are numerous. It is said that there are few direct appeals to God, and that Nyikang is usually invoked as an intermediary. Westermann quotes a prayer which 'is said to be the only prayer to *juok*', and says that the Shilluk were taught it by Nyikang. This explanation was, presumably, given him by a Shilluk, and is an example of their interpretation of God by Nyikang already mentioned. Part of the prayer runs:

[539] There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thus: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick).[4]

776 The association between Nyikang and God in this prayer is so close that it is sometimes difficult to know which is addressed. Since the Shilluk myth and tradition tell them much more about the nature of Nyikang, who is a man, than about the nature of God, who is not, it is to be expected that they

[1] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 8.
[2] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 7.
[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 171.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

> We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyler, 1918, (ii) p. 283.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] 1925, p. 376.
[3] Op. cit., 155.
[4] Op. cit., p. 193.
[5] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[6] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.
[7] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

628 led by the guard, and then motored on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight
643 hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[631] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back,
[782] held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Thworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abûjok in Thworo next day. Thworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud.
[787] Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Faalo and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

[648] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.
[114] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, I'atworo, and Falo[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mamur*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ŋol*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all ceremonies performed in Nilotic tribes for the restoration of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.32.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[649 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of
682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform
783 certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
791 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This
[782] is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Juok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, 754
who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a [683]
like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the [845
fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work 847]
of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?».

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is 683
seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he 754
may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes.

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on 754
houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease.

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God [782]
give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power.

To call a man a *jal yat* is a serious matter even though it is a well 683
known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 754

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755 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to knead his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three biglig pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles [782] it he prays: «Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

754 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their
602 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves
754 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try
756 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two oxen were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer-
754 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some
791 mishap would over take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE GOOD MEDICINE MEN.

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

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756 The Shilluks think of the witch doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men. Their powers are for sale, and man in his need may go to them for help. The patient, who brings no fee, will not be treated, as they do no charity work. In the contest between good and evil, they seem to typify the good, as combating the powers of the evil medicine man.

The people are not agreed as to the source whence the medicine man receives his power. Some maintain that the power comes from [776] God, and others, that it is a heritage from the man's ancestors but the difference is not great, as those, who think of the power as coming from the ancestors, would also say that the first person of the line having the power received it from God. A medicine man is usually followed by one of his sons. The child to receive the power is designated by the father, and is usually either the oldest or yourgest son, though a daughter may also be possessed of the power to work charms. The occult power may also descend on the descendants of a son or a daughter of a medicine man, who did not inherit that power, and the fact that the power of working charms comes to a person whose father was not a witch doctor may be explained as a proof of the return of the power of some forgotten ancestor.

756 When a man begins the practice of the art the first ceremony consists of a dedication prayer something like this: "You who are God, the power is yours. In order that I may save people, help me. Father, and my ancestor, the power was yours, so help me. [587] The fee is yours, father, it will be given by me to you, and God". So the first fee is dedicated to God or to the source of the power, as a sort of payment to obtain the power. The first fee is usually a female, either a lamb, kid or calf, though occasionally a male

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may be thus dedicated. The animal so devoted must be young. 756
Only the children of the medicine man may drink the milk of the 782
consecrated animal, and its offspring may not be sold, though that is sometimes violated. If the devoted animal is a cow the calves are kept until the man has enough to get a wife, and from the children of that wife his successor is chosen. When such an animal dies its meat is eaten, but annually a sacrifice of either an ox or sheep is offered for it, and the tail, feet, and head of the sacrifice are cut off, and hung on a pole. The successor to the devoted animal is chosen from among its offspring. When the devoted animal is a male it is not permitted to die a natural death, as that would bring disaster on the village. When the first fee is a sheep, the medicine man may later substitute a cow for it, if he becomes prosperous. If the son inherits a devoted animal from his father it is not necessary for him to devote his first fee thus to the source of his power.

When a witch doctor takes a case he practically always offers a prayer, and while they are different yet the thought in each is the same. One such prayer was given thus: "God you are the one, [539]
who gives me the power. What power did I have before? I praise you, and may ancestor (Nikang), and Deng (who is worshipped by the Dinkas), and my father and mother. Is it not thus that you give me food?" The prayer may have many petitions, but practically the only reason given why it should be answered is, in order that the medicine man may get his food thereby.

The proof of the fact that the medicine man has the power he 755
covets is found in the cures he makes. If a witch doctor fails in 756
his first cases it is often taken as a proof that he does not have the power. However after a man has once established his reputation failure does not have such a serious effect on his practice.

Many of the medicine men have physical defects, and their child- 756
ren are usually sickly, and many of them are deformed. The [732]
natives say that this is caused by the fact that the shades of their victims bring a curse on the medicine man, and also on his family. The medicine man is usually well-to-do because of his exorbitant [556
charges, and he can afford to, and does, take many wives, but he 595]
usually only has a few children.

537 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang.
628 (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour
643 to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal
776 is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or
628 not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and
648 both sides declared they were.

628 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king
643 then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had
782 been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol
628 pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the
782 Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked
[787] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward
[787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

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After the animal fell the two factions moved closer together. The animal was then cut open, and some of the contents of the stomach was taken by the old men, and thrown on the young men. That was done to show their united condition. The thought was that the animal eats a bit here and there, but in the stomach it all becomes one mass. Even so the inviduals of the two factions were to become one. The two factions then united in singing the song of Dok. 628 782

To conclude the ceremony the men of the two factions started to march, and as they marched the two factions mingled until the onlookers could not tell to which faction the people belonged. The old chief was so happy that he leaped about, and danced like a boy. 628

The Inspector then gave some tobacco to the chief men: After that the meat of the animal was divided, and part taken by each faction. [648]

The meat was to be eaten in the villages, and the tobacco was to be smoked, and the people were to become one also through the eating, and smoking of the same thing. The formal ceremony was finished.

Before the people separated the king called a man, who had been under arrest for several months because he had taken part in the feud. The king said "When you see a man from the other village will you again curse him, and call to your friends to come on to slay him? The man said he would not. The king said "we heard of this man and his big words, but when we took him he was very small." He added that was often true of boastful men. 628 643

Both factions now profess to be glad that peace has been made, and declare that they intend to keep the peace.

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When
821 the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A hoe must
be placed in front of the door. If no hoe is in the house then a fish
[782] spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a hoe or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary uses after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal agoc, heaven hits). In
342 former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the
821 circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed
inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort
[766] of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in
regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now
[177] practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner
342 usually calls a servant of Deṅ (Bäṅ Deṅ). After the servant of Deṅ
782 arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deṅ says bring an ox."
If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds,
821 "I do not ask for this offering, but Deṅ asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning
792 may become a servant of Deṅ (Bäṅ Deṅ), if he so desires. When they
821 travel they say, "Deṅ asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deṅ.

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When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deṅ rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deṅ, and that it is an honour to be called by Deṅ, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deṅ. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deṅ will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 342 782 821

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342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the
782 mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deń. The soup in which
821 the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deń present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deń. While the servants of Deń put the higlig branch (ȳk Deń) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer.
821 One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deń. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An
778 object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deń is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deń's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small
000 wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere.

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang.

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *nyireths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *nyireths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *nyireths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

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There were various dignitaries created *jagos* or chiefs responsible for separate small ceremonies. These had all to be appointed. They were old female *nyireths*, specially appointed, who looked after certain shrines of Nyikang. 643

An interesting ceremony was the lighting of the fire for the special blacksmiths, Kwanyikang from Golbainy, to make the sacred spears. It took place in the middle of January. A rough grass shelter was built on the clear ground east of Fashoda, and a white bull with brown markings was brought up for slaughter, and a black cow calf from the sacred herd of Nyikang. This was not for slaughtering, but was given to the Kwanyikang to take home. It and its offspring will remain the kine of Nyikang. A brown sheep is also brought. 643 782 [372 326]

Some little way off from the shelter the blacksmiths' implements, bellows, anvils, hammers etc., were brought out and laid upon a bull skin. When all was ready the implements were moved with great care to beside the shelter where they were laid out on the bull skin once more. Then the cow calf was completely draped in cloth, great care being taken to see that it was blind-folded. The bull calf and sheep were all tethered close to the shelter, and the spectators, including the *reth*, who took no part, stood round in a semicircle.

Two spears, sacred to Nyikang were brought down from the mound Aturwic, and a part of the sheep's right ear was cut off with one of the spears. This ear was said to assist the making of the fire. It was placed with some tinder upon a hearth beside the shelter, and the butt of a fish spear twirled and fire made. The sparks were nursed and taken into the shelter, where they were fanned into a fire. Then a piece was cut from the right ear of the bull, and put into a small gourd. A little bull's blood was also drained into the gourd. A blacksmith seized a hammer and hit the bull a blow on the base of the skull. The bull fell at once. Two more blows were delivered, and as it was about to die an incision was made in its throat with a spear, and the blood drawn off in gourds. The small gourd was said to be a libation to Nyikang, the large gourds full of blood were said [778] [372]

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643 to be for the Kwanyikang to drink. The preliminaries were then
782 complete for the forging of the spears to be used in the installation. They numbered about fifty.

778 The Shilluk say that Nyikang disappeared in a whirlwind, and
643 since then Akurwa has been a place of especial sanctity. Nyikang
[173] is liable to re-appear at any time, in a variety of different forms and
[775] at any place in Shilluk country, but since Akurwa was the scene of his departure, it is also the most likely place for his return. There are many shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, but Akurwa is by far the most important and it is there that the effigies of Nyikang and Dak are kept. These effigies are not merely symbols. They may "become active" at any time, and when active they are Nyikang and Dak. The effigy of Nyikang is rarely taken on a journey in normal times, though it is often brought out to dance during religious festivals at Akurwa itself. The effigy of Dak makes periodical ex-
643 cursions through the country. Both effigies have an important part
775 to play in the ceremonies of installation. The soul of Nyikang is
778 manifest in the effigy for the occasion, and he must march from Akurwa to Fashoda to test the qualities of his new successor and to install him at the capital. This march, the opposition shown by the *reth* and the final ritual performed at Fashoda are the essence of the installation ceremonies. The symbolic substitution on the sacred stool[13] of the *reth*-elect for the effigy is the principal method by which the soul of Nyikang is transferred.

The Progress of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir.

643 As the time of the installation drew near, it was plain that there
778 had been some delay. Nyikang was expected to arrive at Fashoda by the new moon of February 24th 1944. But as the old moon waned there were nothing but rumours that he had started and others that he had not. This was worrying to those around the *reth*, for tradition has it that if Nyikang disapproves of the *reth* he may become too heavy

13. Described in Part III, pp. 61 ff.

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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not [782] [778 576 788] [793]

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
"*Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong:.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together "*Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong*", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say "*Kwaa dibong*", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the "things of Nyikang" such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and [793]
she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows:—"Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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643 782 so many cows, sheep, spears, etc., and now the people were thrusting themselves upon Nyikang to make sure these things would be delivered to them. They were begging Nyikang to speak to them and assure them that the things would be forthcoming. In all the ceremonies I witnessed the element of begging was paramount, the people begging Nyikang to speak to them and promise them "things of the [781] earth" to enrich them. The element of worship and adoration was singularly lacking. (Note 14).

643 778 After this song everyone turned their backs to the opening of the *kal* (enclosure), and the drums started to beat again. This time the people were silent, and soon Dak appeared and came out of the enclosure. Dak was about twelve feet high, carried on a long bamboo pole. The body of the figure was about eighteen inches long and approximately five inches thick, of a cylindrical shape wrapped about with blue and white checked cloth. It was crowned with a splendid plume of ten to dozen ostrich feathers, all black. Dak was carried by a middle aged man, and I was told that he would receive 'great riches' for his work, probably three or four cows. Dak circled the house three times and then came to rest again at the entrance. At [782] this time two sheep were sacrificed, one at the door of the *kal* and the other beside the road in the direction of Fashoda. These sheep were allowed to lie where their throats had been cut, but I noticed later that, as soon as the procession had passed, the women of the village went out and dragged them in to be eaten.

As Dak stood at the entrance, the drums changed their beat and everyone began to chant "*Kwaa*, you are great". Then Nyikang appeared out of the house and took his place beside Dak. He was carried by a man of middle age. Nyikang was much larger in body than Dak, though not nearly so tall. I estimated the body of the figure as being about five feet long and a foot thick. It was wrapped in the same cloth as Dak and crowned with a much more profuse plume of ostrich feathers. Two long streamers fell away from the head and

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him. 643 778

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind. 643 [782] [533]

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal wi jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our beggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them. [481] [533 539] [778]

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

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17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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who held his left, walked across the open space in front of the shrine. 643
Here another ox, this time a black and white one, also swathed in white cloth and covered over the back with a leopard-skin decorated at the edges with cowrie shells, was tethered. Beside it stood two men of Kwa Ojul, one holding a crude straight-bladed sword, the other holding a spear. These were said to be yet further weapons of Nyikang, [778 782]
and each in turn was handed to the *reth*, who stood at the tail end of the ox, and with each he made three passes in the air over the back of the ox, which was then led off to be sacrificed.

The Temporary Camp.

After this ceremony, the *reth*, still accompanied by the chief of Kwa Nyikwom and by the small girl *nyakwer*, entered the screen, which surrounded the temporary huts, and he himself entered the larger of them. These huts were built under the personal supervision [631]
of Jago Yor Leiker and Jago Tabo, the chiefs of the south and north. The huts were built of grass, and similar to those built in Shilluk cattle camps. The larger was considered the *reth's* temporary residence, the smaller the kitchen, where his food should be prepared and where the water was heated for the ritual bathing. The bull mentioned above was stripped of its coverings, which were again torn to pieces [782]
by the crowd, and the leopard skin was taken into the shrine of Nyikang. The bull was speared and fell to the ground immediately in front of the *reth's* temporary camp. After this the public part of the first day's ceremonies was over. The *reth* had retired into seclusion, and those Shilluk who had remained to watch the ceremony of the stool soon dispersed and went off to rest in the shade around Fashoda. Only the Ororo, Kwareth and Kwa Nyikwom, the immediate attendants of the *reth*, remained to guard him and minister to his wants.

The effigies of Nyikang and Dak had already been carried into the shrine. The drums were also put away, and the sacred stool, which had been carelessly left with the canopy draped over it, was carried off, the canopy held around it so that no one could see it go,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 631 643 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reth* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reth* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reth*. Then the *reth* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reth*. "I have become your *reth*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggrieved."

643 782 The assembly then arose, and the *reth* moved over to where the white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororo came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this came the final ceremony. The *reth*, accompanied by a few chosen followers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reth* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoda is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reth* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourite house of his father *reth* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reth* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART IV.—SEQUEL.

FERTILITY RITES AND RAIN-MAKING.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters. 643 789 782

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd. and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Fafiti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty. 643 789 787 766

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th, April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 10 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils 643

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 [782] The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[782] On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783] to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared [787] to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party [782] travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *hadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special [177] significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu [173] ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766 [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] [783]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[10] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed."

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

[10] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[10] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwalo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of [411] precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all 184 carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the [576] Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to [631] speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears [428] had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[*]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial 643 sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which 782 had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears [578] presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

[*] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view. 645 [123]

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for : he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him. [70]

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound. [4 82] [601] [7 82] [4 82]

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom. [7 73]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs, they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief. 173 [212] [887]

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence. 776

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given. 776 782 537

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. » 776

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship, 769 782

[p. 283]

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently
addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and
sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
776 sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
782 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the
ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in
a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the
water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the
sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
[425] go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased.
The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is
made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as
the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach
and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is
cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the
deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with
a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in
the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
[262] to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the
sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man
of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are
carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the
bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined
by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 "We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given
as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we
thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 787
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 761
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is 776
actively watching over his people.

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, 821
782

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

[643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769] made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

755 to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the [753] conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the [756] king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another [787] shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person [553] drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room [782] then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. 756 When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the 787 relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) [761] or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the rela- [682] tives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two 756 men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, 766 named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded 787 that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies 766
in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer [178] practised.

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to [535] come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number [782] of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking [264] part in the funeral ceremonies.

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a 535
day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war 766
shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing [533] songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the [533] village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but

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643 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the
796 king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open
[782] space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the
[778] shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the
[787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for
[782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of
[783] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang
796 reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward
[537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly.
[782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the posi-
797 tion, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or
[798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

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Chapter VIII

RELIGION

It is so easy to suppose, when speaking of the peoples who 776
live in the continent of Africa as pagan, that they are without any religion at all and have no knowledge or recognition of God. Yet it is absolutely untrue of them all. Certainly among the Shilluk people there is not one, no matter how remote from Christian influence, who would not willingly subscribe to the first article of the Creed: 'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.' He does indeed believe in God, the Supreme Omnipotent Spirit, Creator of all things, Lord of life and death, the great Jwok-Atang. I once commenced instructing a dying Shilluk chief by asking him 'Do you believe in God?' He looked at me in wonder that I should ask so foolish a question, and replied 'Of course I do. All men believe in God.' And undoubtedly, to the Shilluk, God is very real. On entering a village, you are greeted in His name, '*Yi kall* [576]
yi Jwok,' i.e. 'God has brought you.' As you leave you are sped on your way with a prayer, '*Yi mith yi Jwok*.' 'May God guard you.' A person looking very seedy and sorry for himself will come and tell you that 'he has God', by which you immediately understand not that he has experienced a [753]
sudden religious conversion, but that he is sick. So too, good fortune and misfortune both are attributed to God, and of the latter, even the most crushing ones, the failure of the crops, the decimation of the cattle through plague, the [731]
death of a loved one through sickness or accident, although grieved over, are accepted resignedly as coming from God.

Yet here there is a great paradox, for although God is acknowledged by the Shilluk as the Lord of all things, and His name is so frequently invoked, yet He is not worshipped by the people and to Him no prayer or sacrifice is offered. [782]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in [782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

● 782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

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person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. 535 Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in [527] the principal villages. The district turns up in force for these [628] communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances. There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

643 Because of the mystical values associated with
783 the kingship and centred in the person of the king he must keep himself in a state of ritual purity, by performing certain actions and observing certain prescriptions, and in a state of physical perfection. Our authorities say that the Shilluk believe that should the king become physically weak the whole people might suffer, and, further, that if a king becomes sick or senile he should be killed to avoid some grave national misfortune, such as defeat in war, epidemic, or famine. The king must be killed to save the kingship and with it the whole Shilluk people.

643 This would seem to be the reasoning behind
783 Shilluk statements that the king may be strangled,
114 or suffocated, or walled up in a hut and left to die
[766] there, if he fails to satisfy his wives or shows signs of illness or senility. In view of the great importance Sir James Frazer and others have attached to these statements I must confess that I consider them of interest more as an indication of the mystical nature of the kingship than as evidence that the kings were, in fact, ever killed in the ways mentioned or for the reasons given. It is true that Professor and Mrs Seligman state categorically that 'there is not the least doubt that kings of the Shilluk were killed with due ceremony when they began to show

signs of old age or ill health',[1] but I have failed to find convincing evidence that any Shilluk king was put to death in either circumstance, although some of the kings must have qualified long before they died for execution on the grounds alleged; and I am persuaded that the story of kings being walled up in a hut is a confusion arising from the usual walling up of the remains of a dead king, the bones being buried after decomposition of the flesh. In the absence of other than traditional evidence of royal executions in Shilluk history and in view of the contradictory accounts cited I conclude that the ceremonial putting to death of kings is probably a fiction. It possibly arises from the dual personality of the king, who is both himself and Nyikang, both an individual and an institution, which accounts also for the linguistic convention that a king does not die but disappears just as Nyikang is said not to have died but to have disappeared, in his case in a storm. I will return to this question of regicide after I have reviewed the procedures of election and investiture of kings to show what light they shed on the nature of the kingship.

[1] *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, p. 221; also *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 90–2. Howell and Thomson say (*op. cit.* p. 19) that ceremonial strangulation is traditional for all members of the royal clan.

171 some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their
628 personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though
[649 repressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of
682] the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth*'s ritual function in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

171 As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen.
783 This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical
791 expert (*ajwogo*)[1] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tai dhani*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object
[782] of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

682 Accidental killing (*agweny*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[2] District records indicate that two head of
[127] cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1934 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity
[114] existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

683 On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that
[171] among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and
[671 rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem
643] of the *reth*'s intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

amount to eight cattle out of a total of forty.

[1] *Ajwogo:* Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwoth*). *Ajwogo* is a derivative of *Juok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[2] Op. cit.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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obvious variation on the second day, though different contingents took part. On each day, at the close of the ceremonies the drummers whisked the drums from their holes and rushed them out of the village. This was a signal to the dancers to disperse, and they did so with great speed and with mock terror. The spirit of the late *reth* was said to return on the drums being drawn, and hands were clapped by the onlookers as before. On the last day, the holes in which the drums had been set up were immediately filled, and water poured over the spot, and a sheep was brought to the site. This sheep was not immediately sacrificed, but was ceremonially purified and led off to be slaughtered elsewhere. 766 [781] [782 783]

PART II—ELECTION OF THE RETH

(W.P.G.T.)

The *reth* of the Shilluk is elected from the body of surviving sons of those previous *reths* who have been properly installed in Fashoda. Difficulties arose in recent elections owing to pretenders seeking the throne, who were the sons of men who, although they were proclaimed *reth* by the government or compassed Fashoda of their own accord, had never been installed by Nyikang. 643

In 1943 these "illegitimate" lines had died out, and all *nyireths* were genuinely eligible for the position of *reth*.

Apart from the law that all *reths* must be the sons of previous *reths*, there is no other rule governing the election. It is more or less understood now, though not in former times, that surviving lines of *nyireths* take it in turn to provide a *reth*, though we think agreement has to be obtained for this. The families of three *reths*, Fafiti, Fadiet and Kur contained among them some thirty or forty *nyireths* all technically eligible for election excluding infant children of Fafiti. In 1943, the two surviving sons of *reth* Yor were not considered owing to old age (one of them had left the Shilluk country some years pre-

The same evening, outside the shaiwe of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim them blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang. 643 783 [372] [688]

THE MAKING OF NEW FIRE AT FASHODA.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire-making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making 643 372 643 643 [787] [376]

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Analyst]

20; Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 The next day December 30th, *Adul*, the temporary camp outside Fashoda, was built by Jago Yorleiker. This time he built both huts, and the chief of Gol Dhiang had no part.

On the 31st the *reth* and Nyikang were ready for the installation ceremonies. Nyikang and his army left Nyigir at about 9.00 a.m. and went straight to the village north of Fashoda, where they had to wait some two hours for the *reth* to start from Debalo. The army of Nyikang moved steadily this time and seldom turned back in countermarch as it had done in 1944. The *reth* was delayed ceremonially till about midday. His form of procession was similar to 1944, and the cattle which were bride-wealth for Nyakwer were observed being driven along beside his army.

There had been an abnormal White Nile flood in 1946, as in 1917 at the time of the installation of *reth* Fafiti, and the Khor Arepajur, which was dry in March 1944, was now an expanse of water about 80 yards wide. When the *reth* arrived at the khor, the *Golbainy* dragged the small black bull to the southern bank. The *reth*, taking Nyakwer by the hand, stepped over the bull and into a canoe. He was paddled across the khor with Nyakwer sitting behind him, while his followers forded the stream.

As the two parties of Nyikang and the *reth* approached each other Nyikang dashed forward and captured the *reth* without a struggle and began at once to carry him off to Cerfuc (op. cit. p.p. 61 & 78) Fashoda. This corresponded with Munro's observation in 1918 (*Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. I), but not with what we had seen in 1944, when there had been a spectacular mock battle with millet stalks. I was told that they had "made a mistake" in 1944, and also that owing to the hardness of the millet stalks they were afraid of injuring someone. This latter reason had not cancelled the fight in 1944. There is another possible reason: the *reth* himself was feeling in a state of acute personal danger, owing, as he thought, to the likelihood of someone making an attack on his life. He may have issued orders at the last moment that the battle was not to take place, in case someone should take advantage of the confusion to attack him. This seems more possible because the *reth's* army were all carrying millet stalks as they crossed the khor, as if in preparation for the mock battle.

114 643 669 541

643 The rest of the ceremonies closely followed precedent. *Reth* Dak, while enthroned on the stool was "possessed" by Nyikang, in the same way as *reth* Anei had been. He was afterwards led away to seclusion in *Adul* leading Nyakwer by the hand. An incident which may be of interest occurred while the *reth* was being led to *Adul*. The

[195] [783]

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

sheep over which he had to step on entering *Adul*, defaecated on the way. The man holding the sheep picked up the droppings and rubbed them on the sheep's back. After he had done so he made gestures showing that he had restored the situation, indicating that the sheep was no longer defiled. 643 783

For the following account of the final ceremonies I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Nicholson, then Deputy Governor Upper Nile, with whom I witnessed them. 643

The final ceremonies of the installation of the new *reth* of the Shilluk took place at Fashoda on 3rd and 4th January. This time there were no large crowds, but only the chiefs and leading notables and the attendants of Nyikang and the *reth*.

On the evening of the 2nd, the *reth* had come out of the special grass hut into which he had been led with the small girl, his symbolic bride, Nyakwer, 'the girl of the ceremonies,' after the spirit of Nyikang had entered into him and he had been ritually seated on the sacred stool or throne. He had come out to go up into Athudowic, the hill of the throne, the great mound which dominates Fashoda, on which are set the four sacred houses which constitute the shrine of the Shilluk kings. With him was a girl, but it was not his bride. In accordance with tradition her place had been taken by a girl of the Ororo clan who had enticed him away. Next morning, when he discovered this, the *reth* sent out to search for his wife, and eventually learnt that she had been taken by Nyikang to his shrine. He sent envoys to ask for her return, and when Nyikang refused, he came out, stepped over a sheep, marched down the hill with his army, stepped over a grey-white bull and challenged Nyikang to battle. Nyikang's drum was then heard, sounding a distinctive beat, the lion call, and Nyikang accompanied by his sons Dak and Cal (a smaller figure made of the grey feathers of a female ostrich) came out from his shrine at the head of his army. After marching round his shrine, from right to left, he advanced to meet the *reth* and his party, who were waiting on the open ground in the middle of the village. Twice Nyikang advanced towards the *reth* and retired again to march round the shrine, while his drum sounded a new insistent beat. The third time the armies joined battle armed with millet stalks, and also, in the case of Nyikang's men, with special rope whips. This time the *reth* prevailed, and seizing Nyakwer who was with Nyikang's army, drew her with him at a run up into the hill, while Nyikang and his men withdrew to his shrine at the other side of the village. [778]

Next morning the stage was set for the last act, the *kel long*

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 [782] The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[782] On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783 787] to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of [782] the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *hadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for [177] three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's [173] approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766. [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] [783]

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini,*
[173] "Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one,
death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march
[576] round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet
stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued
for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended
and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen
were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung
on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the
participants.

[783] On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the
ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth*,
nyireth and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the
ororo into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat
round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so,
302] possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient
purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was
forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the
bilo (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong*
and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approach-
ing them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
643 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new
766 *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not
see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated
with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was
766 to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am
indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

"On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda
for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several
days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The march of the armies and the mock battle

After three nights in seclusion in Debalo, during which his followers are mustering from the south, the *reth* is challenged by Nyikang to come forth to fight and messengers are sent for this purpose. Accompanied by *Nyakwer*, "the girl of the ceremonies," who plays an important part in subsequent events, by various relics of Nyikang, by his shield and spear-bearers and his army, the *reth* marches on the capital, crossing Arepejur on the way, and attacks the army of Nyikang by then drawn up just west of Fashoda. In this battle he is defeated, captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of Nyikang (*Cerfuc*) nearby. 643

The substitution on the sacred stool

In front of this shrine the sacred stool of Shilluk kings, the *kwom*, is set shrouded from the public by a canopy of white cloth. Nyikang is placed upon this, but after a time is whisked away and the *reth* takes his place. This act of substitution and enthronement, perhaps the most significant act of all the ceremonies, is the point where the *reth* is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang. [778 775]

The temporary camp

Shortly after this the *reth* is carried to a temporary camp (*Adul*), where, after a sacrifice, he is washed and purified. He remains there in strict seclusion, guarded by the *ororo*. [783 644]

The vigil in Athurwic

On the next evening, he ascends into *Athurwic*[1], the imposing mound which dominates the capital and on which are four well-built houses. It is said that he is enticed there by a woman of the *ororo*, leaving *Nyakwer* behind, forgotten and neglected. After two nights, word is brought to him that Nyikang has seized her on the grounds that she has been married with cattle from the royal herd: these are his, Nyikang's property, not that of a man who has not yet been confirmed in his position as *reth*.

The final struggle with Nyikang

Challenged, the *reth* comes down from the mound with his followers, while Nyikang moves forward to attack him right in the centre of Fashoda. In a furious battle which follows, the *reth* succeeds in wresting *Nyakwer* from Nyikang and retires into *Athurwic* once more. Shortly afterwards, Nyikang ascends the mound and makes his peace with the *reth* and there follows a ceremonial inspection of the houses of the capital and fines are imposed on those clans who have not fulfilled their obligation to repair them. The *reth* has now been accepted by Nyikang whose official and public functions are over. Later he retires again to Akurwa. [614 651]

Speech Day

On the final day, the chiefs of the country assemble below the mound and the *reth*, accompanied by his drummer and shield-bearer, comes down to meet them. Each chief in turn addresses the *reth* and, after declaring his allegiance, exhort him to do his duty and to treat his people justly. The *reth* is then conducted again round the houses of Fashoda over which he now has complete control. 631 643

In this brief summary, I have drawn attention only to the most important features of the installation. There is naturally a wealth of ritual carried out at each stage of the ceremonies. From the accounts of the accession of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, *reth* Anei in 1944 and *reth* Dak in 1946, we have a clear picture of the slow and colourful process by which a *reth* is chosen and installed. Each stage has its religious and secular aspects and in the short description of the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti which follows, it will be 643

[1] Variously spelt: *Aturwic*, *Athudowic*, *Athurwic*.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.[*] They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.[**] Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.[***] This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

[*] It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

[**] Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

[***] For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwe* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwe* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy. 643 541 293 411

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine. 643 778

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it* was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.* 782 783

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

* From the *kwe* Nyiboc of Limo.

* In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Ahee, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahwab*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jogo*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation. 773 835

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened [372] stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village.

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's [778] second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *entourage* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
631 *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
114 list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

●789 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
825 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—
825

"The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 193.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782
796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should
[643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the
[793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is
[787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it
[831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 776 825 776 782 825 [753] [787] [553] 776 782 776 794 171 [778] [782] 776

victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
643 word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*,
[793] viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

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643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

[662] 643 787 643 796

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *kerek* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month
796 (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*.
• [787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kgá rig* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ñibōdo)*, *Otgio*, Nyelwal, *Oshāro*, *Otūgo*, *Dīdūgo*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Taufikia and Kodok.

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akunyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remaind silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said. "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing. 173 539*

45. Queen Abudok.

Kɛ́ Dɔ́kɔ̰̀t ka fɛ́ɛ́ e bɛ̀dɔ̀ ɛ́ bɩ ríṭ; ka Chɔ́lɔ́ wíjɛ́ mûm; ríṭ boggɔ́. Ka ʒ̱rɔ́ bɛ̰́nɔ́ yi Abúgɔ̀k, ka e ko: é wíṭe wɔ́n a mum yi bɩ́ɩ́e ríṭ. A kɔ̄bi kíne: kwɔ́ɩ́i ríṭ! A kwɔ́ɩ́i, a rɩ́ɩ́i. A kɛ̰̀dɔ́, ɛ́n Abudɔ̀k, a dɩ́ɩ́ai ʃɛ̰̄nɔ́, a mɔ̀jí, a wídlí, a pɛ́gí yɛ́le ʃɛ̰̀p; ka a ʒ̱ɩ́me dunɔ́, a pɛ́gí, ka aʃɛ̰̄p e chɔ̀gɔ̀, e ba pan. A kɛ̰̄l aʃɛ̰̄m ʃɛ̰̄n, a pɛ́gí, a pɩ́ní; a kɛ̰̄i Bachōdɔ́, a wei gɔ́ fɛ́ɛ́. A kɔ́bi kíne: í, Chɔ́lɔ́ ɩ́ nɩ́ní yi kwa ríṭ. A bāne ɩ̰̀ɩ́e kwa ríṭ. A kɔ̄bi: í, kwa ríṭ rɛ ɩ́ lɔ́gɔ́ mùgɔ̀, ka ɩ́ɩ́ gɛ̰̀di ki būte pɔ́rí, fɔ́rí ɩ́ɩ́ doyi dɔ̀yɔ́, ka e nɩ́ɩ́nɔ́. U ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ bat kɛ̰̄nɔ́, ɩ́ ɩ́ɩ́ɩ́ pɛ̰̄l. A bāne ɩ́wɔ́lí a ɩ́ɩ́ní. — Kwɔ́n Abúgɔ̀k. 539*

In the time of Dɔkɔ̰̄t the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be decreased by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many. She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become many, just as the branches of the calabash plant become many in the bush." Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok. 173 539*

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away 643 158 787

[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.
[2] loosen a rope to thrash him!

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 789 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lén kɛ́ é chāgí, ajwɔ̨gɔ̨ ní de dwâi, ká ḍɔ̀k gɔ̀ń, ka e bɛ̄nɔ̨, ka dyɛ̨k gwâch, ka tɔ̨ń gwâch, ka yai bɛ̄nɔ̨, ká àkɛ̨́t kɛ̨́t. Ka tɔ̨ń mɛ̄n pén, ka tɔ̨ń akyɛ̨l mɛ̄n pén; ka akɛ̨́t twóchè rɛ̨́. Ka yai e bɛ̄nɔ̨, ka kɛ̨la ṭá àkɛ̨́t; akɛ̨te ya màl, e twojɔ̨ bwɔ́l tɔ̨́ń. Ñànò mâk yi akɛ̨́t, ka ńi chip wâi, ka ńāne a ńi mak ńi chip wāi. Ka jē chāṭɔ̨ kí dɛ̄ch. Ka tin, ka yai kɔ́fí: fɛ̄ke fén. Ka ońwɔ̨k kwâń, ka tɛ́yè fén, ka yejɛ kâk, ka wijɛ ńɔ̨́l, ka wài kɔ̨̄l wɔ̀k, ka ńi lɛ̨́ń kɛ̨le jè. Ka wich ańwɔ̨k ka kwâń yi ajwɔ̨̄gɔ́, ka ńi lɛ̨́ń fōṇ ɛ̄ni ki ńim yāi. U̲[1] yik wiche ońwɔ̨k y nɛ̄nɔ̨ kundo foṇ ɛ̄ni, ka yé kine: foṇ ɛ̄ni de chyɛ̨̀tò, kwɔ̨f ajwɔ̄gɔ̨. U̲ yik wiche ońwɔ̨k y nɛ̄nó kun adi lén, ye kine: leń rach! Ka ajwɔ̄gɔ̨ e ṭɛ̄ḍò kɛ̨́tɛ́, ka yech kɔ̨̄l, ka kɔ̄t, ka mɛ̄kɔ̨ chiki kɔ̄tò, ka ajwɔ̄gɔ̨ kɛ̨ḍɔ̨, ka ońwɔ̨ń mɛ̄kɔ̨ kɔ̨̄l, ka nɛ̄k, ka wijɛ chiki (chɛki) wɛ̨̀tò, ká lɛ̨t yi ajwɔ̨ń ɛ̄ni, ka e ko: dɔ̄ch! Dwai tɛ̄rɔ̨ bɛ̄nɔ̨! Ka tɛ̄rɔ̨ bɛ̄nɔ̨. Ka wāi kwâńé, ka gɔ̨ lɛ̨́ńé ré tɛ̄rò. Ka e kɛ̨ḍɔ̨. Ka wich ońywɔ̨k ka y kwɔ̀ńí fen. Ka pi ṭɛ̄ṇ, ká gò lɛ̨́ńé rɛ tɛ̄rɔ̨. 539*

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are loosened (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539* 721 787

[1] M.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 721 ●787 enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again; then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now), he says, "All right! Let all the people come!" The people come, the contents of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated. [727] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (in arms). Another sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes *539 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that 728 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to loosen them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; these amends consist in a number of cattle.

*539 the man of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the man of Ningaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the beans out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch-doctors![2] And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, some Dinka man whose name was Lengyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and [721] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

● 787 There was a certain man whose name was Wet Kwa Oket, he was also called Agweratyep, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, *539 and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his steer fell under the dom palm.[3] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agweratyep is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwǫk chwǫla Agǫk, mɜ̄ɲi tɔ̀ɲ jal yaɽ. Jal mɜ̄kɔ bɜ̄da ajwǫgǫ, ka ḍeaɲ ywǫbǫ, ka ḍeaɲ yɛ ta yi fɛ́ɲ. Ka jɜ̄ rɛɲa kal, ka jɜ̄ ko: ɛ́, Agǭk, ḍeaɲ a ɽɔu. Kɪ̄ne: e nɛ̨ke yi ɲǫ? Kɪ̄ne: kijà. Chɔ̀ɲ jɛ̀! Ka jɜ̄ chɔ̀ɲ; ka e ko: ɲatɛ̄, faɽe yin a ywǫp ḍeaɲ? Kɪ̄ne: yan! Kɪ̄ne: kɪ́paɲǫ? Kɪ̄ne: yá pàɲi yín! Kɪ̄ne: hɩ̄, yi ha pyɜ̄lǫ, wat ɽyau, ɲiɲi lɔ̄ch! yi re chɔ̀k yí yɔ̄bɔ̀ kí ḍɔ̄ tɜ̄rǫ? Yá faɲe yiɲ àu, má kɜ̄ch. Kɪ̄ne, ɛ́, de wâ ɽum! Kɛ̄ɽ, chɔ̀l! A chɔ̀lí kɪ̄ ḍǫk ádḭk.*

Ka jal ɲi e kɜ̄ḍǫ, ka bɜ̄ gɔ̄te yi pwoḍǫ. Ka jal ɲi túk yi Agǫk, kɪ̄ne: ɲatɛ̄, kɛ̄ɽ jal yaɽ chínɛ̄! Ká è bɜ̄dǫ, chwǫla gǫn a lɩ̄k. Ka mwǫl ka e kɜ̄ḍǫ, ka gin ɲi ywode yi fwoḍǫ. Gǫ gɔ̀l fɛ́ɲ, ka bia pach. Ka e kɔ̄bǫ kine: giche mɜ̄kɔ e gɔ̀l yi fwoḍǫ yi jal yaɽ. E ko: dâpɔ̀ɲɔ̀ pyɛ̄jí ydn? Yi cha kɔ́pǫ kɔ́pɔ̀ kɪ̄ne: kɛ̄ɽ, jal yaɽ a yip pwoḍǫ! Kɪ̄ne: kɛ̄ɽ! Kɪ̄ne: yi re bàɲ? Kɪ̄ne: chwǫla ga lāke yau! Kɪ̄ne: ɜ̂, chɔ̀ɲ tɜ̄rɔ̀! A chɔ̀ɲ tɜ̄rɔ̀, a pɜ̄ché kɪ̄ne: jal yáɽ, yin nɛ̨ka ɲǫ jɜ̄? A tyɛ̄k

[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the humming.
[754 756] [2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They are called here "*jǫ yɛ̄ɽ*" "men of medicine", as opposed to the *ajwɔ̄ɲǫ*, who is supposed to work for good.
[3] vide Introduction.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
780 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
784 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

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periodic possession by the spirit of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be *ajuago*, for mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an *ajuago*.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an *ajuago* he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills marking an *ajuago* are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an *ajuago* marries wives and others beget children for him.(1) Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their deaths. They are believed to have the power of curing disease and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an *ajuago* possesses a 'gourd of Juok', which is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased and some grain is put in it. When it is shaken the grain rattles and that is presumed to be Juok talking. The gourd is kept in the *ajuago*'s house and is consulted for purposes of divination.(2)

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Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalyat

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The *jalyat*, 'the man of herbs', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the *ajuago*. The *jalyat* is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a *jalyat*, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

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The *jalyat* is thought of as being a monorchid and, as such, he should be drowned at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud effigies and pierces them or puts them in a fire and is believed by these means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by ruining crops, by causing cattle to go barren and so forth. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The basis of the sorcerer's intentions is considered to be envy of the successful and the prosperous, whom he therefore endeavours to injure.

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.101.
(2) Oyler, *S.N.R.*, 1920, Vol.III, No.1, p.114.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs:

> We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them.

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God.

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk

[1] Oyler, 1918, (ii) p. 283. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Duk, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *fuogo tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the superhuman than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an spokesman of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1911, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1913, p. 276.
[5] 1929, p. 356.
[6] Op. cit., p. 155.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

628 led by the guard, and then moved on to Owaci who were similarly started off, about eight
643 hundred strong, also in four companies.

There was a large assembly uniting at the meeting place, with three bullocks and four sheep for sacrifice. These were provided by the *reth* and the two factions.

[634] Two neutral Chiefs had previously been told off to lead the factions to the meeting place which had been marked. This is important because experience has shown[1] that left to themselves the two factions will sit down about two hundred yards apart and then the memory of stolen cattle or a murdered brother will be too much for someone's self-control resulting in a flow of martial oratory. This will lead some young blood to dash forward and hurl spears or insults and there follows retaliation. If they can be got to move up close together without pause, it is obvious that the consequences of any hostilities will be so serious that anyone trying to start anything will instantly be suppressed by his wiser brethren in arms.

Both factions were finally got to sit down close up to the line and to put their shields on the ground as a sign of mutual confidence. The *reth* walked among them and briefly addressed them and they answered that they wanted peace. He was rather an impressive figure and seemed to have the situation under confident control. Some concerted hand-clapping was taken as a good sign by the public.

[782] The *reth*'s bullock was then led between one faction and the guard, thrown on its back, held by men of both factions, speared by men of both factions and had its throat cut.[2] Next, a procession of neutrals was formed who took hand-fulls of the stomach contents and marched round throwing it at the factions. The next item caused most interest among the public. Tiworo got up, marched round the guard and sat down touching Owaci who had the good manners to remain seated. Owaci's bull and sheep were led up, but put aside to be sacrificed at the shrine of Queen Abujok in Tiworo next day. Tiworo's bull was then led up and killed just as the *reth's* had been by persons with an active interest in the feud. Lesser folk killed the sheep, one of which got up and managed to stagger a few steps under
• [787] a rain of spear thrusts. This was considered a bad omen and one by-stander recalled the abortive peace between Fasio and Fanyidwai in 1926.[3]

[678] This cannot be quoted as evidence of the *reth*'s executive powers, for we know that he was accompanied by the District Commissioner on this occasion, but certain interesting facts emerge. In the first place, the attitude of opposition between the two groups is clearly stressed, though it is more than probable that at proceedings of this kind a display of hostile attitudes is demanded by convention. The author indicates that the *reth* busies himself with the actual organization of the ceremonies and certainly acts as arbitrator, visiting first one side and then the other. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the ritual functions of the *reth*. In 1920 the Rev. D. S.
[19] Oyler described a similar peace ceremony in the settlements of Maimom, Fakoi, Farwom, and Fabi[4] and his account of the procedure does not greatly differ from that of Titherington. He implies throughout that the desire for peace came from the participants and there is no suggestion that peace was forced upon them, even though the *Mawar*[5] was present. 'The people of this District', he says 'were tired of con-

[1] Titherington makes no reference to instances from which such experience derived. It must be assumed that some peace ceremonies failed from the start.

[2] Shilluk say that each man concerned should stab the sacrificial ox, which is then split (*ngol*) and the two portions divided among the respective parties. This procedure is reminiscent of all covenant-rites performed in Nilotic tribes for the ratification of peaceful relations.

[3] Unpublished District records by G. W. Titherington, at Malakal, dated 3.4.31.

[4] Oyler, the Rev. D. S. 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N.R.*, 1920.

[5] Sudanese (or more probably Egyptian) administrative officer.

The man, who had been sick leans upon his staff as he walks. They then return to the house of the patient in the same way, and usually a fee is given the medicine man, and he says: "I have mine now, you will not be sick again". The patient then discards his staff, and early the next morning he goes to work again. 756

The witch doctor claims the power to kill a person by casting a charm on him, but for such a service he exacts a very heavy fee, as the risk to the witch doctor is considerable. The spirit of the departed is liable to return, and make war on the medicine man, and in the end kill him. It is necessary for the medine man to outwit the spirit of the departed and that is accomplished by killing a chicken. The dead chicken is placed in an earthen vessel, and it is buried in the road with the bottom of the vessel up, and protruding out of the ground. This device brings protection in two ways. First every person passing the vessel is liable to carry away a bit of the curse, and in the second place the chicken has a spirit, which is greatly displeased at being killed, and it immediately decides that it is due to the departed that death was inflicted on it, and so it makes war on the spirit of the departed, and the poor shade gets so busy defending himself against the shade of the chicken that it has no opportunity to return to inflict punishment on the medicine man. Every medicine man, who passes the vessel taps it with his club. He thinks that in that way some of the power of the medicine man who put the vessel in the road will be given to him. After the death of the victim the medicine man also demands a sheep from his client, so that he can sacrifice it to help to appease the spirit of the departed. 775 756 754

When a village is going into a fight it is very convenient to know before, who will be killed. They have at least two ways of learning this. By one method two spears are stuck in the earth. They are connected at the top by a string, and another string passes between them at the bottom. All the fighting men bearing their weapons, must pass between the spears, and if a man or his weapons touch either the spears or the string he will be killed in the fight. The second method is by the gourd of God. Many of the more successful witch doctors have a gourd of God. It is a gourd with a handle upon which is an iron band. The gourd is greased, and in it is put some grain. When the gourd is shaken 756 787 726

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
approach it. A small space is mudded in front of the gourd, and
787 thus a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently
placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a
fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the
warriors casts his spoon on the gourd. For spoons they use mussel
shells. When a spoon breaks it is a sign that the owner will be
killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spoon it is a
sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the
people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[785] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the
witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house
789 by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does
is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the
owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes
known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that
is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is
rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed
around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is
going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and
stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which
is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents
his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put
in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his
thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the
water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth
of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The
gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects
to start. The gourd is then rattled near his head, back and chest.
The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road
on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over
him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that
is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is
assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [462]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 648 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame [787] if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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resentment at the new *reth's* presumption in occupying Fashoda at all becomes apparent later in the ceremonies. It is possible that Nyikang is believed to resent the unwarranted seizure of his powers by a person who may be unworthy of the trust. This complex attitude is one of the main problems of the installation, for it is undoubtedly an attitude which conditions the behaviour of the *reth* later in the ceremonies, and is the object of the two battles fought out by the opposing armies. 643 776

Meanwhile further preparations for the final ceremonies were being made. The small grass huts called *adul*, which form the temporary camp outside the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda, were built by the chief of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang. This camp is used at a later period in the installation ceremonies, but it had to be built previously by these chiefs who are traditionally responsible for its erection. It is not built by orders of the chiefs to their own followers, though the latter bring in the materials, but with their own hands. 643

On the evening of the last day at Fashoda a procession arrived from Lul and passed through Debalo. This was the party responsible for bringing the spear of Nyikang and with it the sacred beads, which are said to have been part of the bride-wealth of Adwai, daughter of Nyikang, who married a man from the Nuba Mountains. The beads came from the shrine of Nyikang at Ocoro in Lul, and were guarded by the oldest and largest of Nyikang's spears, which was, like all really sacred objects among the Shilluk, wrapped in white cloth. They were carried on the head of a *nyireth* (a daughter of a *reth*) specially appointed for the purpose. They are said to be red and green, cylindrical and about half an inch long, but we were not allowed to see them According to tradition, the *nyireth* and one of the *bang reth* hold a vigil by night over the beads in one of the huts called Araic on the sacred mound Aturwic. If one of the beads presents itself with a hole through it, the phenomenon is considered a good omen, and next morning it is threaded and tied to the *reth's* ankle If no hole is found the omen is bad, but the bead is tied to the *reth's* ankle all the same. This ritual takes place the night after the installation of the new *reth* on the sacred stool of the Shilluk, but it takes place in strict secrecy 643 778 [644] [787]

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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojul went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debalo, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan In fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ororo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debalo, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

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643 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared
773 in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.
787
821

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth's* army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows :-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak
[778] were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

The same evening outside the shaive of Nyikang some of the Kwa Nyikwom were gathered and busily engaged in the spiritual decontamination of persons who had obstructed the passage of Nyikang on his march to Fashoda. These persons had incurred the displeasure of Nyikang, and were in grave danger of their lives, unless steps were taken by the Kwa Nyikwom to remove the curse by rites of purification. The two parties concerned were seated about two yards apart. Each had a potsherd filled with smouldering grass in front of him. The attendant member of the Kwa Nyikwom cut off about half an inch of the hippo whip he carried and burnt it in the embers. His victim them blew upon the embers, which burst into flame, but were extinguished with water. The ashes were removed and the victim anointed with them on the back, chest, palms and soles. For this privilege each handed over a chicken and a spear as a fine for a breach of traditional observance in hindering the path of Nyikang. 643 783 [372] [688]

THE MAKING OF NEW FIRE AT FASHODA.

Just before dusk a group of Ororo and Kwareth began to gather near one of the wind-screens at the side of the temporary camp. All fires in Fashoda had been extinguished. A wooden club of no special origin or sanctity was brought and the shaft of a spear detached from the blade. A small hole was pierced in the handle of the club, and the spearshaft sharpened to fit this hole. The ritual kindling of fire which followed was no different from the normal method of fire-making with sticks, except that several persons co-operated in twirling the shaft. One man held the club firmly to the ground, while each man twirled the shaft in turn, the hands of the second starting at the top of the shaft, as soon as the first man's hands had reached the middle. A continuous twirling motion was thus maintained. The tinder in the hole soon began to smoulder and grass was added and in a short time burst into flames. The fact that no difficulty had been encountered and that the fire had been kindled quickly was regarded as a good omen. Men and women who had been sitting nearby came up to light their pipes from the fire, and embers were carried off in all directions to relight the fires of Fashoda. The making 643 372 643 643 [787] [276]

[i.e., the day of the enthronement of the Reth. - Analyst]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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PART IV.—SEQUEL.

Fertility Rites and Rain-Making.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters. 643 789 782

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd. and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Fafiti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty. 643 789 787 766

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th, April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 10 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils 643

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643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once 778 led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle 643 byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. 535 Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 [782] The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

[782] On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately [533] afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river [783] to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared [787] to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party [782] travelled with the *reth's* remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *hadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special [177] significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu [173] ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed. 766 [533] [372]

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums. [778]

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny*, "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is [782] [787] [535] 533 539 766

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground. [534]

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *ahadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21. [643] [783]

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4. *jago* Aturwel (Fadit Division)
5. *kwanyireth* Akwei (Detwok Division)
6. *jago* Ongwany (Muomo Division)
7. *jago* Olwak (Fanyidwai Division)
8. *kwanyireth* Dhikwan (Nyijok Division)
9. *kwanyireth* Yomon (Lul Division)
10. *kwanyireth* Geny (Malakal Division)[5]

I informed them of three candidates who on various grounds were unacceptable to the Government and left them. On the night of the 13th matters were hastened because *nyireth* Kur was summoned by the Electoral College and marched with his followers to Akwabai to await daylight and formal acceptance. I arrived at 7.30 a.m. on the morning of the 14th and found the new *reth* already in Fashoda which he had entered after stepping over a sheep tethered to the ground[6]. I waited for two hours while certain rituals (*kwer*) was performed, including the making of new fire by rubbing fire-sticks together (*pic mac*), water boiled over the fire and used for the shaving of the *reth's* head. The chiefs—a very large cross-section of Shilluk society, for only *kwanyireth* Deng of Apac, and the chiefs of Tonga and Fanyikang had not arrived—together with the men of Kodok and others present shouted their allegiance and a black ox (no entire animal could be found) was speared, stood looking dazed for about five minutes and then fell on its left side (a good omen) just by the royal cattle byre. The chiefs dispersed on the 15th, leaving the *reth* to contemplate for a few days in his father's home, while Fashoda was being organised to house a new *reth* after being deserted for several weeks owing to *reth* Dak's absence in hospital."

Mr. Baker has also remarked that in the list of chiefs given above, only the first three are essential at this meeting. "The others are truly only witnesses or at most proposers of candidates." Thomson, speaking of the election of *reth* Dak, says "it was clearer to me than before that the choice rests entirely with the chiefs of Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang'." "I doubt whether even the chief of the *kwareth* (*jago jang kwareth*) has any influence: he and the other members of the College have only to listen to a decision.'"[7]

I had not the time to attend all the events or to investigate all the aspects of the preparations which led up to the installation on this occasion. Mr. Thomson and I between us had been able to cover much of the ground on the accession of *reth* Anei. Mr. Thomson was able to add further details on the installation of *reth* Dak. It must be remembered, however, that the death of one *reth* and the installation of another takes not less than a year to complete and that the ceremonies are set over a wide field from one end of Shilluk

[5] See Howell & Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 31-33.

[6] The significance of this act (*akodh*) is discussed in a previous article: S.N.R. Vol. 33 Part I.

[7] Howell & Thomson, *ibid*, p. 75.

[8] Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 152.

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769 for they occasionally pray to their ancestors in the same way, and also to
[782 the dead chief of the village. The chief is looked upon as a father. Infre-
776] quently they pray to the spirit of some departed friend. When a person
[787] has a pleasant dream about a departed friend, a prayer is frequently
addressed to his spirit, as he is well disposed. The mother, brothers and
sisters may also be invoked.

769 When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female
776 sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the
782 son of the deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the
ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in
a gourd of water, so that the blood remains in the water, and then the
water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the
sun (that is thrown out in front of the sun). It is for God so that it will
go to him. The sheep becomes the property of the heir of the deceased.
[425] The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is
made to God and to the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as
the signs are right. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach
and bowels are thrown on the house of the offerer, and then the meat is
cooked. The meat can not be tasted until the oldest living wife of the
deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with
a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. The soup that remains in
the gourd is poured out in front of the house. The old men are then called
to take the lead in eating the sacrifice. Women of all ages may eat of the
[262] sacrifice, but only the boys and old men of the males may eat, as no man
of military age may eat of it. When the feast is finished the bones are
carefully collected, and thrown into the river, as it would be bad if the
bones of a devoted sheep should be gnawed by a dog.

While there is no set form for the prayer, and its length is determined
by the sheep, yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example.

539 «We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my
769 father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to
776 the earth, and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil
782 comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given
as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we
thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help,

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God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 787
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death 761
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, 821 782

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776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769 made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of batter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate fam[illegible] all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
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devotees. By some means the spirit of the king is supposed to enter into 775
people. They sometimes say that he is taken by the wind king. The spirit 776
of any of the kings who did not die may enter a person, but the greater 787
part profess to be acting for Nikawng, though Dok has a numerous following. 756
People thus possessed are said to be servants or slaves of the particular king claiming their allegiance.

The beginning of the possession is indicated by hysteria. When a person is first taken he walks about with his head swaying from side to side, and his eyes shut. Often they look as though they are going to fall, but they are always able to maintain their balance. In the night they wander about or else ward off sleep by singing songs. When a person first shows these signs, they send for a recognized servant of that king. The spirit is able to tell the people what king he represents.

The servant of the king treats the case. He makes a fire, and puts a 787
vessel of oil on it. The oil is permitted to boil, and then the patient is 755
taken near the fire. A bead is put on the forehead of the person to be treated. The person in charge of the case puts one hand on the victims head. With the other hand he seizes his hand, and thrusts it into the boiling oil or butter. If the patient is burned and cries out, and tries to run away, the possession is said to be a light case, and curable. In that case the dung of a dog is brought, and burned. The patient is then put under a cloth, and the ashes of the dog's dung, and fire are also put under the covering. The spirit is then said to be driven out. If that patient has a second attack, the spirit cannot be driven off again. If the patient is not burned by the oil, the possession is said to be complete, and measures are 756
taken to initiate him into the order of the servants of the king. Two sheep are killed, and their skins are prepared to be worn by the patient. Beads are fastened on the forehead, and about the ankle, and a string of ostrich egg shell beads is put about the neck. A spear is then placed in the patient's hand, and boiling oil or butter is placed on his forehead. The king is then revealed by hysterical actions on the part of the new servant of the king. The neighbours give presents of ornaments to the new servant of the king [431] and the person who had charge of the case gives him a gourd. A sheep is also given, and its right ear is cut off, and beads are fastened to it. The ear is then worn. The servant of the king in charge of the case gets a

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756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is [726 called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person, 776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the 756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

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of the working of the servants of Nikawng. The stories have been told by different Shilluks, and while they vary in minor details they have been essentially the same. 756

In one form of healing they use a plant. The root is taken, and chewed very fine by the healer. He then puts his mouth to the nostrils of the patient and causes the chewed plant to pass from his mouth to the nostril of the sick person. He then puts his mouth over the nose of the other, and blows very hard so that the medicine will be blown into the head of the patient. If the victim should sneeze after the treatment, he will recover. If he does not, he will die. 755 [757]

The servants of the king are especially qualified to cast birds out of people. Often, when a person is asleep, a bird perches on him, and later gains an entrance into his body. When the healer is called, she takes the sufferer to an ant-hill, and compels him to lie on the mound. A chicken is killed, cut open, and thrown out on the plain for the dispossessed birds to enter. Then a lighted torch is passed around the head of the patient in a circle. When they start home the healer follows, and fans the air with her clothes to scare the birds away. Some other woman carries a spear, which she thrusts into the air to kill the birds. When the entrance to the enclosure about the house is reached, a spear is stuck into both sides of it. After the patient enters the house the healer strikes the house and sticks a spear near the door. That spear is to keep the birds away, and is to belong to the healer when the case is cured. However it is usually taken, even when the cure is not effected, as it is to compensate for the lost time of the healer. The fee for such a treatment is a spear, a hoe, a cloth, and two sheep one of which is killed. This treatment is for the birds, which enter children. Adults are afflicted by a different kind of bird, which must be cast out in another way. 756

Colds which affect children are treated by taking the patient to an ant-hill near the river. A small grass house is constructed, and the child, and its mother placed within. The house is then set on fire, and the servant of the king cries «The house is on fire». The mother rushes out with the child, and hastens to the village. The healer follows fanning the child, with her clothes. The mother and child enter the house. The healer enters the house, and then turns with her face out of the door, and fans outward 755

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to keep the disease from entering. The mother is warned against looking back.

When a child cries persistently, with no apparent cause, they reach the conclusion that he is being drawn by one of the kings. The servant of the king is called, and given a fee of a sheep. The parents say they want to know, who is drawing the child. The first thing to do is to take cowrie shells, and string beads on them. Each shell has a different coloured bead. The shells are named for their kings, and also for the deceased grandparents of the child. One shell is also put in for the child. The shells are all taken in the hand, and thrown out on a skin. When they fall if another shell touches that belonging to the child, it is being drawn by the spirit of that king or person. The child is then given the name of the person drawing it, and a cure is effected. If at the first attempt no one is indicated the test is repeated until some one is indicated. All the people in the room then cower, and pray to the drawing spirit as the leader directs.

The servants of the king claim the power to converse with the dead. When a spirit is to be called the medium goes into the house with the relatives. She goes to one corner of the room and retires behind a screen. The door is closed to make the room dark. She then takes a gourd with some grain in it and twirls it to make a noise that will call the spirit of the departed. The spirit of the king then takes powerful possession of the medium, and she speaks in a peculiar voice. The usual thing is for the spirit to greet the assembled people, and they reply. The spirit then says: «Where I am it is nice, but I was killed by a certain person (naming him) or I would not have died.» The death was caused by a charm cast on the victim. «I will kill that man, do not quarrel with him. When I finish greeting you I will return.» Sometimes such a message causes the relatives of the deceased to try to kill the one who cast the charm.

An instance of their working is often given in this community. Two men made a trip to the Nuer country. On the return trip one of them, named Shol, was separated from his companion. The other man concluded that he had been killed by a lion, and returned with that report. The people of the village mourned him as dead, but they waited two months. Then a servant of the king was called. She went through the usual forms, and then exclaimed: «Ah the man». The spirit greeted the people, and

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they made answer. The spirit then said: «I was eaten by lions, the lions were two, had the lion been one I would not have been eaten, for you know me, that I am strong». The people replied: «We know that you are strong». He continued: «I am sorry for my mother only». At that she wept. They beat the drum, and he said «I return». His brother alone doubted, and said: «My spirit is strong, my brother lion». He was chided with unbelief. The next morning they buried a wooden effigy of Shol, and had a mourning dance for him. In the midst of the dance he returned, and wanted to know who had died that they were mourning. The dance was stopped. The medicum was humiliated, and refused to attempt to work in other cases.

Such cases as the foregoing are usually treated by the women. The men servants of the king treat the river sickness. The patient with two sheep is taken to the river. The sheep must be male and female. The head of the male is put under the water. It is then taken out, and its four feet tied together, with its head between the front feet. The healer then puts it into the river, and as it is carried off by the current it takes the sickness with it. The female sheep is the fee of the healer. They then go to the village and kill a sheep for a feast.

When a servant of a king begs he says: «The king is begging you», and if his requests are modest they are granted.

In death the servants of the king are honoured by the same kind of burial as is accorded to a chief.

They look upon it as a form of spirit possession. The spirit is good, or at least not as malignant as some of the other spirits that may take possession of a person. A failure in no way lessens their power, as the people are sure that some other healer would have been successful. While a successful cure brings great glory to the healer.

This class typifies a longing of the native mind. They are seeking some power to bridge the gulf between the finite and infinite. The power that belongs to God is to pass to the king, and then by his spirit to be given to his servant, who is to use it for the good of the people.

The medicums prey upon the people. Often they seem to be sincere in the belief that they have the power claimed, though just as often they seem to realize that they are deceiving the people.

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224 tormentors and overturn and smash the canoe, killing or maiming its occupants. In Tonga I once saw a youth whose shoulder had almost been torn away by a hippopotamus. With some companions he had been hunting in the Bahr-el-Gazal when the hippo they were attacking charged the canoe and flung its occupants into the water. He had the misfortune to fall near the enraged animal which seized his shoulder with its powerful teeth and tore the flesh. He had been taken first to the mission of Yoynyang where the priest dressed his wound as best he could, and then brought on to Tonga. When I saw him he was sitting quite impassively, [152] enduring the pain with stoicism as the Sister dressed his [743] torn shoulder while waiting for a boat to take him to the hospital in Malakal.

224 787 One peculiar feature of a hippo hunt is that the hunters, before beginning their operations, sacrifice a hen by drowning it in the river. They then bury it in the reeds at the river's edge and one (sometimes two) of them, shaking convulsively, goes into a kind of ecstatic frenzy during which he foretells the number of beasts that will be killed; one may plump for three, two large ones and a small, the other for five, three big and two small. It is remarkable that a single 'shaker's' forecast is often completely accurate, though whether this is due to his making a lucky guess, or being prompted by his guardian angel, I would hesitate to say. It is significant, however, that in later life many of these [756] amateur prophets become witch doctors.

461 'All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy' is a saying as true of the Shilluk as of any other race of mankind, and after all his sowing and reaping, building and thatching, fishing and hunting, his 'capacity for innocent enjoyment is just as great as any honest man's'. A European travelling through Shilluk country on a hot, windless afternoon and seeing a cloud of dust rising into the air at some distance before him might wonder what freak of nature was causing a dust storm in that particular spot, when all around was so still and breathless. Approaching nearer to the phenomenon,

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weight in the deliberations of the electorate. Sometimes, too, when the final choice is a difficult one, it would seem that the selectors have recourse to augury and divination. A number of small stones, one for each candidate, is placed in a fierce fire. A stone that glows red indicates that, under the prince it represents, cattle will be plentiful in the country; a white-hot stone would presage an abundance of grain in the new rule; one glowing both white and red would entail an era of plenty both in cattle and grain, whilst that which merely blackens and bursts would unanimously be rejected. 643 666 [787]

When the decision is at last reached, one of the great chiefs goes unobtrusively and by night to the village where the king-elect is living. During the deliberations of the electorate all nyiveths are required to remain in their own homes and not to approach the neighbourhood of Fashoda; this precaution is taken to ensure that no nyiveth should rush the capital and usurp the power for himself. The chief challenges the nyiveth to a mock battle and when he has thus given a token of his prowess and valour the news of his election is formally broken to him. He is brought quietly, again under cover of night, to Fashoda, and at daybreak inducted with ceremony into his capital. When these preliminaries are over and the reth-elect is settled in Fashoda, the news of his election is noised abroad, and chiefs and nyiveths come in from all parts of the country to pay their respects to their new king. The situation has become somewhat easier now, since with the accomplished fact, there is little likelihood of an armed insurrection taking place. There is always of course the possibility of any nyiveth asserting his right to the throne and proving it by slaying the king in single combat, and in former days it was customary for the king to slaughter as many of the nyiveths as he could lay his hands on—a most [illegible] [illegible] the potential danger to himself. 643 669 [178]

The period between the election and the solemn installation of the king is roughly a year. During this time the land is, as it were, dead, for the spirit of Nyikang still lacks its habitual abode, and is under interdict. No great public dances may be held, except the funeral dances for the last 643 692 [775] [535]

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643 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the
796 king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open
[782] space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a
[778] screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the
[787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for
[782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of
[788] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

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difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [362] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 771
dwelling than that afforded by the ordinary commoner and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [356] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Derwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
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685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
• 787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

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a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [193]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

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fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

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851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
825 sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
787 following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
643 where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
825 this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
553 If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village
562 she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.
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431 A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has
425 nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by
484 making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating
626 them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with
[535 oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For
513] such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-
[753 will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come
755] and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

431 When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle
425 ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village,
[788] and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when
556 he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to
431 have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush
[533] up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a
426 fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal.
431 Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

735 241 fills the gourds belonging to the women. If the basket is not sufficient to fill all the gourds, and if the man is of a good disposition, he brings out enough more grain to fill them all. If the man is churlish he will say, "I have given you enough" and will refuse to give them any more than the one basket full. Sometimes a man will say, "Why do you make sport of me by coming here to beg? See, my grain is very little indeed." That is the line the man takes when he refuses altogether to give grain to the women.

788 735 241 If the women are pleased with the amount of grain that has been given them, they will bless the owner of the threshing floor. Each woman takes a few grains of the grain that has been given her, and sprinkles it on the threshing floor. As she sprinkles the grain she says, "I return you yours, I eat, and am satisfied." After such a blessing his crop the next year should be very abundant. Often the recipient will say, "I am a woman belonging to God. I am happy, because you have given to me, now I bless you."

425 556 It is an honour to have the women come to a man's floor to beg, as it implies that he is a rich man, and can supply them. However, it is often a hardship, and many of them can ill afford the grain they give away to the women. One man said that one year all the grain he raised was given to the women who begged from him, and the only way he got food for his family was by his wife's going out to other threshing floors, and begging from the owners of the floors. It is not unusual for a woman to go to a village at some distance and beg from all the men in the village. She may return with ten or more baskets of grain. Sometimes she is refused the grain that she seeks. The man who refuses to give from his [626] threshing floor is considered a very mean man, and to make a good showing, they give more than they can afford.

Men sometimes go to the threshing floors to beg, but in that case the procedure is different. The man who begs gets a basket and, unbidden, helps carry the grain to the village. At the end of the threshing the owner is supposed to give him a basket of grain, but often he is given less than that. Both sides profit. The beggars have a picnic, and the man from whom they beg is highly honoured.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made [782] for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without [778 576 788] bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people [793] in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

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PLATE 18. Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near the drums, and a warrior stood by, spear in hand, ready for the sacrifice.

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PLATE 19. After several minutes of dancing, the crowd moved forward and knelt before the tomb.

(P 1648)

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ment so much as endurance that is called for at a Shilluk dance. 535 881

The festivities are opened by a salute of the warriors to the assembled chiefs. The leader of the band approaches carrying a bowl of dust and asks the senior chief present or the leading guest to bless the dance; he takes a little dust [788] from the bowl and sprinkles it on the ground while calling down a blessing on the gathering. Then the warriors who are congregated at the opposite end of the field thunder forward with whoops and cries, their spears uplifted to strike, the lust of killing in their eyes; they stop dead in their tracks when the spears of the front rank are but a foot away from the row of chiefs and guests, and a roar of laughter goes up if they succeed in making anyone flinch. A second wave follows the first and so on, until with the onslaught of the last group this phase of the dance ends. The beat of the drums now quickens its tempo, spears are discarded in favour of dancing sticks and ambach shields, and the girls come forward to claim partners. A girl may take part in the [562] dance almost at any age, so that little girls of not more than twelve years of age are found taking their places in the long lines being formed. The dancers arrange themselves two abreast, the boys facing the girls; the boys stand with arms bent and sticks held upright, the girls hold themselves rigid with their arms pressed close to their sides. As three hundred pairs of feet thud down in unison, the ground seems to shake and dust rises in clouds; the drums throb, feet thump, the metal shells clash and bells clang, male voices yell hoarsely and female trill—the din is indescribable. The long lines circle slowly round the dancing floor, the boys jumping forward and the girls backward; in a concerted movement the girls raise their arms as if to ward off a blow and make a turn, first to the left, then to the right, while their male partners make the same half turns, bringing their sticks and shields over the girls' heads to protect them, as it were, from the threatened attack. This movement which is done at every dozen or so steps is the only variation in the monotonous jumping of the dance. A rest is called when the drummers

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his hord—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, migh at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further invesigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—lef for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpons that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

782 Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
● 789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
643 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[721] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following
[539] is an example:—

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 284-5.)

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuep*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 *Kwanyirek* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyirek*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ejuage*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *kawek*, are buried by the *ovuro*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there.
764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door
789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

690 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 77.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 491), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sobat river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., p. [2] Loc. cit.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1952 F223 Shilluk F223

*539 *ha pen kjî wyk, ha Chjîj (Chjîj) kpwy kpwo kpwo, kî tjwj chjîj, ha wîwî kj wyr, ha tjwy chjîj, ha rij a kwok:*

Ya kwoko kj wokjîjî, wî kjîo dyyo. Pwî a rîjî jîo, Lîw-dîwj chy dy wîjî. Yî kjîjî yî wîjî kwoko ro Nyîkwî, Akolj, ano Nîkwj.

539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for seed, then they come and bowmow the temple of the "king", they prepare the seed, and make stripes on the temple with red ochre, and with black ochre, and with white ochre, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dance is provided, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lazyface[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyikwa, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."[3]

64. A Religious Ceremony.

The people want, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[1] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground, then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the people, and addresses them, "To people, the grass is finished now, what shall we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a bow are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the sorcerer's horse, and the cows come (see God) behind the sorcerer's horse. The sorcerer then grows together, and he then is a second time on the side of the river

[1] The "king" is Kalwong or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "Lazyface", perhaps a mythical character.
[3] That is, they should take a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

bank. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 789 ● 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are seized, a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

Lôk kpè i chôpé, ajwaŋŋ aj de dwôl, bé ŋîè gîn, ka e lîpuŋ, ka chyè gwôch, ka tyè gwôch, ka yuè lîpuŋ, bé chôpè lîb. Ka tyè wôu yôn, ka tyè ahyè wôu yôn; ka ahyè tuchôè aj. Ka yuè e lîpuŋ, ka kyôu yè ŋîè; ahyèn yu wôl, e tuwjè bwjî tyè. Nîwj wôlè yi ahyè, ka aj chîp wôl, ka tûwu a aj wuè aj chîp wôl. Ka jè chîpp lî dîyè. Ka wu, ka yuè bîyî: fyôu fîn. Ka awuyè bwôn, ka tîpè fîn, ka yîjè kôk, ka wîjè ŋîl, ka wôl ŋîl wôjè, ka aj ŋîè kyôu jè. Ka wôch awuyè ka kwôè yi ajwôjyè. ka aj ŋîè fîuŋ yuè lî wôu yôn. [1] yîè wôche awuyè y wîjuŋ kwôo fuŋ gwî, ka yè kîne: fuŋ gwî do chyôlè, kwaj' ajwôjyu. [2] yîè wôche awuyè y wîjuè kwa wôl lôn, ye kîne: lwa wuè! Ka ajwôjyu e ŋîè lîpuŋ, ka yuè ŋîl, ka lôè, ka wîjîŋ chîjî lîbîŋ, ka ajwôjyu kwôo, ka awuyè wîjîŋ ŋîl, ka wîjè, ka wîjîŋ chîjî (chîpî) wîjè. Bé ŋî yi ajwuyè yuè, ka e ka: dîjèè! Dwaè ŋîuŋ lîpuŋ! Ka ŋîuŋ lîpuŋ. Ka wôè kwôwè, ka yu ŋîwè ni ŋîuŋ. Ka e kwôo. Ka wôch awuyè ka y kwôwè fwa. Ka yi ŋîu, bé yi ŋîwè ni ŋîuŋ. 539

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are lamented (are given to him), and when he comes, grain and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Then the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 539* 721 787

[1] 2.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are done by the evil medicine man. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 759

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 759 758

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 759 762

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 Many of the people say that if a man refuses to consult the medicine men, God will be angry with that person, and leave him to get along without help, which means that he will be cut off from all supernatural aid.

Many of the witch doctors are specialists, while others undertake to work charms for many different things. In practically every thing undertaken the witch doctor is consulted. If a man is going on [691] 751 a journey he lets the medicine man work over him to give him safety from dangers seen and unseen. Very frequently before a [224] hunt the witch doctor assures them of success in the chase, and in the hunting of dangerous animals he ties the quarry so that it will not be able to injure the hunters. A thief who hopes to steal a cow often goes to a witch doctor, and has a charm wrought over him so that the people of the village will not be aroused by any sound he may make. The witch doctor gives victory when the [752] people are going out to war. He also detects the men, who are to be killed in the fight, and he works a charm over them, which causes the impending death to be averted. The power to kill by magic resides in the witch doctor, and many other things are done by them. Diseases are supposed to yield to their charms. The [755] 756 power to cure snake bites, and to heal a burn by spitting on it are special powers belonging to only a few. Many are able to give a fetish, which protects its owner.

The witch doctor will not treat himself when ill, and he does not treat the members of his own family. He goes to some other witch doctor to be helped.

754 The fetish plays a very large part in the work of a witch doctor. He gives the little charms for many different purposes. They are ●781 supposed to give protection on a journey, to insure success in courtship, to protect from wild animals, to insure a favourable judgment, to protect cattle in crossing a river, and many other powers are ascribed to them. However a fetish is only effective for the one purpose for which it was obtained.

756 One medicine man, when asked how he cured a patient, said: "I first collect a small fee, and then I work over the patient. When the patient recovers I return and collect a large fee".

The dismissal of a patient is attended with some ceremony. The patient and witch doctor make a trip to the river in the evening.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F323 Shilluk F323

726 the grain rattles, and that is God talking. The gourd is kept in
756 the medicine man's house, and an outsider is not permitted to
757 approach it. A small space is moulded in front of the gourd, and
then a little court is formed in front of it, and a mat is frequently
placed in front of the gourd to give it greater privacy. When a
fight is imminent the gourd of God is brought out, and each of the
warriors casts his spears on the gourd. For spears they use mussel
shells. When a spear breaks it is a sign that the owner will be
killed in the fight. When a bit is chipped from the spear it is a
sign that the owner will be wounded in the fight. When all the
people have been tested the men who are indicated as liable to
[758] death are called, and they are told to bring a heavy fee, and the
witch doctor goes through a form to avert the evil that is impending.

756 The gourd is used for other purposes as well. When a man
757 wishes to consult the gourd of God he is conducted into the house
by the owner of the gourd, and the first thing the suppliant does
is to cast the gift for God on the ground, which belongs to the
owner of the gourd. He then kneels before the altar, and makes
known the reason for his coming. The medicine man declares that
is easy, and that it is already accomplished, and the gourd is
rattled at his back, and also in front of him, and is then passed
around his head in circles.

Recourse may also be had to the gourd of God when a man is
going on a journey. After making his approach to the gourd, and
stating his needs the medicine man takes two spoons. One which
is dirty represents the suppliant, the other which is clean represents
his enemy either known or unknown. The clean spoon is then put
in water, so that the anger of the enemy will be cooled, and his
thoughts will not be so bitter. Knotted grass is then put in the
water with the clean spoon. That is a gag which binds the mouth
of the enemy so that he can not speak against the suppliant. The
gourd is then rolled across the road on which the traveller expects
to start. The gourd is then rolled near his head, back and chest.
The man then crouches in the house looking out toward the road
on which he expects to travel. The medicine man then leaps over
him, and then turns, and leaps over him the other way, and that
is repeated. He is then advised to start on his journey, and is
assured that nothing will injure. He starts, and the witch doctor

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F323 Shillok F323

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water.

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be victorious.

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass.

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest.

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and show that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them.

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualize the fate of his victims. For example,

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 F321 Shollub F31:

having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to council.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Haiwom factions to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Falo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given us so to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from malice, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If lawlessness from outside being round against your neighbours, do not let it entangle you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremony. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the peacemaking even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air over the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the sacrifice of a cockerel mixed with the blood of a virgin. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that to colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the ceremony, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to remain in peace." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a son of Ngbang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Ngbang and

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously. "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Maiuum faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Fallo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Every there's chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward Fallo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Fallo was responsible for its death, that is Fallo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Maiuum faction said the decision was sure to be against Fallo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were there in Fallo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 821

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 821

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deit rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deit, and that it is an honour to be called by Deit, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deit. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 761 821

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deit will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 821

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 792 783 821

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

PART IV.—SEQUEL.

Fertility Rites and Rain-Making.

(i) After his installation the *reth* took a day or two to recover, and we are told that about a week later, a hornless cow, the colour of a hippopotamus was sacrificed by the *reth* on the river bank. This was done to make the hippopotamus increase, and prosper the Shilluk hunters. 643 789 782

(ii) There was a slight hitch over the rain-making ceremony, which we are informed by Mr. L. W. A. Raven, takes place in the early rains each year. The *reth* is said to slaughter a bull the colour of the rain clouds. We asked the *reth* about this, and he said "Oh, it has been done at Fanyikang already by the chief of Kwa Nyikang." Resulting from this departure from custom, after only light showers, one on the last day of the installation, the rains were late, and by the end of June the *reth* was worried. The sequel is interesting. An old woman of Lemmo section dreamed of the departed *reth*. This showed that his spirit had not been laid to rest properly, and had not the Funeral Dance been cut short by two days? So another and smaller funeral dance of two days duration was held on the 2nd and 3rd. July, at the same village of Pareth Faliti. A few days later it started to pour with rain, and continued, so that it was for the Shilluk a year of plenty. 643 789 787 766

POSTSCRIPT

(W.P.G.T.)

On 6th. April I visited Fashoda on business. Three days previously the *reth* had told me in a matter of fact way that he was going to finish off the party from Akurwa, and give them their dues, and then "they could do as they pleased, but he, the *reth*, was finished with them." Their dues were 10 head of cattle. By the 6th. I fancied this would all be over, however as I approached I met about six men carrying hides and about ten women carrying household utensils 643

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in [782] the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [781] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Fe Juok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634] solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
[692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment
that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of
the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the
missing money and to be held in custody until he did so.
This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box,
since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the
rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that
we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed.
Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the
boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the
money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that
although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his com-
panion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come
forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for
the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for
confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry
was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very
strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a
sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626] finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
[789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152] animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the
courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear
thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the
river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a
sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it
taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its
left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents
are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left
but simply crumple up and fall forward with fearfully
doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disas-
ter. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

Some Observations of a Fieldtrip among the Shilluk

Mohamed Riad

131 The Shilluk occupy a country that extends from 10°45' N. to 9°15' latitude. Particularly the west bank of the WHITE NILE from about 30 kilometers north of Kaka to approximately 30 kilometers east of Lake No. There is also a Shilluk pocket within Northern Dinkaland. Thus they occupy the right bank of the White Nile from near Kodek to the confluence of the Sobat. They also extend some 60 kilometers up the Sobat river, mainly on its northern bank.

361 The Shilluk settlements, if they can be called villages, are situated from about half a kilometer to a kilometer off the river bank giving the impression of beads hung on a string(1). Also, on the banks of the khors i.e. seasonal streams which discharge into the Nile, rising from the west or east and sloping toward the Nile, Shilluk settlements are to be found. The breadth of the Shilluk land does not exceed a five hour march from the banks of the river(2) and there is a no-man's land which stretches back to the west [34] till the Nuba-Hills. This is used as a dry season (winter) grazing land by both Shilluk and nomad Baggara Arabs, but the Shilluk do not, as a rule, pasture their cattle so far to the west. This area is quite well-known only in those areas where roads go up from the river banks to the Nuba mountains. 133 The hydrology of this area is not known although some khors intersect it with courses estimated as parallel to the Nile and joining other khors to discharge seasonal waters into the Nile north of Kaka.

[171 The Nile is the main waterway in the Shilluk land and because the Shilluk have a comparatively long water front they are the most skilled 224] fishermen of the Nilotic group. The most important khor is one called Collo which takes its waters from the Nile, or more precisely from the bank-swamps against Malakal and runs parallel to the Nile separated from it only by a stretch of comparatively high bank, one to three kilometers broad, and then discharges again in the Nile south of Kodek. Again there is another khor called Khor Arapajor which rises from the west and discharges into the Lollo. (3) This khor is of almost no hydrological importance, but of a great significance in the realm of Shilluk cosmology and spiritual thinking. This khor is [79 the boundary between the two religious provinces into which Shilluk land is 63] divided. On its banks one of the important rites of king installation takes place.

132 The Shilluk country is more or less a flat land covered with herbaceous grass and with occasional clusters of trees, mainly along river 133 and khor banks. The most famous tree is the Dalob(Hyphaene aethiopica) 137 which grows in beautiful groves on the Nile banks. The rainy season begins in May but occasional showers heralding the rains occur at the end of March and early April. The dry season begins near the end of October. Rainfall is heaviest in the south. Here is the mean annual rainfall at our stations.

Fangak (9°57') 1187 mm
Malakal (9°32') 727 mm
Kodek (9°23') 600 mm
Kaka (10°6') 546 mm

●791 Shilluk FJ23

[Since different authors attribute variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 793, and 754.]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Darwishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Odjo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

956 SORCERY
● 791
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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *djodjo*, and what is connected with him; *djodjo* is the wife doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jugi* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by admiministering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened before the house of the patient. This is also applied as a protective against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides he has to abide to perform ceremonies, to kill

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F723 Shilluk F723

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient role in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even condemned to death. — Besides these the word *jal yaj* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwiya*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch-", or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by *Jwok*?) the sorcerers become' ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his followers, vide page 149. SORCERY 781

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the entirely religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 15, page 106. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in rainy weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirit and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY 973

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wot* and *ajwy*; *wot* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *ajwy* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyin*; the word is derived from *anyo* to kill; *anyin* probably means "one who killed", or "who is killed". The *anyin* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT 774

On the shrine of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the towns the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jô yô jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. SHRINE OF THE DECEASED 775

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Foors, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM 179 791 797

[1] This doubtfully relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nilaiwa, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengwic, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to pun yuak, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Beaverman the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Rainmaker (Ajuogo)

Ajuogo means 'man of luck'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajuogo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Zur Schillak, 1925, p.236.
(2) Ibid.

periodic possession by the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrines of Nyikang may or may not be nyaqir. But mere connection with a shrine does not automatically make a man an nyaqir.

According to Seligman when a man becomes an nyaqir he becomes ill and has dreams. On consulting one who is already in the profession, he is told that he has in him a spirit of one of the early kings. Special ceremonies are performed, the habits and skills working as nyaqir are acquired, and the man begins to practise in his professional capacity. The power is frequently hereditary and a son or daughter or even a remote relative may become possessed. All witchdoctors live celibate lives whether they are male or female. According to Seligman an nyaqir marries some and others bears children for him.[1] Many witchdoctors are specialists in some branch of magic but some have general powers. Some of the main tasks performed by them are: to give safety on a journey, to bring success in hunting, to bring victory in war, and to detect those who will be killed in a fight and forestall their death. They are believed to have the power of curing diseases and also to kill by magic. The witchdoctors are essential to the community as diviners and they have the ability to ward off evil spirits and bad magic. Very often an nyaqir possesses a 'guard of luck', which is a guard with a handle upon which is an iron hand. The guard is ground and some grease is put on it. Then is an shaking the grease vessels and that is presumed to be luck talking. The guard is kept in the nyaqir's house and is consulted for purposes of divination.[2]

Many of the witchdoctors exert a powerful influence over the people and, in consequence of the fees they receive, are usually prosperous.

The Jalpet

The jalpet, 'the man of hatred', is a sorcerer dealing essentially in bad magic, as opposed to the good magic of the nyaqir. The jalpet is greatly feared. He works in secret at night so that the Shilluk are never sure who is a jalpet, though they will kill anyone whom they suspect of practising sorcery.

The jalpet is thought of as being a successful and, as such, he should be dressed at birth. The father alone has the power to save his son. When a sorcerer has reached maturity he cannot be killed openly unless the people of his village determine to rid themselves of the evil they believe him to be causing. The power is not considered to be hereditary. The sorcerer, in practising his evil arts, uses parts of his victim's body or things closely associated with him. He makes mud villages and places them or pots them in a fire and is believed by their means to destroy the persons they represent. A sorcerer may cause sickness, bring misfortune by raising crops, by causing cattle to go barren and no harvest. Sorcerers work against children in a large family and certain accidents and deaths may be caused by their machinations. The horse of the sorcerer's sister is considered to be one of the successful and the prosperous, since he therefore endeavours to injure.

[1] Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, 1932, p. 95.
[2] Spencer, S.A.J., 1926, Vol. XXX, No. 1, p. 226.

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mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (rarely) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *jook*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for them, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his ministers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajwogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *jook*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which unseen powers may be communicated to man'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necromancy, and they are necromancy because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in evading

[1] Hofmayr, 1912, p. 6n.

[2] 1912, p. 186.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual parting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1912), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may have to be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

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some of the beasts are sacrificed during the ceremonies and others are added to their personal herds. One must, therefore, beg the question whether those portions alleged to be the right of the *reth* were ritual fees of this nature rather than 'fines' as is so frequently stated. It is a question of interpretation, and I suggest that even though expressive action and the exaction of 'fines' may have occurred, with the backing of foreign Governments, during the latter half of the last century and the early years of the present Administration, the payments were ritual in origin and concerned the *reth's* ritual functions in society. The use of the word 'fine' appears to me to be inaccurate.

Ritual of Purification for Homicide

As among other Nilotic peoples, a Shilluk who has killed another must perform certain rites to cleanse him from impurity which might otherwise affect his kinsmen. This process involves, first, the letting of blood, which is carried out by a magical expert (*ajwagi*)[7] who makes a small incision on his right shoulder with a spear. This is known as *tot dhoot*. Secondly, a small sacrifice is made (usually a sheep), the object of which is to remove the curse of the dead man's spirit. As among the Nuer and Dinka, the killer is not expected to eat or drink until this ritual has been performed.

Accidental Killing

Accidental killing (*agwey*) is apparently not regarded as a serious offence among the Shilluk, especially if the two parties are connected by kinship or by close association in one territory. Hofmayr says: 'Accidental killing requires only the sacrifice of an ox at a peace ceremony and no more.'[8] District records indicate that two head of cattle sometimes were paid. At the Shilluk Chiefs' Council in 1954 it is recorded that 'the Council do not know whether there is a definite law on this subject or not. The *reth* says that years ago it was two head of cattle, one to the relatives of the dead man, one to the *reth*. He himself suggests two head of cattle to go to the deceased's family. This is confirmed as law.' I do not think that any such fixed indemnity existed in the past, but that intention was recognized and accident accepted in mitigation of the offence. At any rate the indignation of the deceased's kinsmen would not be so acute, and they would be prepared to accept an indemnity less than that normally demanded for intentional homicide.

Bodily Injuries not causing Death

On the subject of bodily injuries less than death, the evidence is even less reliable than on homicide. It is evident that such injuries require the payment of compensation if retaliatory action is not to follow. At the same time it is perhaps surprising that among the Shilluk, unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there are no recognized injuries for which compensation is given on a definite scale. We hear that 'for injury' an immediate payment of one bull must be made as a guarantee of good faith. Subsequent settlement is made on a scale regulated by the severity of the ultimate damage and rising, in the case of blinding, to the same rate as for death. Apart from the problem of the *reth's* intervention in matters of this sort, it may be assumed, in the absence of

[7] *Ajwagi*: Magical expert or specialist. These persons are not comparable to the Nuer functionaries, such as the *kwar kwar*, but to the possessors of spirits (*gwan kwath*). *Ajwagi* is a derivative of *Jwok*, meaning God in Shilluk.

[8] Op. cit.

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THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

I. — THE SHILLUK'S BELIEF IN THE EVIL EYE.

To the animistic mind of the Shilluk, the occult powers are always near, and the fact that they can not be seen makes them none the less real. Around, about him everywhere are the spirits, and daily he comes in contact with people, who are the possessors of occult powers. They recognize five classes of people, who are in possession of hidden powers. They are:

The servants of the king, that is the people in whom is the spirit of one of the kings;
The beneficent medicine men or witch-doctors;
The malignant medicine men or witch-doctors;
The people with the power of the evil eye, and
The people possessed of the evil spirit.

Some say that the class of people with the power to cast the evil eye receive their power from the evil medicine men, and would class them together, but very few make that classification. However, in talking about the evil eye, it always brings up the subject of the malignant medicine men. The powers claimed for the two classes are very similar.

Many say, with good reason, that the people possessed of the evil spirit should not be so called, but that their affliction is merely a disease. We would call it insanity.

These articles do not exhaust the subjects, but a little has been gleaned from the contradictory tales of the Shilluks. Often the ideas of the natives

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 F323 Shillok F323

756 to encircle him with his legs. The medicine man then spits on his hands, and strikes the patient lightly. He then places his hands in the arm pits of the afflicted person, and proceeds to kneed his whole body, and then concludes by stretching the patient's fingers. A chicken is then killed, put in a cooking vessel, and buried. A burning torch is then passed in circles about the head of the patient. Three highly pegs are then driven in the ground near his door, and the medicine man taking water in his hands blesses it, and sprinkles it on the ground by the pegs, and as he sprinkles
[782] it he prays: «Help my breast that the man may live. I have worked; the matter rests with you, you are God, it was you, who created, and the tree (medicine).»

Others add to the above by grinding up a bit of a certain plant, and giving it to the patient in water. Then grass is tied in little knots, and scattered on the road, and the patient is then put in a house, and a spear stuck up near his head to guard him.

759 The evil medicine men kill their own relatives first so as to inherit their
762 property.

Sometimes when the evil medicine man is old, he reforms and leaves
759 all his old practices, and hires his powers to help people. When they try
759 to help, they are very powerful. A story was told by different people, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the cure, though they had it from a man who was present.

To begin the cure, two cows were paid. The patient was tied so he could not move, and laid on the ground. The medicine man then called his two big snakes, and when they came to him, he said: «You see the man, and the fee. Shall we help him? If you assent, go to him.» The snakes went to the poor victim, and much to his terror crawled all over him, and they even went so far as to lick his face. The patient called loudly for help, and even wept. The medicine man called for water, and sprinkled it on the patient, after he had blessed it, and he announced that the patient was cured.

759 Another reformed malignant medicine man, had such power over a cer-
• 791 tain bit of water that if a person fished in it without permission, some mishap would over take him. The required permission would be given when the fisherman promised to give as a fee the first fish taken, and

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 F323 Skillok F323

another had such power over the animals in a certain district that it would not safe to hunt without his blessing, which was given by spitting on the hunter and his dogs. If that blessing was not obtained, the hunter would be devoured by bears.

Sometimes an evil medicine man may have the power of the evil eye as well, and then he is exceedingly strong. While most of the natives say that the people with the evil eye, and the evil medicine men are entirely separate some connection must exist, for if a man begins to talk about one he invariably brings in some thing about the other, and it is not always easy to know which he is talking about. One of the chief differences in the method of working is that with one, merely to look on the victim is enough, but the other must get some means of contact.

As a class they accept the reputation given them, and try to live up to it. They are cleared against, and they seek to repay in kind. Measured as evil they come to believe in the powers ascribed to them. Many of the miracles accomplished by their power follow so long after the invocation of the power, that a less superstitious race would not look upon it as a result of their power.

Through superstition the evil medicine man is a power exactly the Skillokn. Thoughts of his power may cast a gloom over the most festive occasion, and at night when the world is peopled by the spirits of their forefathers, the evil medicine man prowls about. The howling of an owl or constant tapping sounds caused by the wind bring a thrill of dread to the heart of the Skillok, which can not be dispelled by the bright light of day.

D. S. Ogan.

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang sought a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their ancestors, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dorobion took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of dung-ball" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied to animals, when cases of sickness are to be cured. When the women has confinement, but the case denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of dung-ball". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "Ere Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuse falsely, may she escape?" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

The other application of the cows is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a cow and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, sees of the cows of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Ohiga* (with page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an unwitter wind to milk one of these cows, he would die.

The third factor in the religion of the Shilluk is the *ajuoj*, and what is connected with him; *ajuoj* is the which doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *juok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". In his most prominent business is to procure rain. Everyone generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He leads also sickness by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protective against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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year round and only the youths go to the cattle camps in the *dimmia* pastures, which are never more than a few miles from their villages. The Shilluk are not a pastoral people in the sense that the Nuer and Dinka are, and rely to a much greater extent on agricultural products and on fish, for they are skilled and experienced fishermen. Since their migration to their present territory, it is probable that they have never had a very large cattle population, for their *dimmia* pasture is not extensive.[1]

Shilluk clans[2] are not territorial in basis for they are highly segmented and widely distributed throughout the settlements of Shilluk country; as corporate units they have no real significance except at times of national festivals, and then only in the sphere of ritual and ceremony.

The Shilluk are divided into four main classes or groups of clans:

(i) The *kwareh*: the royal house, who trace descent from Nyikang and from whom the *reth* of the Shilluk is chosen.

(ii) The *ororo*: a distributed branch of the royal house who do not differ from commoners except in the special functions they perform at the installation of the *reth*, during his lifetime, and at his death. They are a distinct exogamous class, though they may intermarry with the *kwareh* despite common ancestry.

(iii) The *cieh*: the name often collectively to the main body of the Shilluk clans of which a large number trace descent patrilineally from (*a*) the original followers of Nyikang, (*b*) individuals of other tribes who have migrated and settled in Shilluk country from early times onwards, and (*c*) ancestors who are lost in antiquity, but who may have occupied Shilluk country before the arrival of Nyikang.

(iv) The *bang reth*: the personal attendants of the *reth*, his wives or wives of past *reths*; the descendants of royal slaves obtained by capture; those who volunteer to serve him by reason of their possession by the spirit of Nyikang,[3] and paupers who volunteer for this form of service in order to exist at all. Finally, there are the alleged descendants of those who were ordered because their clans kinsmen committed homicide, though this statement must be examined more critically here.

There are no real cross distinctions between *kwareh*, *ororo*, *cieh*, and *bang reth* and, apart from restrictions on the marriages of daughters of a living or past *reth*, they intermarry freely. The *kwareh*, however, by reason of their connexion with Nyikang and subsequent *reths*, are treated with special respect and this extends to those *bang reth* who have close association with the shrines of Nyikang or of dead kings. The Shilluk basic social structure is very similar to that of the Nuer and Dinka, though there are important differences. The segmentation of the population into territorial units and of the clans into localized lineages has, however, a greater permanency and stability. The distinctive feature of the Shilluk political structure is the existence of an established and theoretically omnipotent monarchy and it is in the political sphere

[1] An accurate census taken during the veterinary campaign against rinderpest gives a figure of 25,000. This was after a very severe epidemic in 1948 and it may be assumed that they had lost at least 50 per cent. of their stock. A human census, accurate to any one within 15 per cent., gives a population figure of 100,000. The ratio of human population to cattle population is therefore between 1:0·5 and 1:0·25. Cf. Nuer where highest ratio given is 1:1·5 and the lowest 1:0·6.

[2] *Ororo*: Literally 'descendants of', combining the name of the clan, 'Ororo Dinka'—the descendants of Dinka—and so on.

[3] Often now attendants at the many shrines of Nyikang.

the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A bow must be placed in front of the door. If no bow is in the house then a fish spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a bow or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary use after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door-mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal ugar, heaven hits). In former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort of earth covering, so he is not buried as other men. The customs in regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner usually calls a servant of Deit (Bith Deit). After the servant of Deit arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deit says bring an ox." If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, "I do not ask for this offering, but Deit asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a bigig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the bigig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning may become a servant of Deit (Bith Deit), if he so desires. When they travel they say, "Deit asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deit.

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the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of butter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious

[Since different authors assign variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 791, and 754.]

114 paid to the king alone.[1] A different picture of the
643 king's part in the settlement of disputes is painted
642 by Mr Oyler of the American Mission, who witnessed the settlement of a feud, which had been going on in a district for more than three years, by the joint intervention of the king and the Government. From his account it is evident that the king could not have imposed a settlement had the disputants not been ready to accept one, that the part played in it by the king was that of peacemaker and not of judge, and that his participation can better be described as sacerdotal than as governmental.[2] The king of the Shilluk reigns but does not govern.

643 The king's sacerdotal role in the settlement of
793 feuds gives us a clue to what is confirmed by a great weight of further evidence: his sacral position in Shilluk society. Our authorities, indeed, speak of the king as the 'Hoherpriester des Landes',[3] of 'the royal and priestly line' and of its 'priestly function',[4] and of the king as 'the high priest of the tribal religion'.[5] Both his functions and his status are primarily of a ritual order. He makes sacrifices on

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 162.
[2] 'The Shilluk Peace Ceremony', *S.N. and* / (1920), pp. 296-9.
[3] Hofmayr, *op. cit.* p. 152.
[4] Benholzer and Giffen, *op. cit.* p. 197.
[5] Pumphrey, *op. cit.* p. 19.

He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

A [i.e., the King. - Ed.]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be incarnate or with which he is associated.

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them.

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang.

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members.

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kwayo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the more important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the usual circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *kuk*, neatly fenced with sallow stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *kuk*), are so built because they are regarded as the houses of Nyakang.

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *kawak* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *kawak* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices,

[1] Dalzoner states that the royal wives do not normally bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *kawak* (op. cit., 140).

2-Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only the bones for minor sacrifices (recovery from illness, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the Jaweit is a necklace of the heads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also wore necklets of glass beads, white and green. The Jaweit eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

The contents of the kaqa vary, but they always include certain sacred spears, called ulodi, representing those used by Nyikang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fowkang shrine was to a special sense the house of Nyikang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1910 wrongly described as elephant tusks), their thread ends thrust into the ground; within these were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyikang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyikang" (ulodi) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1910 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fowkang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this time (1911) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care of a more intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies, but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fowkang; it is, indeed, impossible that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village herds.

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778 of the shrine attendants as well as the village huts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and humble character of our friend Aber.

783 The clans Goldongo and Pumirit are closely associated with the
778 upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Goldongo clan, and
[G9] probably to a lesser extent the Pumirit, act as wardens of the shrine
[G1] and where sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men we saw entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief [G1] (*ngat*) of the local group of clan Goldongo always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aber said that his man, one Ayuriel, had controlled her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aber was of more importance than Ayuriel, [G1] though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

778 The different facilities of the huts constituting the shrine further
396 indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Hogg.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Dowal, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Dowal.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the wives of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Dowal was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which
[G1] Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used
192 of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *ciw*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with its horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his sword—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e., probably having its wear operated as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*dwon*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names as Fenikang for Nyikayo, and Wed Mac were Nagalo and Kao respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *kwoth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Atanj, where stands one of the *kanje Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *kwoth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels comprise the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts containing

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F723 Shilluk F723

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performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the dimiñ chief, Dimojok of the Gokdongo clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Bura owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dimojok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his dimiñ. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this process to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, assuring certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Bura, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dimojok would provide the bull.

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At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, sweeping and planning and removing the smaller weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open space to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from them. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the hut on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were piled against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in overall masculine style. She

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came
793 out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of
796 the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the
[293] dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *ludi* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pameiti clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

2:Seligman & Seligman, E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
764 called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
[793] these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
[782] a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

[198 643]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits
775 of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[193] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming in a line again in front of the house for another charge. 535
This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence". 541]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 221 484 574 439

IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 1. Jwok (*jʊ̀ɔ̀k*) or God; 2. Nyikang (*Ńíkàŋà*), the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo (*ájʊ̀ɔ̀gó*), the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned. 771

"Jwok (*jʊ̀ɔ̀k*) is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is, but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lāmo* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwoch* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accompanied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder. JWOK 776 782 [177] [793] ●

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the 776

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obōgo* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 SORCERY

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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *àjwōgó*, and what is connected with him; *àjwōgó* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwok* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yaŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwōŋgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "seul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipo; wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipo* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anŋko*; the word is derived from *nŋgo* to kill; *anŋko* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anŋko* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jō pō jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtfully relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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53. The Man who sacrificed Himself.

Kgá a kgn Ńikāń, a kgti Atulfi ki wgte bāńg, a ywoda nam ʒ rígù yi tik. Ka Ńikāń e jādø yŏ. Ka jal ma óbʒgù e fʒchø kine: Ńikāń, yí rè chúń? Yi jati ki yŏ? Ye ko: àwó, yá játi yø. Ka e ko: kgi ya rūmi ki cham, yá y bí, ka ya chwʒp kí tíń, ka rémà mólá nám, tik y chʒt. Ka Ńikań chwʒbi jal gni, ka rgmg mgla nam, ka tik e chʒdø. Ka Ńikań yiti ki yø.[1] 539*

When Nyīkang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyīkang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino,[2] asked thus, "Nyīkang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?" He replied, "Yes, I do not see a way where to pass." The man said, "When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away." And Nyīkang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyīkang found a passage. 539* 773

54. Nyikang and the River-people.

A kgła Ńikań wak, a mánf, a yōde yfi, rina wøk yi lygk, a kōbi kine: jøk, wei kátá (kgá) yi ygi wun! jøk gni ko: kipańø? Kine yau. A kátí, che ygi ni tʒna pań, ka gø ní dʒdí yi Ńikań. A bʒn, a mágé gin, a kgle gg pack, a lame gin, a løgø bāńg, a wei gg tøń, gø ni lám ggn. A løge tygń lām, a wei gg Ńibʒdø; ka ni bʒti Ńikań. Chwøl gá kwar Wań, kwāre ygi lygk. 539*

Nyīkang went into the bush capturing; he saw (at a distance on the river) a boat, he ran from the high grass to a place where the grass was burned, then he called, "People, let me get into your boat!" The people asked, "Why?" He replied, "Just let me go in." When he got into it, the boat went to the bottom (wac about to sink, this being caused by the witchcraft of the people in the boat); but Nyīkang pushed it up again; then he came and caught them. He brought them into a village; he taught them to pray; they became his slaves (his subjects); he gave them the spear and taught them to pray. So they became the people of prayer. He let them reside at Nyibodo; they keep the (religious) things belonging to Nyīkang. They are called the descendants of Wang, the descendants of the boat of the grassless plain. 539* 773 793●

55. The Lost Cow.

Kwøjul e kwayi døk, dok Ńikań, ka dean akygl e wań, ka e kgdø kal dø Dimø. Ka e kgnø: dean agøn? Kine: dean tʒk! Ka Ńikań wārø, ka e ko: yap dean! Ka 539*

[1] Vide 51.

Juok *Ficere*, means a whirlwind; 776
Juok *Nam*, " river spirit;
Juok *Acweci*, " creator;
Jane Juok, " things made by Juok such as food etc.;
Juok *Tim*, " wood spirit;
Juok *Ayim*, " protector.

Anything that cannot be understood is Juok. Juok is thus a plurality but he is also one spirit; he may be either good or bad, or neither, he is potentially all three. He may bring sickness, may protect people or he may merely stand aloof from human affairs. Certain diseases are specifically associated with him. The cult of Juok is not expressed in any external action or ritual; it is found in a few songs and prayers, and Juok is invoked only when appeals to the ancestors and to Nyikang fail. [753]

THE CULT OF NYIKANG

Nyikang is the hero of most of the Shilluk myths and traditions. He is the culture hero, founder of the nation, and the popular ideal, and though probably an historical person in the first instance, his acts and words have become sacralised in myths. The Shilluk regard him as a divine or semi-divine being. They say he did not die but disappeared in a whirlwind during a festival held at Akurwa. The spirit of Nyikang is supposed to be present in certain places, men and animals. Every *reth* at the moment of his installation, when sitting on the royal stool, is possessed by the spirit of Nyikang so that it is Nyikang who becomes king again (see above). The spirit of Nyikang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are regarded as his homesteads; in particular he is present, at certain times, in his effigy at Akurwa.

There are ten shrines of Nyikang in Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenyikang. Seligman describes them as a group of two or more huts, of the same circular form as dwelling-huts but slightly larger, enclosed in a fence of millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which projects the blade of a spear.(1) The huts are taboo to all except the priests of Nyikang and the old people who tend them. The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the shrines to Nyikang are known as *bareth*; they are the ex-wives of kings, people liable to epileptic fits (which are held to indicate possession by Nyikang or a dead king), and certain old men who appear, according to Seligman, to have a hereditary connection with the shrine. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices and officiate at the ceremonies. They eat the meat of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine. 346 778 778 793

The worship of Nyikang at his various shrines consists of sacrifices and prayers. The two most important annual ceremonies are the rain-making ceremony, held just before the rains, and the harvest festival, when the millet is cut and first-fruits are offered to Nyikang. Each new *reth* should send cattle to each shrine of Nyikang and also various other presents. Offerings are given at the shrines when a person is sick so that Nyikang should make him well. Offerings and ceremonies invoking Nyikang's aid are 778 782

(1) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.77.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. 182
This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a 773
Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is 776
now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he 773
made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he cap- 776
tured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk 825
common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that 173
is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts 776
of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant [613]
lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk 631
country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and 793

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

631 Luak in the south, which, in some situations, are politically opposed to each other. These territorial and political divisions are associated, but not coterminous, with two religious divisions which Howell and Thomson call 'sees'.[1] One of these is called Gol Dhiang, and corresponds to the province of Ger and northern Shilluk-land. The other is called Gol Nyikang, and corresponds to Luak and southern Shilluk-land, which Nyikang first settled. These two religious divisions are separated by a stream or inlet of the river, the ceremonial crossing of which by the king-elect forms part of the ceremonies at his installation. The theme of crossing the river, already referred to, is thus repeated in the installation ceremonies for the Shilluk kings, and we find elsewhere how important in Shilluk thought is the crossing from one bank to another. There is, for example, a riddle, the ideas contained in which must seem curious to those for whom the separation of the banks of a river does not have such imaginative value. The riddle asks 'What is a big man, who knows only one bank?' and the answer is 'an island'. Hofmayr explains that an island, unlike the river or the stream, has only one bank.[2] There can thus be no crossing from bank to bank.

Ger and Luak each comprise a number of districts, which are the loose confederacies already mentioned, and seem to have been much modified by Turkish and British rule. It is clear, however, that in the past the really important divisions of Shilluk-land were the religious moieties, Gol Dhiang and Gol Nyikang, and that the boundary between them was the inlet of the river, called Arepejur, which is said to mean 'the gathering of the peoples'. Each of these moieties was divided into settlements. Of these settlements, some of which have given their names to the administrative districts to which they now belong, four were of special traditional importance. These were Muomo and Tonga, guarding the northern and southern marches, and the two settlements divided by the stream Arepejur and facing each other across the boundary between the moieties. The leaders of these latter settlements represented their whole moieties in the election of the Shilluk king, so that in this situation the leader of one settlement was also the leader of Gol Nyikang, and the leader of the other was also the leader of Gol Dhiang.[3] Just north of the boundary between Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and therefore technically in the northern moiety Gol Dhiang, is the present royal capital, Fashoda. The king's clan seems to be well represented on both sides of the boundary between these moieties.

In describing the Shilluk divisions of their country, it is easy to introduce the notion of an administrative system, with an element of superordination and subordination in the relations between the larger territorial units and

[1] Howell, and Thomson, 1946, p. 75. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 402.

[3] The history of the boundary between northern and southern Shilluk-land has been very confused. The details of this confusion do not affect Shilluk cosmology. Some of the information here given is from Pumphrey, 1941, but the main analysis of the significance of the religious moieties is taken from the way they functioned at the installation of the King Anei Kur, recorded by Howell and Thomson, 1946, and from the analysis given in Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565 644 [682]

Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643 567] 565 644 766 [793]

The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565 644 [614] [608]

Under the present regime, partly because the Government has frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. 177 643 648

When a *Nyireth* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyireth* and

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177 63 [642]

The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda[29]. 643 [556] [692]

As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643 793 [775]

Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177 643 648 [556]

29. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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touch the ground, but always rested on the foot of the bearer when he stopped[15]. These three men took their place at the head of the "bull procession", and started for Fashoda. 643 [778]

We were told that as soon as they reached Khor Arepejur in front of Fashoda they would send messengers back to our village of Adodo and others ahead to the village of Debalo, where the king-to-be-inducted was residing. Then when the messengers arrived at the respective villages the two processions would start simultaneously from the villages about equal distance from Fashoda to meet at Khor Arepejur for the final ceremony.

After the Golbany and the old men left, preparations were made [782] for a sacrifice inside the enclosure in front of the houses where reside Nyikang and Dak. I noticed that no one passed these houses without [778 576 788] bowing low and saying *Kwa dibong*, which in modern parlance would be "Your Honour". A small ram was brought, and then was killed by having its throat cut. This ceremony was attended by only a few of the people gathered in the village, and the others did not seem to pay much attention to it. A few minutes later, however, a female goat was brought and tied to the enclosure, on the outside, and all the men in the village gathered and sat on the ground in an attitude of utmost respect, every man with his feet under him and the backs of his hands touching the ground in front of him. Most of the people [793] in the village were the custodians of Nyikang and Dak and had been accompanying them on the eight-day march from the village of Akurwa, which is the traditional home of these gods. None of these men carried spears, but all were armed with whips of Nyikang, which is rather a testimony that these gods do not need clubs and spears to protect them, but men armed as women are sufficient to overcome all opposition. There were about sixty men in the group from the village of Akurwa led by their chief. As the young female goat baa-ed, one of the old men in the group addressed it thus, "why do you cry, are you not

15. This was the practice with all sacred spears, and the images of Dak and Cal as well. Nyikang of course was never put on the ground.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the 533
people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, 643
" *Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together " *Kwaa dibong, Kwaa dibong* ", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands 643
on the ground and say " *Kwaa dibong* ", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered [778]
they were the " things of Nyikang " such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, [793]
and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and [533
which were as follows :—" Open your mouth, Great One, and speak 539]
to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are 643
guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless 782
the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

778 643 535 Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Musmo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.* They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.** Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.** This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

Reth Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this purpose

* It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

** Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the battle should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established custom if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

** For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no 643
ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow 173
which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the [825]
Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome.

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the [776]
glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his [775]
spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death.

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyi- 643
kang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth; [793]
their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity [731]
of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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776 God is considered as being far off, aloof from mankind, caring nothing for the things He has created. Men do not then approach Him directly, nor, at least on great public [782] occasions, presume to offer sacrifice to Him. Approach to God can only be made through the great mediator, Nyikang. It is Nyikang who, though he led his people into and left them in so sorry a plight, is reverenced as the Father and Saviour of the Shilluk people, is worshipped as a demi-[775] god, and is thought of as always dwelling among them in the person of the reigning king. To him are all prayers [782] made and sacrifices offered; in his honour sacred dances are [778] performed. His numerous shrines, located in different parts of the country in which his spirit is believed to dwell, are [793] carefully tended by the Bang Reth, to whom fall the perquisites of the meat of the sacrifices and the tributes of grain willingly surrendered from a meagre harvest in the sacred name of Nyikang.

776 The king, as the personification, as it were, of Nyikang 643 on earth, will offer the principal sacrifices on important 782 occasions during the year, for example, to obtain a plentiful [789] rainfall and a bumper harvest, for the averting of the plague [731] of weaver birds which descend on the country in their millions each year and devour the ripening grain, in times of drought and flood, of epidemic among the people and plague which is carrying off the cattle. On these and similar occasions is Nyikang invoked and sacrifice offered to him by [634] the king himself and the district chiefs, and yet it is clearly understood by all that it is not Nyikang himself who will bestow the benefit or avert the disaster, but God, moved to clemency by the intercession of Nyikang for his people. And so the second and last article of the Shilluk Creed would run 'and in Nyikang, Son of God, Father of the Shilluk people, and our only intercessor with God for us'.

775 Alongside the cult of Nyikang, there is also a cult of the 769 dead. The Shilluk have only a vague notion of life after death in the Christian sense. They do, indeed, speak of the *Pa Jwok*, God's country, which is the abode of Nyikang and their ancestors, and which is reached only after months of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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778 king, Kudit, and during her father's reign assisted him by
776 her very able administration of the northern province of the kingdom. She continued in this office until her death which took place during the reign of Kudit's successor, Aney. To
[731] this shrine in times of severe drought, or on the occasion of
[782] some other such public misfortune, comes the whole populace of the district to dance and sing and pray before it, to offer its tithes of grain, and to slay and sacrifice a bull to the spirit of Nyala.

● 793 The Shilluk do not possess a priesthood in the sense of a
782 body of men dedicated to offer sacrifice; sacrifice may be offered publicly by the king or the chief of a district, or privately by any individual. There are, however, individuals
756 who claim to have supernatural powers, to be possessed by
754 Nyikang and to be the interpreters of his wishes, to foretell the future, to read auguries, to heal the sick, to avert or to cause evil. These people are of two kinds, the *Ajwogo*—literally, the 'man of God'—and the *Jal yath*, the 'medicine man'. The ajwogo deals in white magic, that is, his works
756 are, or are supposed to be, beneficial to the community or
755 the individual on behalf of whom his services are solicited. For a fee of a sheep or a goat or a cow, according to his rapacity and the circumstances of his client, he will do his best to cure or to kill a sick person that he has been called in to attend. For he will cheerfully administer a potion concocted of ingredients the potentialities of which, either for good or ill, he hasn't the slightest idea; will indulge in
[757] blood-letting to an extent that would make an eighteenth-century leech blench with horror; and is not above performing a surgical operation, despite his complete ignorance of anatomy and surgery, with a rusty piece of iron, or a spear head or some other such Shilluk equivalent of the scalpel and lancet. At Detwok a lovely, high-spirited cheerful girl was reduced to a physical wreck after her ordeal at the hands of one of these wretches. She became ill and was attended by the Sisters who thought that she should go to hospital. Her pagan parents refused to allow this and instead called

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 787
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Photo: Fr. F. Spohnsker

Right Reverend Monsignor Hart, Prefect Apostolic of Malakal (formerly Kodok) Prefecture and some of the Fathers

182
622
631 particular, ceremonial services at the king's investi-
778 ture, the building of huts at Fashoda, which is both the royal capital and the cult centre of Nyikang, and the upkeep of Nyikang's other shrines and
182 those of past kings. These shrines are widely dis-
778 tributed throughout the country so that every
[794] section of it participates in the cult of Nyikang, who is, it must be borne in mind, not only the semi-divine hero of Shilluk mythology but also the king at every period of their history. Indeed, the shrines of Nyikang, what Professor Seligman calls his cenotaphs, are indistinguishable from the tomb-shrines of dead kings and they have the same ceremonial functions in the life of the people: in the rain-making ceremonies, at harvest time, and
182 in times of sickness and pestilence.[1] The religion
643 and cosmogony of the Shilluk are bound up with the political system through the identification of Nyikang with the king. The kingship stands at the centre of Shilluk moral values.

775 We can only understand the place of the kingship
771 in Shilluk society when we realize that it is not the
776 individual at any time reigning who is king, but

[1] Prof. C. G. Seligman, 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk', *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (1911), pp. 221 and 225.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
775 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
825 fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular develop-
825 ment, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the
[753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into
[787] the river.
[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
● 784 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is,
[778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron
[782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
782 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief
794 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pan juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are
[824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their
[428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their
787 assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[776] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *budi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
782 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782
796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should [643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the [793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is [787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it [831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
bareth Nyakang. This is ground and made into porridge with water
796 brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and
782 also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and
782 spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December, 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made
796 after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete:—

[114] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 796 [634]

performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of the Golobogu clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Buru owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Buru, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would provide the bull.

782 793 796 [643]

At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came
793 out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of
796 the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the
[293] dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *ludi* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pameiti clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643

this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

[662] 643 787 643 796

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *kurak* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month
796 (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*.
[787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2]

643 796

At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *ororo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ororo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ororo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwer*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *ororo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ororo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously more ceremonial in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Aker informed us that the victim would be lying unbound when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great ones"—including certainly the *jang dwong*—assembled near the shrine and each spat into a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place. [782]

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwer*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she at one time was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *dak ker* of the Acholi is a matter for future investigators. [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it
796 with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain
[775] some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For
[171] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it
[781] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

[1] Papit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Munro by an Egyptian officer—not apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Munro's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kgś rīṭ* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ńibōḍo)*, *Otgṅo*, Nyelwal, *Oshōrǫ*, *Oṭigǫ*, *Dīdigǫ*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.
[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tanfikia and Kodok.

*539 *ka ţom kāl wǫk, ka Chǫlǫ (Chǫllǫ) bēnǫ bene bēne, ká tērǫ chēnǫ, ka wēni ki war, ka tēro chēnǫ, ka rit a kwach:*

Ya kwache ki mátǫpó, má kāla ḍǫga. Peń e rēń júr, Lén-dárǫ che de wēlǫ. Yá kétá yi máyé bańda ńa Ńidwai, Akolǫ, ńań Ńikāńǫ.

*539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they
782 come and besmear the temple of the "king", they prepare the mud, and make
●796 stripes on the temple with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":[1]

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lonydaro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyidwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground; then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the
789 people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
233 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!" He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Daro", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 642 reth, no building may be done and the usual burning off of [535] the grass in the early dry season is forbidden.

643 During this time also active preparations are on foot for the ceremonies of installation. Iron must be obtained and 796 special ceremonial and presentation spears forged; silver, [326] ivory and ostrich feathers procured for the making of [301] bracelets and other ornaments; a hunting party has to make inroads (either without the knowledge or with the connivance of the government) upon a strictly protected species [237] of antelope in order to obtain the highly prized skins which serve the purpose of purple and ermine in the installation ceremonies. The forging of the sacred spears is introduced [326] with special ceremony; with appropriate sacrifice new fire by the immemorial method of the friction of hard wood upon soft is made and the implements of the blacksmiths blessed.

643 There is great activity during this period of preparation 796 in Akurua in the north of the country, Nyikang's own 778 sacred village. It was from here that the hero-king disappeared in a whirlwind from the sight of mortal man, and 775 it is to Akurua that he returns in order that he may go to Fashoda to install his successor as reth. In the shrine at Akurua are housed the sacred effigies of Nyikang and his son, Dak, which are carried in procession from Akurua to Fashoda for the installation. These effigies consist of heads of [237] ostrich feathers fixed in bamboo sockets, and are in fact fetishes, since the souls of Nyikang and Dak are believed to inhabit them. On the death of a king the old effigies are destroyed and new ones made for the installation of the reth-elect.

643 When preparations at Fashoda are completed, messengers 796 are sent to Akurua to inform Nyikang that it is time to march 778 to Fashoda. The effigies are then carried out, borne aloft by members of a clan whose special prerogative this is, and [614] start on the journey to the capital, a distance of about seventy miles. The procession moves south at a smart pace. Dak's mop of feathers on the end of a long bamboo pole looks like an oversized feather duster; Nyikang's head of ostrich plumes is very much bigger than that of his son's,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

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693 796 it was an old man who was stretched across the path for the king and his followers to step across. With such a large following, there was more stepping on, than stepping across, and the man was trampled to death.) His partisans follow suit and the whole army crosses the watercourse and marches towards Fashoda. As it does so, the supporters of Nyikang, bearing the two effigies in their midst, are seen approaching from Adodo. The two forces halt a short distance apart, threats are shouted, weapons are brandished—not spears, fortunately, but millet stalks—there is the usual preliminary feinting and dodging and half-hearted rushes, and then the two armies hurl themselves forward and join in the great mock battle. The air is thick with dust raised by the padding feet of the combatants and clouded with flying millet stalks. When the air clears it is seen that the reth is no longer at the head of his forces. His army has been defeated and he has been captured by Nyikang and carried into Fashoda.

Nyikang, closely followed by the reth, advances to an open space in front of the shrine. A cow is sacrificed and then a [782] screen of white cloth is erected in front of the doorway of the [778] shrine, and the sacred stool of Nyikang is placed behind it so as to be hidden from the public view. The effigy of Nyikang is put down upon the stool and a period of chanting and invocation ensues, the reth meanwhile kneeling and clasping the legs of the stool. Then Nyikang is lifted up and carried into the shrine and the reth takes his place on the stool. This is the solemn moment of the installation; it is the equivalent of the crown of kingship being placed on the head of the monarch. The Shilluk believe that at this moment the [787] spirit of Nyikang enters into and takes possession of the body of the reth. After some time spent in communing with Nyikang, the reth, accompanied by his 'bride', who during all this time has never left his side, leaves the place of installation and moves across to a group of huts temporarily erected for [782] his use. Another cow is sacrificed and the king enters one of [783] the huts for the ritual washing of his feet by his wives. This bathing is done in hot and cold water and signifies that the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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king must not be 'hot' or 'cold' with his subjects, but 796
just. [783]

During the rest of the day the king remains in the seclusion of his temporary camp. Towards evening all fires are extinguished and new fire is made by twisting a sharpened [372] stick in a hole made in another stick. The smouldering tinder is fanned into a bright flame, and the sacred fire is carried off to light the fires in the village.

During the next two days the reth remains in seclusion and certain secret rites are performed. On the evening of the second day he leaves his temporary camp and takes up his residence in a hut on an eminence called Aturwic, just outside Fashoda. He is traditionally 'enticed' there by a girl, and for the first time since the commencement of the ceremonies he deserts his young 'bride' who remains behind in the camp. The next morning the king remembers his bride and asks for her. He is told that she cannot be found and he sends messengers to look for her. They return and say that during the night Nyikang has come and carried her off. The king then sends to Nyikang demanding the return of the girl, but Nyikang flies into a rage and calls his army together to punish this impertinence. Nyikang and Dak now appear outside the shrine where they have lain since the morning of the installation and are joined by a third effigy, Nyikang's [778] second son Col, who is composed of grey ostrich feathers and rope. The three effigies surrounded by their followers now aroused to a pitch of excitement by continuous drumming and dancing, advance towards Aturwic and the king and his *entourage* descend from the mount to meet the aggressors. The king advances boldly towards his opponents and hurls his millet stalk 'spear', which is a signal for a general onrush by his supporters. This time it is Nyikang who is vanquished. The 'bride' is snatched away from him and hurried up the mount to safety and in vain do the warriors of Nyikang counter-attack to recover her. At length they fight their way to the foot of the mound but then Nyikang calls a truce and quietly ascends the eminence accompanied by his sons. Apparently all is settled amicably. The reth has proved

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang
796 reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward
[537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly.
[782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the posi-
797 tion, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or
[798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

•796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yuţ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajuōgo*, or whether it designates still a a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipo*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipo* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anpko*; the word is derived from *nōgo* to kill; *anpko* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anpko* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *jō pō jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom [1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of Nyikang, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Ker. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Yẽ*; at the death of the king from the house of *Yẽ* it will be the turn of the house of *Ñeḍok*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Ker, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their

[1]) "king" is in Shilluk *rit* or *ret*; in older literature the word "bondu" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called mek, which is a contraction of the Arab malik.

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EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS 1898

In summer 1898 an Abyssinian force came down the Sobat. It arrived at Sobat mouth at the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kur Wat Nyedok *(Ńeḑok)* was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadyet Wat Kwat Ker *(Kẓr)*, is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a Britisch officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of comity and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at each station occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 142 members; a boys' school with an enrolment of 210; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage or home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrolment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrolment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrolment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrolment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Atbara: A boys' school with an enrolment of 87; also informal services.

Wadi Halfa: A girls' school just opened, and informal services.

Port Sudan, Merowe, Suakin and Dueim: There are native Evangelical Church members at these centers, and informal services are held at the first three places.

The stations occupied by the Church Missionary Society in Northen Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: One unmarried English missionary; four native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 68.

Omdurman: A medical English missionary; two unmarried English women missionaries; three native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 51; a hospital and a clinic.

Atbara: An unmarried English woman missionary; two native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 38.

In Southern Sudan, among the pagan tribes, each Mission labors in a distinct territory. The American Missions's sphere of work and influence lies along the Sobat River; that of the Church Missionary Society lies along the upper reaches of the White Nile.

The American Mission opened work at Doleib Hill, in 1902 on the Sobat River just six miles from where this river empties into the White Nile. The American force here consists of two industrial missionaries, an ordained missionary and a doctor. A regular Sabbath morning service is held, and those engaged in industrial work, ranging in number from ten to two hundred, attend daily morning service. Evangelistic itinerating is done in adjoining villages. A boys' school has been maintained but with some irregularity. Some 3600 clinic patients have been treated. Agricultural and industrial training forms the chief feature of the Mission's work. The population of this region is from the Shilluk tribe, but Dinka and Nuers are also reached. The Mission is about to open another station farther up the Sobat River in the vicinity of Nasser, and a doctor and an evangelistic missionary have been appointed to this task.

The Church Missionary Society began its work at Malek, on the White Nile, about 1000 miles south of Khartum, in 1908. The Britisch missionary force consists of two ordained men, a lay worker, and a doctor. The work is chiefly among the Thain, Bor and inland Dinkas.

The following sketch of the early missionary efforts of the American Mission will be of interest. In 1899, the Rev. Andrew Watson, D. D., and the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., were commissioned to visit the Egyptian Sudan and investigate the possibilities for missionary work. This missionary reconnaissance resulted in a recommendation that the American Mission, whose work in Egypt

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

797 extended from Alexandria to Assuan and whose Evangelical Church members and adherents were going into the Sudan in considerable numbers as Government employes, should extend its work to the Sudan. Accordingly, the Rev. J. H. Giffen, D. D., and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin were commissioned as the first missionaries of the proposed Mission. They reached Omdurman in December, 1900. For some time, a rigorous prohibition of the Government forbade all missionary work among the Moslems of Northern Sudan. The work was therefore limited to the Evangelical and other Christian communities. In March, 1902, work was begun at Doleib Hill, among the black tribes of Southern Sudan. In establishing this mission station practically everything remained to be done. Houses needed to be provided; at first of mud, later of burnt brick, and later still of concrete. Provisions needed to be secured and gardening became a necessity, for no vegetables or fruit were to be had unless grown by the missionaries themselves. Problems of health became acute, as life and work were thus undertaken in a region and a climate where hitherto no white community had established itself. To these difficulties were added those of safety from wild animals, and especially innumerable snakes which infested the place until the land was somewhat cleared by agriculture. There were also the problems of establishing just and sympathetic relations with the people of the neighborhood. The early attitude of suspicion which prevailed is well illustrated by the following incident narrated by the Rev. Dr. Giffen in his interesting book "The Egyptian Sudan."

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"We had been there for some months, and thought we had gained much confidence from the people. We had a friend visiting us and this chief, Ariu, had called in honor of our guest. After some conversation, our friend said to Ariu: 'Now you have a good and righteous Government; it will protect you, and will help you; it will fight your battles if need be. And these missionaries will teach your children, will help you to cultivate your lands, will find a market for your grain, and they have The Book and will teach you of God; you ought now to be quiet and peaceable. Till your lands and care for your herds.'

"After a good deal of deliberation and smoking, Ariu laid his pipe aside and replied: 'Master, you speak well. We had here the Turks (the old Egyptian Government) and they said, "Be submissive to us; we will protect you, we will fight your battles four you, we will teach you of God." But they took our cattle, they destroyed our villages, and carried our women and children into slavery, and they are gone. Then came the Ansar (the Mahdists) and they said: "Come with us, we have a great army; we will care for you and protect you; we will give you plenty to eat, and a good place to live; we have The Book and we will teach you of God". But they slew our men, and right here

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

where these missionaries built their houses many of our men fell fighting for their women and children. They took away our cattle, destroyed our villages, carried off our women and children, and they too have gone. Now you come and say: "We will care for you; we will protect you; we will fight for you; we have *The Book;* we will teach you." Master, you speak well; but we will see.'

"This brief, pathetic story, a review of their whole history, reveals everything."

The supreme problem in the new work was, however, the language, for the Shilluk language had never been reduced to writing, neither was any grammar of the language in existence. The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field labored successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages. However, the Rev. Ralph Carson and the Rev. Elbert McCreery especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remained for the efforts with which this book is connected to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language. These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the Trustees of the Arthington Fund, to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan is operated.

Among the successes of missionary work during the brief period of about a decade which has elapsed since this work was begun, may be enumerated the following important achievements: the ministry to the religious life of many Christians, Egyptians, Levantines and Europeans who entered the Sudan in Government service; the establishment of preaching centers and of both educational and medical missionary institutions whose Christian influence is steady and far-reaching; the solution of problems of health, of residence and of agricultural possibilities; the solid foundations laid for the mastery of the language; the winning of the sympathy of the people; and, finally, a hopeful beginning in the winning of some to Christianity and in the awakening of a spirit of inquiry in a much larger circle.

The most serious problem is the rapid advance of Islam into pagan territory through the aggressive efforts of Moslem traders and the pervasive influence of military posts at which are stationed Moslem troops.

233 [492] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [797 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spred upon the ground.

243 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

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kuɛ́n a kind of dura-bread or mush.

àkʋ́ʋ́ɔ́ a food of dura.

àpʋ́ʋ́ɔ́ a food of dura.

àrɛ́yɛ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

àdʋ́ʋ́ɔ́ a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).

mɔ́ŋanɔ́r a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.

mɔ́kɔ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ a common dura-food.

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is nice to have those marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. Those marks take many forms - scorpion, tiger, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a sergeant on the upper arm. 304 177

Clothes.

Hofmayer states that "... So gross die Aufmerksamkeit und Vorliebe für Putz und Schmuck, so gering die Sorge für die Kleider."(18) He also writes: " Während der Mann im Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit dem Weibe in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and " Langsam beginnen nun auch unter diesem Volke, seitdem christliche Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen ist, Anzeichen einer besseren Zeit sich einzustellen. Bereits kann man die Nacktheit der Shilluk von diesem Lande als verschwunden betrachten." (20). During my sojourn among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes , this being that the Shilluk were always dressed -at towns as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAUO, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAUO is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmeyer.(22) But the question is that the LAUO is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It stands unique and the Nuer or the Dinka, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women , quite naked. Hofmayer's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1923. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 50 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk men began to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress. (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both missionaries and Moslems. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Dinka and Nuer, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayer contradicts himself in the same book. Cal, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1580 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Nach vollendeter Waschung kleidete Cal sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 291 [355] [177] [177] [177] 114 291 [177]

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the differences between the two sexes go, or went, as far as that which we could understand from Hofmayer's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married. [171]

There is also a traditional ceremony of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAUO with the king "personally knotting this robe over the jago's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homesteads in a settlement) may be invested with a LAUO "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be 291 621 643

[18] "such great attention and predilection for dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children."

[19] " while the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, A sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

291 invested with a LAUO, " directly from the King, or from the settlement chief."
621 (26) This ceremony shows clearly that the LAUO plays a symbolic role in the
643 Shilluk political institutions. (27) These institutions are more or less matters of tradition , and traditions are rarely changed in a conservative society.

291 I have dwelt at length upon this problem, not only to criticize Hofmayer, but mainly to direct attention to one of the most important cultural characteristics of the Shilluks, in comparison with other Nilotic groups, and to show that this is not a newly acquired custom, but has deep roots in the past that can be explained by cultural contact or diffusion that affected only the Shilluk.

Notes.

113 (1) Seligman, C.G. & B. Z.; Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932 P.40
(2) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 247.
[63] (3) The word means the "meeting-place of the people".
(4) Tothill, J.D., Agriculture in the Sudan. London 1948. p.815
(5) Ibid, pp. 820/821
(6) Ibid, p. 812
(7) Seligman, B. Notes and Queries in Anthropology, London.
(8) " C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London, 1932, p 13
(9) Hofmeyer W., Die Shilluk. Wien 1925. p 19
(10) Seligman , C.G., Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No 11 London 1910, pp. 516/517
The figures in brackets indicate the number of persons measured.
(11) Seligmann, C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p. 418
(12) see above, Table "C" No A 4, and A 1, have three lines.
(13) Butt A., 1952, p 28
(14) see above, table "n"
(15) see above , table "G", card No B 3, he was the son of king Yor, who adopted the name of Omar, and converted to Islam.
(16) Seligman C.G., Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London 1932, p 49
(17) Butt, A., 1952, p 28
(18) Hofmeyer, W., Die Shilluk, Wien 1925. p 344
(19) Ibid, p. 345
(20) Ibid, p. 345
[114] (21) This may be explained by the wish to let the right arm always free to throw spears or anything else. Also Seligman (1932, p 43) erred when he said that " the inhabitants of a village, Pathour, mark a scorpion several inches in length... on the shoulder - left for men and right for women- so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth."
(22) Hofmeyer, W., 1925, p 345/346
[m] (23) This is the case I have observed; the Shilluk who comes under the influence
● 797] of missions or who was converted to Christianity uses European shorts and shirts, and the Shilluk who was converted to Islam wears the usual Arab white dress, with a turban.
(24) Hofmeyer, W., 1925. p 39
(25) Butt, A., The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda, London 1925. p. 50
(26) Ibid, p 50
[171] (27) There is a similar ceremony among the Dung of investing the new chiefs with a head dress.

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Acholi FK4
Latuko FJ17
Azande F07

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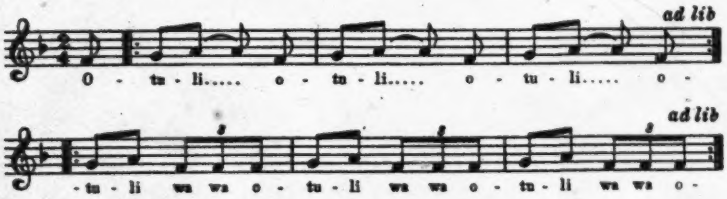
This game is definitely a hit at the white man. The "chin of a goat" in the first song refers to the beards of the R.C. missionaries (beards being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Nuts and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step :— S 524



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without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy need not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song :— B L 524

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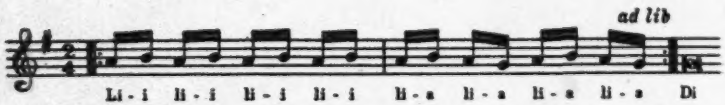

the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

IMITATIONS OF ANIMALS, ETC.

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Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs :—

20. *Bush-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbodi,"

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Bari FJ5
Mittu FJ18

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XV.

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FIG. 1.—SHILLUK VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

FIG. 2.—BARI VERSION OF "HUNT THE SLIPPER."

FIG. 3.—"NYIKANG WAS ABOUT TO SEIZE HIS BOAT" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 4.—"HERE ARE TWO CLUBS" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"NDEKE WAI NDEKE" (BAKA).

FIG. 6.—"NYAM NYAM NYAM. DE DE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(A)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Dinka FJ2
Latuko FJ17

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVI

ADS 524 516 291 797

FIG. 1.—SHILLUK PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

FIG. 2.—DINKA PLAYING "LION AND SHEEP."

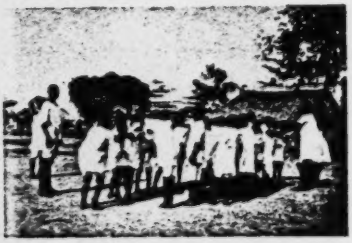

FIG. 3.—"SIR ROGER" AMONG THE LATUKO.

FIG. 4.—"THE FOREIGNER COMES STRIDING" (SHILLUK).

FIG. 5.—"GROSS SHAKE YOUR HEAD" (AZANDE).

FIG. 6.—"GROSS CROUCH DOWN" (AZANDE).

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 167 (B)]

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933

FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Azande F07
Lotuko FJ17
Jua FJ14

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LXIII, 1933, Plate XVII.

ALJ
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FIG. 1.—SANDE "SNAKE."

FIG. 2.—LATUKO "GIRAFFE."

FIG. 3.—JUR "FROG."

FIG. 4.—SHILLUK "SCOOPS."

FIG. 5.—SHILLUK "GANGE."

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SONGS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN.

[p. 187(c)]

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

further evidence, that such offences were treated as private delicts in the past, though nowadays, through the influence of the Government, penal sanctions may be applied.

Witchcraft

The Dinka and Nuer tell us that witches and other anti-social persons were sometimes dispatched by their victims or their kinsmen with the tacit consent of the community. Acts of homicide against persons whose actions threatened the integrity of the community were either not subject to restitutory sanctions at all, or the compensation demanded by their kinsmen was on a much reduced scale.[1] A similar attitude towards witches is to be found among the Shilluk, but again without the support of actual examples.

In the published literature there are references to persons described variously as witches, sorcerers, magicians, medicine-men, and possessors of the evil eye,[2] and their activities and methods are described, but there are few references to the way in which they were treated. The sanction applied to witchcraft is normally counter-magic consciously applied by the victim.

Hofmayr speaks of 'the *jal yat*, the evil-doer, his aim in life is to do harm, both to life and to property, either by natural means or others,' and adds that 'the *jal yat* works in the dark, but if he is caught, he will be severely punished. Often he is handed over to the people who kill him.' Hofmayr also speaks of the 'poison mixer' (again *jal yat*) who 'is hardly ever discovered. If he is caught, the people will lynch him on the spot and his relations will have to leave the district.'[3] Another passage mentions that the compensation for killing a person possessing the evil eye is only four head of cattle instead of ten. These references, supported by what the Shilluk have told me, suggest an attitude similar to that found among the Nuer and Dinka.

It might be expected that, if there were any greater development of concepts of public law, and if the *reth* performed formal judicial and executive functions, acts of this sort would be subject not to merely private retaliation with the consent of the community, but rather to repressive sanctions applied by the *reth* or his representatives. In fact there is no evidence of this. It may be noted in this connexion that there are instances recorded during the last thirty years of attempts to introduce alien cults which would clearly be subversive of the ritual status of the *reth* and, through him, of the religious foundations of Shilluk society. For this reason Shilluk who have openly practised the Dinka cult of Deng have been severely repressed.[4] There is good reason to believe that such activities would have been punished by death in the past and they are, by their very nature, public delicts amounting to acts of treason.

Conclusions

Much of the evidence so far quoted is unreliable, mainly because the authors have recorded impressions rather than facts. My own conversations with the Shilluk on the subject have been limited and perfunctory, and for this reason cannot provide

[1] For example, the Nuer *mak* or Ghost - see Howell and Lewis, 'Nuer Ghosts—a form of Witchcraft', *S.N.R.* xxviii, 1947.

[2] *ajwop*, magician, *jal yat*, sorcerer, *yuak*, possessor of the evil eye. There are many references to the activities of such persons in Hofmayr, *Die Shilluk*. See also Oyler, D. S., 'The Evil Medicine Man', *S.N.R.*, 1950.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[4] See Willis, C. A., 'The Cult of Deng', *S.N.R.*, vol. xi, p. 191.

"Shillooks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted Mahomedism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Fungs, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens". 3) 174 [197]

In another statement Bruce hits upon an important aspect of the inner organization of the state: 643

"It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus murdered. Ashmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace .... seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any .... at Sennar. His place of birth was a village of Fazuglo, and it appeared to me that he was still a pagan". 4) [644]

That was the first time the world ever heard of the name Shilluk, and thus was the beginning of the problem, which is now more than one and a half centuries old. Many authors have supported this opinion of the Shilluk origin of the Fung kingdom, and many as well objected, producing speculations and theories. Others changed their opinions on second thoughts, and until now new handling of the subject and the introduction of new ideas concerning this tangible problem are still forthcoming; but we can summarize these controversies into three major lines: 114 174

1) The Shilluk origin of the Fung. 5)

2) The Arab origin of the Fung - or generally the Eastern origin. 6)

3) The Western origin of the Fung, i.e. Darfur or other western Islamic empires of the vast Sudan. 7)

What concerns us in this paper is the first item; that is, broadly speaking, the relations between the Fungs and the Shilluk, while the origin of the Fung themselves is more or less a historical subject. 121

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3) Seligman, p. 484. (As there is in Vienna but a French translation of Bruce, I prefered to quote him, whenever it was possible, in English from any other book).

4) Seligman, p. 483.

5) Bruce, Arkell, Westermann, (and Crawford to a certain extent).

6) The Fung Chronicles, Awad, Bonnelly, and Jackson are for the Arab origin, Chatenay and Holder are for an eastern origin, i.e. the Fung were sent by Abyssinia to restore order after the fall of Christian Nobe.

7) Tremaux, and later on Arkell.

14: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

UPPER NILE PROVINCE.

THE SHILLUK PEACE CEREMONY.

628 This district had been disturbed by a feud for more than three years. The people of the district were tired of the continual guerilla warfare, and some of them were anxious to have the trouble finally settled, and to return to normal conditions. Each side was afraid to make the suggestion lest it appear to be weak.

628 634 643 [597] After an outbreak the mamur and the king or mek advised the chief men of the district to get together and make peace. The chief of the district came to the mission and asked to have their conference of the chief men here. Since the feud the chief of the district had been able to exercise his authority over one faction only. The Mainam, faction, which included Mainam, Fakol and Fatwara recognized him, but the people of Failo refused to accept him as chief. However the old men of Failo answered his call, and after several conferences both sides agreed that they desired to end the feud. They decided to inform the government and the king of their decision, and that peace, would be established, when it suited the government to send a representative with the king.

The king came to the mission as being neutral ground where both sides could come. He had two days to work before the arrival of the inspector. He needed only a few hours. The old men of both factions presented themselves before him. He said "You are the chief men. How is the talk?" They replied that it was finished. Akol, the chief of the district, then said it was his desire to rule the district well, but that he needed the help of the king, and the government to unite it. The king then dismissed the old men, and told them the talk was finished. He warned them to bring their fighting men to have the final ceremony as soon as the Inspector arrived.

628 634 [648] The Senior Inspector of the province, Mr. Jackson, arrived in the night. Chief Akol, heard the boat pass his village, and he was so anxious for the peace, that he ran to the mission to make sure it was the province boat. When he had found it was the boat belonging to the Inspector he ran back to call his men. He told the people he was

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a wish to be buried at once, as his father *reth* Yor had been buried at once after being executed by the Dervishes. 766

The grave of a *reth*, and of all *kwareth*, is a shaft dug in the ground with a cavity cut in the bottom of one side to form a vault. After the body is placed in the vault, it is shut off with stakes and the shaft filled up with earth.

Some few days before he died the *reth* was baptised a Christian. It is possible that his conversion affected the cermonial connected with his death; the absence of his many wives from the ceremonies, and his request to be buried at once and not in accordance with traditional custom suggest this. [177] [177]

The *reth* is looked upon by the Shilluk as responsible for their prosperity, and his strength in their eyes causes the Shilluk, their crops and their herds, and the fish and hippopotamus in their river to increase. In times of famine or cattle plague, at once the Shilluk begin to feel that the *reth* is losing his powers. For two years prior to 1943 the Shilluk crops had been very poor. In 1942-43 the crops were worse than ever, and wholesale deaths from famine were only averted by large scale grain imports by the government. After the previous famine, which lasted for three years ending in 1935, the *reth* had become seriously ill. This time he was an old man, and knowing his responsibilities to the Shilluk, and feeling his physical powers failing owing to his illness, he doubtless lost the will to live, and wanted to die. Whether he was ceremonially strangled, as is traditional for *reths* and all the *kwareth*, we do not know, and cannot find out. We incline to the view that, as his death became certain, and he and his family held no further hope of recovery, he was smothered. It would have been unseemly to have held a post-mortem, and other information is not available. It might be put in this way; it is possible that he was "assisted" to die. 643 [731]

After his initial election the new *reth* was soon busy thinking about the wake for Fafiti Yor. Shilluk opinion seemed to think it would not be held for a year after his death, and that the tribal installation 643 766

29: Dempsey
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FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

[For information on missionary activities and a brief history of the mission among the Shilluk see category 116, pp. 99-142.]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter I

WHERE IS KODOK?

I remember once reading a book, *Cavalcade* I think it was called, the first chapter of which described the return from the South African War of the Civic Imperial Volunteers. In it one of the victorious heroes was asked by his admiring wife, "Where is Africa, Alf?", but alas, Alf didn't know. My ignorance, I fear, was similar to that of Alf when in 1939 I received an appointment to work in the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. Almost all that I knew of Kodok was that it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa; to that extent, at least, my knowledge was superior to Alf's. I did know where Africa was, but apart from that the name Kodok was just a palindrome, for it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year, and the first band of five priests with Monsignor J. A. Wall at their head had but recently taken possession of the new field. 797 123

It was in December, 1939, that four of us set out to augment the original band of five, sailing in a wartime convoy for Africa. By this time I had learned a little more about the place. I knew, for instance, that it was the same place as Fashoda, famous in history as the meeting-place of Kitchener and Marchand and the scene of the 'incident' which nearly brought about war between France and England; that it was situated on the River Nile, 450 miles or so south of Khartoum; that it gave its name to an Apostolic Prefecture which theoretically covered a territory more than twice the size of Ireland, but in practice was confined to the land of the tribes dwelling on the river banks; that in the Prefecture there were already four mission stations established at Detwok, Lul, Tonga and Yoynyang by the Verona Fathers, 797 [131]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

our predecessors in the field; that really Kodok had very little to do with the Prefecture, being merely a village with a convenient name about ten miles from Detwok, from which it was administered.

The journey out provided few outstanding incidents to record. The blowing up of a trawler which struck a magnetic mine in the English Channel; the sight of the destroyers keeping station on the flanks of the convoy and the daily visit of Coastal Command aircraft; the halt under the great guns of Gibraltar, where the convoy dispersed; the loveliness of Valetta in Malta, and its great heat; the Midnight Mass at Christmas celebrated deep down inside the ship for the benefit of the Goanese stewards, and the indescribable discord of their singing; the surprising coldness of the Suez Canal at night; our feeling of forlornness when at last we stood on the quay at Port Sudan and watched the ship steaming out of the harbour; our dismay when we realized that our baggage had not been landed from the hold and was being carried on to Mombasa; these are the simple recollections that remain of an uneventful voyage. From Port Sudan we travelled by rail 500 miles through the desert to Khartoum. At each station along the route there was a lengthy halt while hordes of Sudanese, men, women and children, clamoured around the carriage windows, some offering for sale scraggy-looking chickens and doubtfully fresh eggs, others merely holding out grimy hands for alms and chanting the familiar Sudanese cry, 'Baksheesh, baksheesh'. At Atbara a lone Italian priest met the train, a Verona Father, one who keeps the Sanctuary lamp alight in the desert. He is always informed from Port Sudan or from Khartoum when a priest is passing through so that he can have an opportunity of making his confession. On this occasion, however, he was bidding farewell to one of his brethren from Khartoum whose company he had enjoyed for a few days and who now joined us on the train on his way home. In Khartoum we stayed for a short while as guests with the Verona Fathers and then set out on the last lap of our travels, the 500-mile journey up the Nile.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

000 second- and third-class passengers and cargo, and around and behind were more cargo barges. Thus burdened, the *Rejaf*, travelling by night as well as by day, plodded along the river at a steady five miles an hour. A blast from its steam whistle signalled our approach to a trading station, and immediately all was bustle and excitement on the river bank. Merchants from the interior were there in force bringing in trucks, or loaded on camels and donkeys, quantities of produce for shipment, mostly grain. Humbler folk were there too, carrying the inevitable chickens and eggs, or perhaps dragging a protesting sheep or goat for sale to the crew. The whole bank was a mass of vociferous hagglers and squalling children, and if it were daytime, the water's edge would be lined with women washing clothes, the owners of which would be taking a dip in the river the while. Thanks to the hot sun and the stiff breeze this whole process of washing and drying takes less than ten minutes, which is an improvement on any patent soap-powder method, though it would be untrue to say that the clothes come out with the same dazzling whiteness. A few hundred yards from the river could be seen the village with its mosque built of sun-dried brick and its *suq* or market-place where one might find exposed for sale everything from dried dates to electric torches, and from soap (for which few seem to have much use) to murderous-looking swords and daggers. However, after an hour or so, all business completed, the steamer would back out into midstream, and the beat of its paddles soon lull us again to sleep as we lay in our deckchairs.

797 By the end of the third day we began to look around us
123 with a quickened interest, for we had entered the Upper Nile Province which to us was synonymous with the Apostolic Prefecture of Kodok. We already knew our destinations, for we had found letters awaiting us in Khartoum appointing three of us to stations in the territory of the Shilluk tribe and the fourth to Yoynyang on the Bahr-el-Gazal (Gazelle River) among the wild and woolly Nuer. I was destined for Detwok, and so the small hours of the next morning found me packed and ready for departure, since I

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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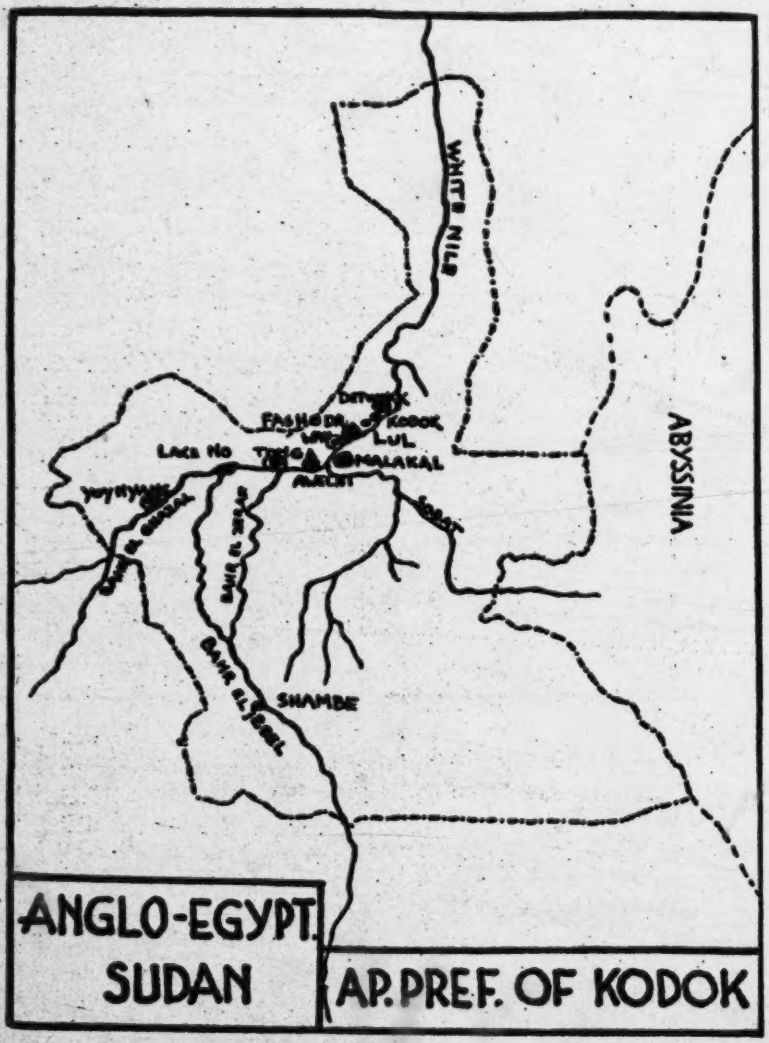

had been warned that the boat would arrive at Detwok about 3 a.m. At last I heard the raucous hoot which was so often to rouse me from my beauty sleep during the coming years; I bade a quick farewell to the other Fathers who had

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29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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797 come on deck to see me leave, and together with my luggage
123 I was bundled into the steamer's boat, rowed to the bank, carried through the deep mud on the shoulders of the boatman, and finally dumped on solid ground. Here I found Monsignor Wall who, after visiting Detwok, was returning to his headquarters at Malakal, and the Superior of the
123 Mission. Monsignor had just time for a word of welcome before he was carried to the boat I had just left and rowed across to the steamer standing out in midstream. The Superior and I turned, and by the dim light of a hurricane lamp made our way through the dark tunnel which led to the house. It was a ramp, half a mile long, built over the swamp and bordered with trees; at every yard I shied fearfully at writhing shapes across the path, only to gulp with relief on finding that they were not the snakes I expected but the roots of the trees. In the end there loomed up before us the shadowy bulk of the house that was to be my home for the next ten years. I had arrived.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter II

THE PROMISED LAND

I awoke refreshed from sleep, and in the bright morning 797 ●
sunshine I was able to survey my new dwelling place. It was no Eden. In Africa there are many places of wonderful natural beauty, but Detwok is not one of them. Right in front of the house stood the ignoble remains of a brick kiln, and that together with the dried-up appearance of the soil gave one the impression of standing in a well-burnt brick-field. One looked ahead over an expanse of baked earth scarcely relieved by tufts of grass, yellow and shrivelled by the heat, and low clumps of thorn bushes and saw the river shining in the distance. To right and left of the house, indeed almost surrounding the compound in the rear, was a forest of vicious-looking thorn bush beyond which, half a mile away, could be seen the Shilluk villages thinly strung [361]
out in line, like, as one writer has put it, 'beads on a string'. In the compound itself were the Fathers' house, a substantial building just recently completed by the Italian Fathers with bricks burnt in the kiln whose ruins still remained, the Convent of the Sisters and a two-storey building with a school below and chapel above.

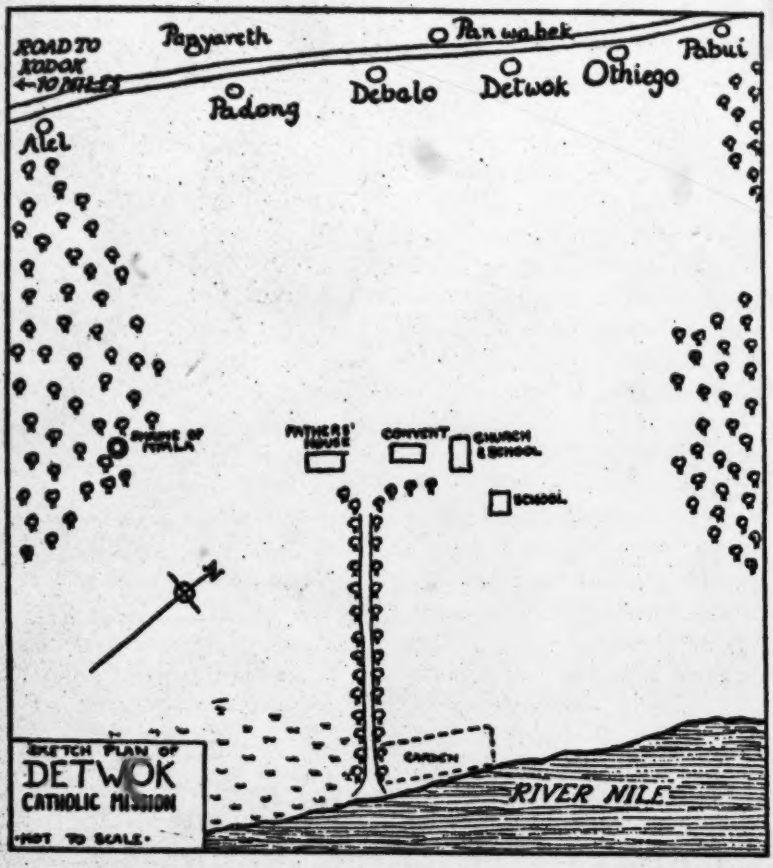
The scene was unlovely in the extreme. The earth of all 134
that portion of the Upper Nile Province apart from the swamps is cotton soil, which, though eminently suitable for the growing of cotton, is useful for little else. In the dry [132]
season, lasting from November to June, its surface is rough and hard, broken by large cracks into which a bicycle wheel can easily slip as far as the hub; in the time of the rains it soon becomes a mass of grey viscous mud as unsafe for a careless walker as the surface of an ice rink. After a few weeks of heavy rain most of the countryside turns into a vast swamp through which one must wade knee-deep in water,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

134 struggling at each step to free oneself from the clinging mud underneath. Long after the rains have ceased the swamp remains, only drying up gradually under the heat of the sun and through drainage into the river, until by mid-December the moisture has all been drawn from the earth, and the bright green grass which has covered it during the rains begins to turn yellow and wither.

797 If my new home was no Eden of beauty, neither was it one free from labour and toil. The territory covered by the mission is, I discovered, quite large. In length it is about 70 miles, extending from Kaka, 55 miles to the north, to a point 15 miles south of Detwok; inland it stretches 15 miles [361] from the river where the Shilluk villages farthest from the river are to be found. The 'parish' thus comprises roughly an area of 1,050 square miles and it is a formidable task for two priests to administer it, especially as the most speedy [493] means of transport available is the push bicycle. However, [771] most of the Christians, who at that time were by no means numerous, lived in the villages near the mission, and large areas were without habitation of any kind, so that the task of parochial visitation did not prove as onerous as it might at first appear. The Shilluk are inveterate wanderers and [166] often drift from the villages in which they were born and baptized as far north as Kaka, or inland to the limits of inhabited country. There they will remain for years quite out of touch with the mission and Christian influence, for rarely if ever do they come in to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. With all the good will in the world it is impossible for two priests, one with the many affairs of the mission to attend to and the other fully occupied in the school, to keep track of these nomads and follow them in their 763 wanderings. But their heavenly mother, Mary, does not for- 797 get them at the hour of their death, and many is the time that a message from a vigilant catechist, or word brought casually by a passing traveller, or, more often than not, a request for a burial cloth from the pagan relatives of the dying Christian sends the priest post-haste a journey of 15 or 20 miles, in the dry season by bicycle, in the rains on foot, to bring the

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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last consolations of religion to these poor brethren of Christ. 797 763

After a month or so of my stay in Detwok I was happily settled in my new home, and was beginning to find my way about both in the district and—what was more difficult—in the Shilluk tongue. Although my activities were mainly confined to the classroom, occasionally I was able to escape from the trammels of schoolwork and spend a morning touring round some part of the mission. A morning of visiting 797 123

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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797 123 would proceed somewhat in this fashion. I would plan an itinerary to take in half-a-dozen villages covering an area of two square miles or so, and from the mission books or my own notes decide on what had to be done. Augustine, living in Detwok, for example, had not sent in his pagan wife for instruction as he had promised; another gentle prodding would be necessary there. In Debalo I might find Julian, and it would be as well to investigate the report that he had begun negotiations for marriage with a pagan girl; I must find out how far matters have gone and how many head of cattle have been paid, and warn him to send the girl into the mission in good time so that she might be instructed and baptized and the marriage celebrated in church. Thomas in Pabiu has inherited his brother's wife, so I had better look him up and find out what he intends to do about it. And while I am there I shall make a point of calling to see old Rachael, a good woman who has been ill for a long time now; she has already received the last Sacraments and is waiting for our Lord to call her from this weary world, weary [164] indeed for her for she is a leper and blind as well; a few cheerful words and the gift of a screw of tobacco will help to relieve the tedium of a long day. In Othicogo there is another sick woman whom I ought to visit; the Sisters have been taking care of her and instructing her, as she is a pagan; perhaps it might be prudent now to baptize her. Also there is that young villain Paul who ran away from school last week; his father must be persuaded to send him back again. And that reminds me that in the next village lives Frederick, who assured the Superior that he would send his children to school, but has not done so; he must be given a sharp reminder of the duties of Christian parents towards their children. My list of calls thus planned, I pack my sick-call case into the cycle bag, break off a few pieces of native [249] [276] grown tobacco from a lump like a brick, and just as hard and appetizing looking, and stuff them into my pocket, mount my cycle and bump off across country towards the main road and the line of villages.

My entrance to the first village is greeted by a cacophony

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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of frenzied barking, as all the mongrels in the place, suddenly galvanized into life at the appearance of a stranger, give tongue to their displeasure and make a concerted rush with the evident intention of tearing me to pieces. I shout to one or two youths loitering near and ask them to call off the dogs, but to no avail, so I seize a stick and get in a telling smack or two on some which have ventured too near, and disperse the rest with a few well-aimed lumps of cotton soil. They retreat to a safe distance barking and growling threateningly, but at least I can make my way into the village in peace. There is little astir; a few men squat near the cow byre gossiping while one lies prostrate on the ground with the village hairdresser anointing his hair with a mixture of red mud, oil and ashes as a preparation for building it up into an elaborate coiffure. Most of the women have not yet returned from their daily trudge to the river for water, but the spirals of smoke rising from behind the reed fences which surround the individual homesteads indicate that some of the more industrious housewives have already begun to prepare the morning meal. A group of small children, pot-bellied and large-eyed, soon run to surround the Father and his bicycle; gravely they scrutinize him and his mount while some shyly offer him the customary Shilluk greeting, '*Yi bi*—You have come'. The bolder spirits among them venture to come closer to investigate the wonder of his wrist watch, putting their ears against it to hear its ticking with smiles of amazement and delight.

The children follow the priest as he wheels his cycle across the open space to where the knot of idlers is sitting near the cattle byre. The village chief who is among them rises courteously to greet the white man; '*Jal duong*,' he says, '*Yi nin*: Great one, you have slept.' I answer him in accustomed fashion, '*Yi nut*: You are here,' and then each man of the group greets me separately and receives his answer. I seat myself in the place of honour on the chief's mat and smoke a cigarette with him, discussing the prospects of the crops and making enquiries about certain ones in whom I am interested. Soon I excuse myself and go off in search of my

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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errant sheep, Augustine, who has taken to himself a wife who is a pagan. Augustine is not be found anywhere; no one knows when he went away, where he is, or when he is likely to return. I think it very probable that he saw me coming, and at present is hiding in a neighbouring hut, but I know that it is useless to press the matter further now, so making a mental note to come back after a day or two, I retrieve my cycle with a sigh and, waving farewell to the chief, make my way to the next village on my list. Here, my welcome from the dogs is as noisy as ever, but my visit more successful. Julian is at home and admits that he has begun to pay cattle for the lady of his choice, yet asserts loudly and with an air of injured innocence that he would not dream of marrying outside the Church, and that he has only to point out to the girl the error of her pagan ways for her to begin instruction in the mission. This I take with a grain of salt, for I have heard it all before and know from experience that it will take months of patient and persevering persuasion before the bride-to-be presents herself to the Sisters to commence the learning of the Catechism. Still I must be satisfied with Julian's assurance, and taking leave of him I pop in to see Rachael.

The poor old lady is lying on a skin on the ground, her emaciated body covered with a dirty cloth. She seems to be dead already, but at the sound of the priest's voice she stirs slightly and turns her sightless eyes in my direction. I can see that she has grown much weaker since last I saw her, and that it can only be a matter of days till she goes to her reward, so I give her another blessing for the good of her soul and close her skinny claws round a piece of tobacco. Poor Rachael is too far gone to use or appreciate such a luxury, but she realizes that some one has given her something and is comforted by the possession of it. She tucks her gift away among her rags, for she knows that if her harridan of a daughter sees it she will take it from her as soon as her visitor has departed.

The round of visits continues. Paul's father is surprised to learn that his truant son has not been in school for the past

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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week; he certainly has not been home, he says, and surmises that he has run off to the cattle camp across the river; he promises to investigate the matter in the morning, and the look in his eyes bodes no good for his errant offspring. In the case of the other missing schoolchildren I do not have the same success; Frederick is not at home, nor his boy; Cecilia, his wife, says that the lad is minding the sheep and goats and implies that he will have to go on minding them as there is no one else to do it. (The flock actually minds itself to the ruin of the Sisters' garden, while the false shepherd disports himself in the river.) As to little Amelia, she is wanted at home to look after the baby, so she can't come to school either. I give this up as a bad job and push on to work through the remainder of my visits. Once or twice I am called into a hut to look at someone who is sick, and if I judge that he or she is sufficiently ill to warrant the attention of the Sisters, I make a note of the name and place. In one hut I find a tiny baby obviously very ill, so while the mother anxiously looks on, I baptize it, giving it the name Angela. (I learned that evening from the Sisters that little Angela had died, and I felt happy that I had been instrumental in speeding her flight to join the angel choirs above.)

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But now the last of the calls is made, and, accompanied by the ever unfriendly dogs, I make my exit from the village and take the track leading to the main road. In the distance I hear the mission bell ringing out the mid-day Angelus, and saluting the Mother of God as I ride, I quicken my speed towards the mission house and lunch.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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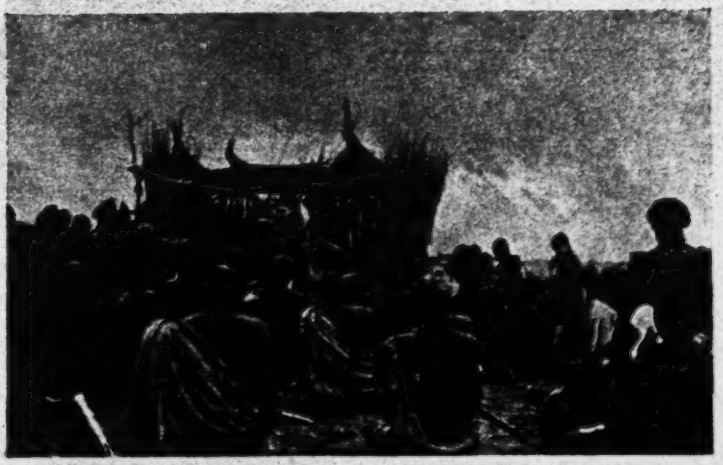

The Consecration

Note the fashions in hair-dressing. The soup-plate style is achieved by letting the hair grow long and stiffening it with clay

By courtesy of V. Rev. J. P. Kennally

The Communion

Note the hair-style affected by the chap nearest the camera: little balls of red clay give this charming effect

Detwok Mission: Mass at Détwok village (Celebrant, Rev. Fr. Rowlands)

[facing p. 20]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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or Greek merchant and purchase one imported from England.

The most important and busiest months in the Shilluk year are those of the rainy season, from June to November. When the first rains fall, the villagers go out to prepare their fields for planting. The main plantations are generally at a considerable distance from the village, sometimes as much as ten miles inland; the small patches of maize and millet around the villages, usually cultivated by the women, are for a quick crop that can be used as soon as it is ripe. After the first few showers the grass is burnt and the ashes left to be washed into the soil. When enough rain has fallen to soften the ground, planting begins. There is no preliminary back-breaking hoeing or digging; the Shilluk would regard as crazy anyone who would suggest that such a thing was necessary or would improve the land. He would say that if the rains are good and all other circumstances favourable to growth, he will get enough grain to last him for the year, whereas if fortune is adverse, all the digging in the world will not fill his store basket. What was good enough for his fathers away back to the time of Nyikang is good enough for him; why should he try to improve on the wisdom of the ancients? If this particular patch was sufficient for his father and his father's father, why should he go to the trouble of clearing another? One of the Fathers in Lul, an expert and enthusiastic farmer, tried to convert the schoolboys to a better system of farming by showing them the benefits of digging and manuring the land. He divided an area of ground into two equal parts, planting one half according to the Shilluk and the other according to his own improved method; yet even the sight of the bumper crop that he obtained failed to impress the boys: it was not the Shilluk way of doing things and therefore not for them. And so, the husbandman with a sharp pointed stick removes a small divot from the unbroken surface, drops in a few millet seeds and pushes back the soil with his heel as he moves on. When the whole field has been sown in this manner, he is content to sit back and leave the rest to the beneficence of Nyikang,

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
693 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[505] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

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643 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang
796 reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward
[537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly.
[782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the posi-
797 tion, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or
[798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

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sense that saved the struggling mission of Detwok from destruction at the hands of the grief-stricken and enraged villagers when in 1931 the wall of a brick kiln collapsed, killing several boys and girls. He had on several occasions expressed his wish to become a Christian but owing to the political and religious repercussions that would have followed had he, the ruler and high priest of the Shilluk, taken such a step whilst in the prime of life, he had perforce to defer his conversion, but hoped for the grace of baptism before he died. God granted him his desire.

King Papiti became ill in mid-September, 1943. He had indeed been unwell for some time, but was afraid to let it be known to anybody in case the news brought the traditional smotherers to his hut. (On a similar occasion some years before he had had to spend lonely nights in the forest, in fear of his life, until he had recovered from his illness.) Now it was too late for medical skill to do anything for him and he was dying.

We heard the news in Detwok from Eugene, his nephew, one of our best Christians and a catechist. He proposed to go to Fashoda to ask the king if he had meant what he said about becoming a Christian. Being so close a relative of Papiti's and yet having no claim to the throne, Eugene would easily be admitted to his presence. He set off through the swamps and the mud (it was in the middle of the rains) to cover the twenty miles to Fashoda. On arrival there he was eagerly welcomed by Papiti who reiterated his desire for baptism. Eugene therefore gave him some preliminary instruction and without further delay continued as fast as the conditions of the terrain would permit, to Lul, some twelve miles further south. He arrived at the mission in the early hours of the morning and at once aroused Fr. Hurst from his bed. But let Fr. Hurst himself proceed with the narrative:

> In the Shilluk country there are no papers, but news travels fast nevertheless, and we heard that the king was sick. On Saturday, September 18th, at 4.30 a.m. I was

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643 797 awakened by a man calling out at my door; very sleepily I asked what was the matter and he replied, 'The king is sick and is calling for the Father to come to him.' The man who called me was a nephew of the king and had already given the king some instruction in the Faith as he was well able to do—he is a catechist in our Detwok mission. I first said Mass and after some breakfast set out for Fashoda, a distance of some twelve miles. I was accompanied by the catechist and the local medical dispenser who was also a Catholic. I had to walk, for the swamps were full and the grass was very high. There was not a breath of wind. Indeed it was a pleasure to wade through the swamps for the cool water was very refreshing to tired and hot feet. We pushed on fast and made only one stop of about five minutes, whilst my escort had a drink. I was offered milk, but as unboiled milk is very dangerous in this country, I refused. When we arrived at Fashoda the whole place had the silence of a sick room, no dogs [195] barked and all the people spoke in whispers as is the custom in Fashoda. I was taken at once to the king's [614] dwelling, which is just the same as any other Shilluk house, except that more care had been taken over its construction. In the house were four women fanning the [237] king with the wings of a saddle-billed stork and the eldest son of Papiti was there too. As soon as I entered the hut, the king sat up and greeted me; he was lying on the [513] floor just like any other Shilluk, but he had a thin mattress on top of the usual cow-hide. He seemed very pleased to see me and at once told the women to leave the hut and I began the instruction. My task was easy for he knew Catholic doctrine and believed it; he knew all the obligations of the Faith. When I put the question to him about his wives he said, 'Father, my soul is the main thing now,' and before witnesses he gave me his promise to be a man of one wife. I baptised him 'Joseph' after our Patron, and it was also the feast day of St. Joseph of Cupertino. He received baptism with great devotion and gave me the impression of understanding to the full the meaning of the

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Sacrament he was receiving. He was not unmindful of my needs and sent word that food was to be prepared for me. I was taken into another house—a very special one into which few but the king and his queens enter. A woman brought me a skin to sit on and then, on her two knees, presented me with roasted maize cobs and native beer. I was in very great need of a drink for though we had waded through lots of water we could not drink it; if we did, dysentery was sure. This special house contained a very fine collection of animal skins and also the spear of Nyikang, a thing most sacred to the Shilluk. There also was a stick on which were recorded the years of the king's reign. I was sent a wing of a saddle-billed stork to use as a fan and these are, as a rule, reserved to the king himself.

At two in the afternoon I said good-bye to the king who made me a further present of a goat, and I set out for home. King Joseph, as he was now, had very thoughtfully ordered an ambach canoe to be brought so that I could cross a very deep swamp on a path that made our journey much shorter. I was feeling very tired, and every mile my feet felt like lumps of lead—the last mile seemed very long. But I arrived home about five o'clock and I announced in church the good news that the king was baptized and all the Catholics of the mission rejoiced. There were no hostile remarks from pagans that I ever heard of. King Joseph, formerly Papiti, died on September 22nd.

By King Papiti's express wish the customary temporary interment was not proceeded with, and on the night of the day following his death, he was taken to his own village of Pareth Papiti (Village of King Papiti) and there buried. The traditional funeral dances were held in his honour, but took place much earlier than usual, only about six weeks after his death.

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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even

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in an ajwogo to cure her. He diagnosed her illness, which 756
actually was pneumonia, as an evil spirit inside her, and 755
proceeded to release it by gouging a hole in her side with a broken and rusty scissors blade. It was due only to the care that the poor girl received from the indignant nuns that she was saved at all, and fully two months after her 'operation' she had not completely recovered the use of her limbs, and was reduced to crawling round the village on her hands and knees.

Fortunately, the people are coming to realize the good 757
that proper medical treatment can do them. They are more 756
willing to send to the local medical dispensary for assistance 177
and, if necessary, to allow the Medical Assistant or us at the mission to send their sick into Malakal hospital. On this account the influence of the ajwogo as a general practitioner is being weakened and it will be greatly to the benefit of the Shilluk when it is destroyed altogether.

The other disciple of Nyikang, the jal yath, is a dabbler 754
in black magic, a worker of evil. For a fee, he will undertake to bring about the death or the illness of an enemy, or an injury to his crops or cattle. Often enough the evil effects he does cause will be brought about by the old-fashioned [278]
method of poison, but to impress his client he will have recourse to the childish practice of making an image of the intended victim and sticking nails in it to demonstrate the pains he is to suffer, or causing it to waste away, when the sufferer's body will waste in a similar manner. The jal yath 685
is undoubtedly greatly feared by the people and plays upon 754
their fears to achieve his end. An instance of this occurred [797]
at Detwok some years ago. We employ a number of youths [464]
at the mission as gardeners, cowherds, kitchen and table boys, etc. One of this little community, the gardener, was the proud possessor of a wooden box in which he could keep his few possessions under lock and key. Since he was the only one thus blessed, the other boys used to entrust their savings [454]
to him, each keeping his modest sum, ranging from a few piastres to a pound or so, in a tobacco tin in the wooden box. One day it was discovered that the box had been opened

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until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number 583
has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations.

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when 583
the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has 585
been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and 583
claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the 586
law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find 686
himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian [797]
family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly

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583 break up a Christian family in that manner, and that if the
586 woman and children were not returned to their home within
686 three days, the matter would be taken to the king. Happily
797 we were on safe ground in threatening this. A short time before there had been a similar case in Lul where a Christian family was concerned and the Fathers had protested successfully to the king, who ordered the family to be returned. The chief, hearing this, gave in gracefully and the woman and children were brought back.

583 And what of the happy father of the bride? Does he
602 assume the airs and authority of a cattle baron at thus being enriched by ten cows? Poor old father, alas, will be fortunate if he gets one or two of the dowry to call his own. He does, indeed, as befitting his dignity as head of the family, receive the cattle, but the same family will take very good care that they do not remain long in the paternal shippon. He probably has growing sons hungry for cattle to build up their own dowries, but if it should happen that the Lord has not blessed him with male issue, his own unmarried brothers will clamour for their share; his wife's strident voice will be heard advancing the claims of her brothers; uncles and nephews and in-laws will take up the cry, some in strong, others in less certain terms according to their proximity to or remoteness from the immediate family circle, and the dispute will continue until the final settlement is made and the cows are dispersed to the remotest parts of the land. One thing is sure, and that is that if anyone suffers from the division of the spoils it will be father. In the course of a
231 few years the cattle of a dowry will have changed hands several times, having been split up and absorbed into other herds, again and again handed over as part of a bride-price, and again and again finding new owners among some girl's relatives, ranging the length and breadth of the Shilluk country and back again, shifting and changing, being collected and dispersed, only to be collected and dispersed again. And so it will go on until an individual cow is deemed no longer worthy of inclusion in a dowry, when it will be sold for butcher's meat or slaughtered for a wedding or a

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586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's [578] family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might [692] attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism 581 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

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mony?' asked the priest. 'Once,' promptly answered the catechumen, and then cautiously amended his answer, 'perhaps twice.' 'Oh,' said the Father, 'why only twice?' 'If a man marries and his wife dies, he can marry again, can't he?' 'Ye-es,' conceded the boy, 'he can marry again.' 'And if that second wife dies,' continued the Father, 'can't he marry a third time?' 'No,' said the boy. 'Why not?' 'Because he has no cows left' was the triumphant and conclusive reply. And that fairly well sums up the Shilluk's attitude towards matrimony. In common with the rest of his African brethren he is by inclination polygamous. In Africa nothing adds more to one's prestige than a multiplicity of wives. Fortunately, however, from our—the Catholic missionaries'—standpoint the tribe as a whole is of necessity monogamous. Except in the case of wealthy chiefs or fathers who rejoice in a quiverful of daughters to bring cattle into the family byre and no sons to take them out, the people generally are too poor to be able to scrape together the necessary cattle to provide for a second wife.

When a man dies his wife is not thereby released from her matrimonial obligations and free either to re-marry or to remain a widow. She is, as has been said, something that has been bought and paid for, part of the dead man's property, and is inherited together with the rest of his effects. If she is not the mother of the deceased's eldest son he will claim her, or if she is his mother or there is no son, or none old enough to marry, she will be taken by her brother-in-law or some other member of her husband's family. She belongs to that family and must remain in it to fulfil her duties as a wife and a mother to some member of it. If it so happened that there were no relative, no matter how remote, of her husband who could inherit her, then she might marry again outside it, but only on condition that a dowry is forthcoming to compensate her husband's family.

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A death among the Shilluk is the signal for an outburst of wailing on the part of the women. It is a high, shrill, screaming

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731 widespread, few have a sufficiency and fewer have any to spare for sale. Then the plight of the Shilluk is pitiful indeed.

Such a disaster occurred in 1945. The rains were sparse all over the country and failed almost entirely in the Upper Nile Province. In the Detwok area, after a promising start a prolonged drought set in and the young shoots withered and died. Hope revived when a heavy downpour of rain broke the drought and the people went out to plant again. But this second planting suffered the same fate as the first and as one scorching day followed another during the remainder of what was supposed to be the rainy season expectation slowly died, together with the wilting crops. The ruin was complete and, as we soon learned, was confined not merely to our own area or even to the Upper Nile but was general throughout the country.

797 731 461 In Detwok we were planning to open a Central School the following year and consequently had in hand a larger building programme than usual. The famine assured us of no scarcity of labour. Usually even though the crops are meagre there is no shortage in the months immediately following the harvest, and the Shilluk, careless for the future, gives himself over to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry. Much of his precious grain is converted into beer [574] and he dispenses and receives lavish hospitality at the many village dances with which the Shilluk celebrates the harvest. [535] Not unnaturally the proposal that he should spend the next few months digging foundations or brickmaking or carrying water is received with a marked lack of enthusiasm, and we usually depend for our labour upon those improvident bachelors who have not bothered about a cultivation and who moreover are faced with the necessity of raising money to pay the annual poll tax.

731 797 466 This year, however, there was no need to be anxious about a shortage of workmen. Each Monday when the labourers were hired for the week the mission was besieged from before dawn by hundreds of men and women begging for a chance to be able to earn a few shillings. We were able to employ only a fraction of this crowd, and it was a thankless and an

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unhappy task to try to choose fairly so that, if not every individual, at least every village should be given a turn. It was an even more difficult and unhappy task to send the disappointed ones away; to turn a deaf ear to their pleadings; to close one's eyes to the mute appeal in theirs.

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But in actual fact the ones who worked were little better off than those who didn't, for although they had a little money there was no grain to buy. In view of the opening of the new school we had been forming a reserve of grain, but the scheme had to be abandoned in the face of such complete shortage. We doled out what we had and by dint of careful and stringent rationing we were able to keep about twenty families, I will not say 'fed', but at least from starvation from October until February when our store was exhausted and we could do no more.

The Government stepped in and took control of all the grain in the country in order to ensure a fair distribution. We had at that time about 120 people—schoolchildren and permanent employees—to feed every day, and normally used a 2-cwt sack of grain per day. We were allotted ten sacks per month, one third of our usual consumption, and so had to make a proportionate reduction in the food bowl. But there was no question of the Shilluk schoolboy being thankful for small mercies in receiving a little every day whilst his less fortunate parents and brothers and sisters at home got nothing. There were protest meetings among the boys generally followed by an indignant procession carrying the meagrely filled bowls so that the Father—myself—who in their eyes was responsible for this shortage could see for himself the result of his gross neglect in not cornering the entire grain supply for their benefit. In vain I pointed out that the famine was no fault of mine and that they were better off than their brethren in the village. They replied in effect that such arguments were beside the point. Since they had done me the favour of coming to the mission to be fed, clothed, housed—and incidentally taught—for nothing, the least I could do in return was to see that the feeding was adequate, and since I had so obviously failed in this respect,

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731 they might as well go home again. And go home many of
797 them did, regardless of the fact that whilst at the mission they would get some sort of a daily ration, there would be nothing for them at the parental board, not even a welcome.

Those who remained got a little extra in consequence of the defection of their fellows, and in order to supplement their slim diet still more I divided the school into two and on alternate days sent one half to fish for the benefit of everybody whilst the other half had class, and bought a bull each week to provide them with a couple of meat meals.

And so we struggled on from month to month until in June the importation of beans from Egypt eased matters considerably, and eventually with the arrival of the new crops in mid-September the crisis was passed.

731 The unfortunate people outside the mission did not fare so well. True, periodic allotments of grain were made at various central villages that boasted a shop or two, but it was impossible to devise an equitable system of rationing, and since many people were several miles from these centres, the possession of money did not guarantee that there would be grain left by the time they had tramped the hot and dusty road to the shop. For the most part they subsisted on roots
[261] and grass and occasionally a decent catch of fish would enable them to forget their misery for a time.

We heard of many instances of suffering and endurance during these dreadful months; how a young mother alone in a hut with her newly-born baby, in trying to lift herself up to reach for a drink of water fell on the infant and killed it; how a woman in search of food walked from Detwok through the Shilluk country to Kaka some fifty miles to the north, there crossed the river and continued her quest among the equally stricken Dinka tribe, and making a huge semi-circle through rough country, eventually recrossed the Nile opposite Detwok and came home empty-handed, having covered about 150 miles on foot.

731 One morning when I was going across to the school I saw
797 two little children in the Sisters' compound trying to pick out the few grains of millet seed that had fallen into the

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cracks in the soil. As I approached they fled and I continued with a heavy heart across the compound. The Reverend Mother came from the house to meet me. The tears were streaming down her face as she told me that the two children had been abandoned by their parents who had gone away in search of food. Near to tears myself I told the weeping nun that I could not and would not take any more children into the school, that I could not and would not feed all the destitute children from the villages and that I could not permit her to give of our scanty ration to any of the hungry folk that daily haunted the mission. But, I hastily added, as the tears flowed faster, if she was a wicked and disobedient nun and chose when I was safely out of the way to disregard these strict orders and give a little food occasionally to two small hungry children, then of course I could not prevent her from doing so. It took her a moment to grasp my meaning, and then brightening, she dried her eyes and cheerfully promised to disobey me each morning when I was in the classroom and unable to see what was going on. And so the two children were given a meal every day while the shortage lasted and until their parents returned to provide for them.

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The rains of 1946 bade fair to make amends for their sad failure of the previous year. And that the heavy downpours we experienced in Detwok were no mere local affairs was soon made evident from the rapidity with which the Nile rose. The mission is half a mile from the river and is reached by a road built some four feet above the swamp level and lined with trees by our energetic Italian predecessors. By the end of September the swamp waters had overtopped the road and had flooded it in parts to a depth of nearly a foot, and by Christmas the accepted method of going to collect mails and stores from the fortnightly steamer was to paddle the mission boat down the road until it grounded in the mud and then to wade the rest—and this generally at about 2 a.m.

During this time Mgr. Wall, the Prefect, paid one of his periodic visits to the mission. He did not travel on the ordinary fortnightly boat but by a casual northbound tug,

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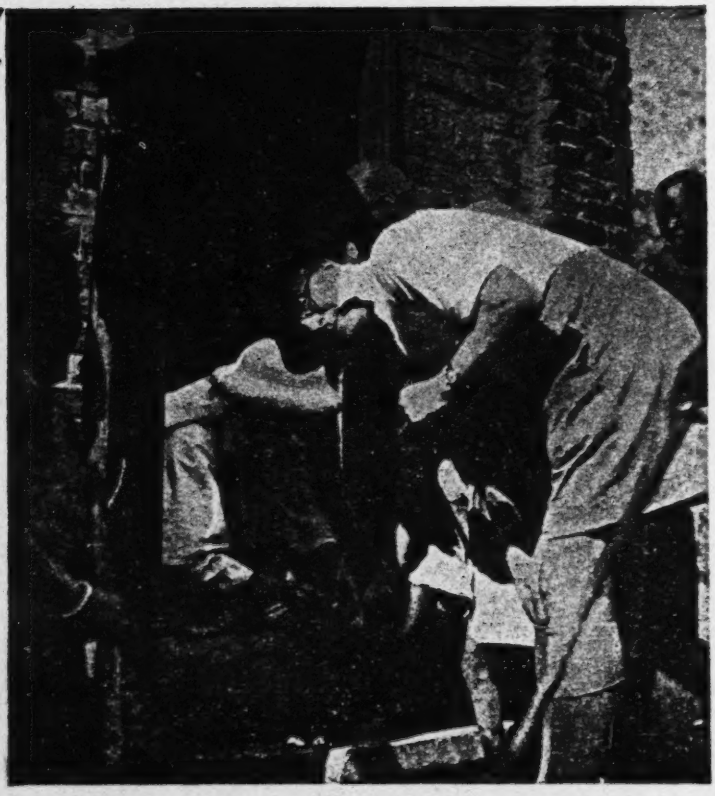

Moral support at Detwok Dispensary

[facing p.148]

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so that his arrival was unawaited. As usual the boat arrived at Detwok in the small hours of the morning, and after manœuvring round in the inky darkness managed to put Monsignor ashore on what was thought to be the road, but which turned out to be the garden. Since this was locked he could not get out, so the tugmaster obligingly took him on board again and then backing his craft a few yards down to where the path was, told a couple of sailors to carry Monsignor ashore and escort him up to the mission. They managed to land him without mishap on the only piece of dry land that remained—a patch about the size of a tablecloth—but after splashing a few yards through the watery waste the boatmen prudently refused to proceed further and lifted Monsignor up to carry him back to the tug. Unfortunately they dropped him in the river. However, he was quickly fished out, and spent the rest of the night in a chair, in pyjamas and dressing-gown, while his sodden garments dried out in the engine-room.

On another occasion the unfortunate Father whose duty it was to attend to whatever boats should call at the mission was aroused from his slumbers by a mournful hoot from the river which heralded the arrival of a steamer. Reluctantly dragging himself from his snug bed he went out on the verandah and to his relief saw the lights of the boat receding in the distance. He decided that either the hooter had blown in mistake or else whatever had been dumped on the bank could wait until morning. 'Whatever had been dumped on the bank' did wait until morning; it was Mgr. Wall once more, making another unexpected visit to the mission. Finding no guide coming to assist him and not daring in the dark to attempt the perilous passage of the waters alone, he was marooned and had perforce to await the coming of daylight, sitting on his suitcase and wrapped in his dressing-gown for protection against the hordes of mosquitoes that delightedly hastened to the place to keep him company during the long hours of his vigil.

When at length the river began to subside the floods receded rapidly, so rapidly indeed that they carried away a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

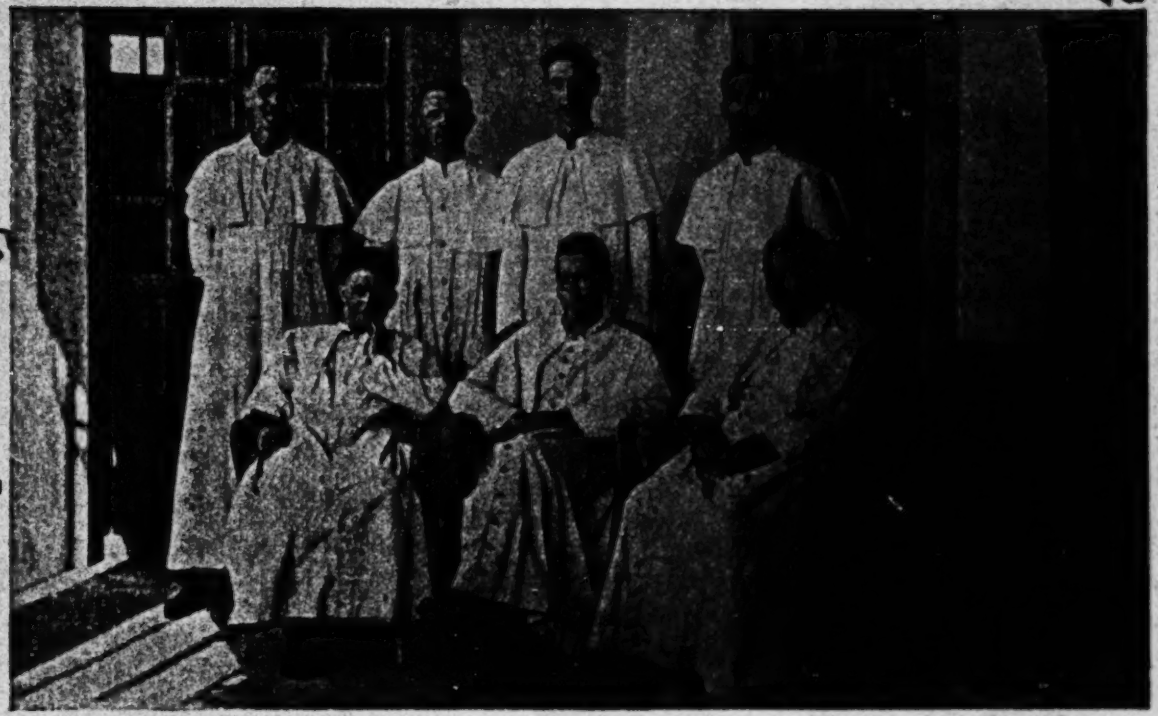

Photo: Fr. F. Spakenkar

Right Reverend Monsignor Hart, Prefect Apostolic of Malakal (formerly Kodok) Prefecture and some of the Fathers

[Leaning p. 144]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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great portion of the road and of the embankment that we had repaired and built up at no inconsiderable cost and labour only the previous year. 731 797

So passed our trial by famine and flood. We have been visited by both misfortunes since then but not again in successive years nor on so large and widespread a scale.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 796 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and [537] exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly. [782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 797 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the position, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or [798] at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*797 others were taken to Omdurman and kept there as prisoners for ten years. The missionaries in Khartoum fled to Cairo, there to await the freeing of the Sudan by Anglo-Egyptian forces.

The revolt was suppressed in 1898, and it was only then that it became possible to carry out Mgr. Comboni's desire. In the beginning of December, 1900, Mgr. Roveggio, with Fathers Tappi and Ortwalder, left Khartoum in the mission boat *Redemptor* to explore the possibilities of founding a mission. They had decided to search in Dinka country, but the boatmen made a mistake and landed them on the Shilluk side of the river. Arriving at Fashoda, they sent a delegation to the king who answered that he would come himself to see them, but in the meantime needed a bottle of brandy as he was not well. When the king finally came on board, Mgr. Roveggio asked his permission to begin a mission among the Shilluk. The king consented and gave them a site at Tonga, far to the south. The missionaries then continued their journey to inspect the place the king had given them, and decided to accept it, but on their return they found that he had changed his mind and now wished them to settle at Lul, not far from his residence, as he thought that it would be more to his advantage to have them near at hand. On February 11th, Fathers Tappi and Huber went to live in the new mission station, the first established among the Shilluk.

*797 The beginnings of the mission were exceedingly difficult. Father Stang explained later: 'The Shilluk always speak 186 badly of "foreigners", and despise everything which is not ●798 Shilluk, and this for two reasons: their pride in their own nation and the great suffering caused them by the Arabs and Mahdists.' The people would not go near the mission, and the old men and women kept away the curious children by telling them that the white men only wanted them as slaves, or would kill them to make poisons out of their blood. On July 7th, 1901, two of the mission huts were set on fire and only the timely arrival of Father Beduschi with supplies on July 24th saved the priests who had been left without shelter and food and tools. Ten years later the same Father wrote:

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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'When Father Tappi and I started the first mission among the Shilluk at Lul, they did not want us; they hated us and twice attempted to kill us.' During the first few months the natives twice attempted to take their lives by throwing spears at them. One of their greatest troubles was the learning of the language, a tongue absolutely unknown to Europeans. The Shilluk could not bear the thought that foreigners should learn their language and did all they could to prevent them from doing so. They answered their questions falsely, and laughed scornfully at the attempts of the missionaries to write down the strange words; twice, too, they set fire to their houses so as to destroy their work. With time this difficulty was overcome, but even when the people could understand them they refused to listen to what they had to say. 'How is it possible,' they asked, 'for there to be anything good in heaven? Even the birds come down to eat so as not to die of hunger. We Shilluk are made to eat and dance; you foolish men can have your heaven.' They ran away from men so cruel as to wear on their breasts a cross with a man fixed to it. Alone in their mud huts, often hungry and often ill with malaria, the missionaries had only their faith and their trust in God to keep them at their posts. The health of the laybrothers became seriously impaired and yet not one Shilluk would come to work for them. To add to their troubles, the rains stopped earlier than usual that year and all their crops were ruined; the work they had done was wasted, and they were left even without seed to plant.

Little by little, however, the natives began to approach the mission, first out of curiosity to see the work the white men were doing, and then to beg, whilst the king showed his interest by sending occasionally for a bottle of brandy, some money or some other present. At the same time the mission-aries began to gain a reputation as doctors and were thus able to make friends with some of the people and baptise some children before they died. In 1903 the king deigned to visit the mission and stayed the night with the Fathers; he ordered the nearby villagers to send milk and instructed

Z9:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Another well-remembered figure is that of Mother Adalgesa who died in 1946 while still in the prime of life. She had been Mother Provincial in this mission for eight years after serving in Uganda for twelve. Her death was brought about by the long hours she spent in the sun treating those who sent for her aid during the epidemic of relapsing fever. She saved many lives and drew many souls to God by her self-sacrificing charity. She died in hospital in Malakal, thanking God that she was able to die in the mission and not in far-off Khartoum. 'It is only right,' she said, 'that I should die here among the Shilluk, since I have given my life for them.' When her body was brought to Lul for burial, the church was crowded with weeping people. 797* [164]

In 1929 the present convent was built, and later the Fathers' house was rebuilt and a school with five classrooms erected. [346]

Other stations than Lul were gradually established as the work among the Shilluk was extended. In 1904 a mission was opened at Tonga, the site originally given by the king. Father Beduschi was the first Superior, but success was very slow, and after ten years or so he went to work in Uganda. It was not until 1923 that a third mission was established, this time near the village of Detwok, from which it takes its name. The funds for its foundation came from a group of Milanese Catholics who wished to assist a mission in Central Africa, preferably among the Shilluk people. Father Beduschi was recalled to become the first Superior of the new foundation; he was well fitted for it, being well acquainted with the language and customs of the people, but having seen the difference between the people in Uganda and the Shilluk he returned to the scene of his former labours very unwillingly and with great misgivings. On his very last day in Tonga a spear had been thrown at him in an attempt on his life. He went with Father Brambilla and a laybrother, Brother Joshua, who had helped him in the foundation of Tonga and had been there since 1904; their first task was to build huts to serve as house, church and school. The same hostility on the part of the natives met them as it had in Lul and Tonga, and 797* 798

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

* 797 Father Beduschi wrote that the site of the new mission was
• [798] unhealthy, and that it had no resources, unless clouds of mosquitoes and flies and armies of white ants could be called resources. As soon as the rains had ended, the new arrivals
[312] dug two wells for water, to the amazement of the natives,
[177] who could not understand the need for a well when the river was only half a mile away, and who refused to drink the water from the wells, thinking it was bewitched. Father Beduschi managed to gather a few boys together and start a school, but his work was undone by the chiefs, witch doctors, and old people who came and took the children away by force. In other ways, too, ill-luck dogged the new foundation: the few crops they had succeeded in planting in the poor soil failed; the road they had made from the mission to the river was nearly all carried away by floods; a bridge they had built was burned; a great pile of grass gathered for roofing the huts was destroyed by fire.

Father Beduschi had hoped to obtain catechists from Uganda, but when this was found impossible he borrowed some from Lul and sent them into the surrounding villages. He wrote also to the Mother General of the Verona Missionary Sisters asking her to send some Sisters to work in the mission as a present for the Silver Jubilee of his ordination and his coming to Africa. 'Detwok,' he wrote, 'is made up of thorns and crosses; I cannot promise the good Sisters anything but work and trouble; I even promise them disappointments and not consolations, but I do promise them a missionary life, and what more do they desire?' He did not live to see the Sisters arrive, for on November 10th, 1924, he
[164] died of blackwater fever, offering his life for the salvation of the Shilluk people. When he was dying, his companion, Father Brambilla, offered up to two shillings for a bottle of milk to give him, but the neighbouring villagers refused to let him have it.

[164] Brother Joshua who was with him both at Tonga and again at the Detwok mission died eventually as a leper. In Tonga he had made friends with a leper in an effort to

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view. 643 [123]

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for : he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him. [70]

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his «temporary hut». He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound. [4 82] [80] [7 82] [4 82]

I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom. [7 73]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

g) by adding *wọk* "outside": *ʃẹ̀n wọk* "small outside", that is "small beyond anything", very, very small. 193*

h) *chàr, chàrỳ* "very" may be added.

i) by *fɔ̄ḍọ* "to surpass"; this form together with those under k expresses a real comparison: *yí dà ḍọk máfɔ̀ṭ ḍọk pyàrỳ* "he has cows surpassing cows ten": he has more than ten cows; *jɛ̀ á ṭọ́ù, gí fɔ̄ḍọ́ jɛ̀ ádẹ̀k* "people died, they surpassed people three": more than three people died.

k) *rûní á mòl, rûná yà chání* "his years are above, my years are behind": he is older than I;

yá mọ̀lá bẹ̀n í ṭọ̀k "I was first coming he was absent": I came earlier than he; *ba duọn nè yán* (he is) not (so) old as I.

THE NUMERALS.

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Cardinal Numbers.

ákyẹ̀l	1	*áryọ̀u*	2	*ádẹ̀k* 3	*ániwọ̀n* 4
ábích	5	*ábíkyẹ̀l*	6	*ábíryọ̀u* 7	*ábídẹ̀k* 8
ábíniwọ̀n	9	*pyàrỳ*	10	*pyàrỳ wíy ákyẹ̀l*	11
pyàrỳ wíy áryọ̀u			12	*pyàrỳ wíy ádẹ̀k*	13
pyàrỳ wíy ániwọ̀n			14	*pyàrỳ wíy ábích*	15
pyàrỳ wíy ábíkyẹ̀l			16	*pyàrỳ wíy ábíryọ̀u*	17
pyàrỳ wíy ábídẹ̀k			18	*pyàrỳ wíy ábíniwọ̀n*	19
pyàr áryọ̀u			20	*pyàr áryọ̀u wíy kí ákyẹ̀l*	21
pyàr áryọ̀u wíy kí áryọ̀u			22	*pyār ádẹ̀k*	30
pyār ániwọ̀n			40	*pyār ábích*	50
pyār ábíkyẹ̀l			60	*pyār ábíryọ̀u*	70
pyār ábídêk			80	*pyār ábíniwọ̀n*	90
pyàr pyàr			100	*pyàr pyàr wíy kí ákyẹ̀l*	101.

Only the numerals from one to five and ten are primitive, all the rest are compositions. The beginning *á* in the names for one to five is secondary, and is probably identical with *á* "it is"; the ordinal numbers do not have it. Mark the mechanical intonation in the numbers from one to four. *pyàrỳ* pl. *pyàr* is a substantive; *ábíkyẹ̀l* is of course 5 + 1; *pyārọ̀n wíy akyẹl* means "ten, on its head one" i. e. ten, added to it one; this is still more evident in the following forms, which are also used: *pyàrỳ wíjí dà ákyẹ̀l* "ten, its head has one", or: *pyàrỳ wíy kí ákyẹ̀l* "ten, (its) head with one".

*193 802 The numeral follows the noun: *wọt áryụ̀u* two houses; often *ga* "copy" is inserted between both: *chàn gá pyūrọ* ten days.

Ordinal Numbers.

They are rarely used. In forming them the prefix *á* is dropped and the simple stem is used, with the exception of "the first", which is formed from *mal* "above".

àmálẹ the first	*ryụ̀u* the second	*dụ̀k, dẹ̀k* the third
ìwọ̀n the fourth	*bích* the fifth	*pyūrọ* the tenth.

THE VERB.

*193 The *stem of the verb* is uniform. It always consists in a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, or a consonant, a semivowel, a vowel, and a consonant. But the sounds of the stem may undergo certain changes, on which see 187.

Conjugation of the Verb.

The verb has two principal modes or tenses:

1. The Present Tense. This denotes an action as going on, as being done just now, as one not yet finished. This action may be going on in the present as well as in the past or future; the emphasis does *not* lie *on the time*, but on the fact that the action is *not finished*, but is being done, it "has not become", but "is becoming".

   Generally the Present in Shilluk corresponds to the English Present, but it may also describe the Past or the Future: "I am going", "I was going", "I shall be going".

2. The Perfect denotes the action as complete, it describes that which "has become", a state, an accomplished fact. While the Present means: "he is going" the Perfect is: "he is gone", "he is away".

*193 197 [These same two tenses with exactly the same meanings are found in the Semitic languages, they are there called Imperfect and Perfect. I have retained the name "Present" because it is introduced already, and a new term might lead to confusion. In these two forms there is another conformity between Shilluk and Semitic languages: in Hebrew the verb in the Imperfect (= Shilluk Present) is always preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun follows the verb; in Shilluk the verb

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter XII

GOZINTAS AND ALL THAT

A visitor to Detwok, or indeed to any other mission station, taking an after-breakfast stroll round the place, would perhaps be momentarily mystified by a buzz which, as one approached nearer the source, would develop into a chant of youthful voices. Even though the listener knew nothing of the Shilluk tongue, the chant nevertheless would soon be recognized without much difficulty, for I suppose that about the same hour each morning the same chorus arises from millions of young voices all the world over. The language might differ from place to place, but the chorus is the same and the theme is the same: 'Two gozinta four twice, two gozinta six three times, two gozinta eight four times, etc., etc.' The Shilluk version is a little more elaborate than its English counterpart, for it may be translated thus: 'Four, its inside has two multiplied by two . . . ten with two to its head (i.e. twelve), its inside has two multiplied by six,' and—if one wished to proceed thus far—'one hundred with forty to its head, with four to its head, its inside has ten with two to its head multiplied by ten with two to its head.'

No matter how zealous a missionary may be to preach the Gospel, he realizes that evangelization must needs go hand in hand with secular education, and indeed in some cases—and this is particularly true of the Shilluk people—must *follow it. For the* adult Shilluk is so conservative in his habits and customs, is so imbued in the mythology of his tribe which claims its founder to be a demi-god and the spirit of divinity to be immanent in its kings, as to be almost wholly indifferent to the presence of the foreigner in his midst, and quite incurious as to the reason of his coming. Hence, the Catholic priest among the Shilluk, although by no means unmindful of the salvation of the adult pagan,

*539 *kwǫfe ywǫk. Ka mǫgǫ gwách yi ţǫrǫ bẹn. Ka wół, ká wątó gẹn dwai. Ka mǫgǫ tygì, ka búl gẹch ki bẹrù. Ka wǫţ chwǫp, ká dyẹk nẹk; ka je nẹnẹ. Dụki ka ywọgè ywǫk, ká ḍọk ánwẹn ká nẹkè kàl, ka ḍọk aiwgn nẹke de (der) fach. Ka ţǫrǫ bẹnǫ bẹn bẹn bẹn; Chół gir! Ka feń yígó bẹrù, ţǫrǫ ywgn, ka ḍọk aiwgn nẹk ki fął yi ţǫrǫ. Ka pụki yéch, ka bur gẹn kwóń ki bûtì wiy ḍāp. Ka atíwi dryụu ki hẹgl ki obírù ki fàrú, ki tąmi dryụu, ka gẹ nẹk kí yey bur. Ka tụne ḍọk ka gẹ kął, kwoń feń, gẹ lẹţè yi ţǫrǫ. Ka ywǫke e dụnǫ. Ka kâl ţǫţe yi rẹm, ka kâl ţǫţe yi bat, ka riǫ pụnè bẹne. Tygì a kwoń ḍāp kẹli chín, ki wich, ki tygl, kí mútụ.*

*539 766 When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought, they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave. [804]

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard, his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead [768]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

778 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very
346 large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at
[776] night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang
[692] heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists
782 of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following
796 occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

[805] 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging
[643] to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *kareik* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *kareik*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

ɛ́ɛ̀t a food of dura, dainty.
mɛ́ɛ̀ɛ́ ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ a food of dura.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀ cooked dura.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ green roasted dura.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ dura roasted, then soaked and mashed.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ dough.
mɛ́ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ́r a dura-food

ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ dura, soaked, and then kept till it sprouts; for making beer. 262
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀ɔ̀ beer before it is strained.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ beer.
ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ ɔ̀ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ strained beer.
ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀ a kind of beer.

6. The seasons of the year.

805 ●

ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about September, harvest of red dura.
ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ about October; end of the harvest, people are waiting for the white dura to ripen.
ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about November — December; harvest of white dura begins.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ December — January. Harvest of white dura continues.

ɛ́ɛ́ hot season, January—February } no field work 221
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about March
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about April "mouth of rain", begining of the rains.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about May—July, time for planting red dura.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ about July—September, beginning of harvest.

7. The months.

805

1. *ɛ́ɛ́, ɛ́ɛ́ (ɛ́ɛ́)* about September.
2. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 3. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 4. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 5. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*
6. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́* 7. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 8. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 9. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́*
10. *ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* 11. *ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́* 12. *ɛ́ɛ́.*

8. The day-times.

ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ the first morning-twilight *ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́.*
ɛ́ɛ́ morning dawn
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, ɛ́ɛ́ morning;
ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ "the earth is morning"; it is morning.
ɔ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ noon.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ the sun is in the south.

ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ the sun begins to sink, after noon.
ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ afternoon;
ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́. it is afternoon.
ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ the sun is setting.
ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ the sun has set.
ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ it is night;
ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ at night, midnight.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret.

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(1) Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by Westermann, p. 128 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that daily in following the Ret.

(2) The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

(3) About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

9. Names of stars.

821

dwgi *ámdlo*	moon	*ábwlobilda*	appears after the sun has set.
ábjjá *ówjí*	three stars, the Ursuse.	*bjjó jjp*	a star ahead of the Venus.
dbdá *ábówj*	"4 northern stars".	*bjjó rówjo* *wáv*	Venus.
jbjbvi		*jybvi*	"bear", Pleiades.
		bjdy	comet.

10. Household-things.

352

ójdjí	a stick to fasten the door with.	*bjdj*	large basket for preserving dura.
ójí	the lower part of the door.	*djéj*	basket for dura etc.
ójyy		*ówjá*	a small *bjdj*.
ndá	hearth-stone, hearth.	*ówdy*	a basket.
jbl	grinding-stone, whetstone.	*ójdyj*	pot for cooking food.
ówlw	small whet-stone.	*jbb-jbbj*	water-pot.
jjbvi	neck-bench or support.	*dbbi*	big pot for cooking large meals or beer.
yyjw	skin to sleep upon.	*ttbj*	dish.
ybó, yjó	hole for pounding dura.	*jbvj*	a mat for covering food in pots, dishes.
jowlg	dura-stalk.	*lbi*	a sieve for sifting dura.
jbwyy	a frame on which spears are put, to protect them from the white ants.	*bjá*	pestle for pounding dura.
ójdj	a grass ring on which the *bjdj* is placed.	*jbl*	spoon.
bwjí	calabash, gourd.	*jbbj*	knife.
ówbj	gourd for churning milk.	*ywjób*	stick for stirring food.
djyi	small calabashes for drinking water.	*dbjvj*	small pot for preserving beer.
ówbó	a spoon made out of a gourd, for taking the hot food out of the pot.	*ówdbj*	broom.
ówjj	leaf of doleib or dompalm, and basket made of it.	*jjó*	rope.
		bbdl	a rope on which clothes, dancing-sticks, etc. are hung.
		ówjj	mat of Arab making, to sleep on.
		ówjjó	house-mat.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

173 Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the
[182 Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the
603 aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-
173 Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people
182 and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the
602 loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further
173 migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *mold*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to
773 Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred
§21 when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the hand of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the
603 Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles
773 of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 63.
[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*
[3] Hofmayr, 1923, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Tungura*, *Tungura*, or *Ejungura*, and other details of the story are said to resemble those with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.
[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The version here given follows Hofmayr, 1923, pp. 60–61, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 139–41.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

should understand the more abstract notion, God, by the less abstract, Nyikang. A still clearer example of the approximation of Nyikang to God in Shilluk thought is to be found in a prayer, part of which runs: 776

We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng, you are the ones, who created, . . . and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng . . . The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you.[1] [539] 782]

Here also may be seen the attribution to Nyikang of control of the sun and the river which, along with the rain mentioned in the first prayer, are the features of the Shilluk world upon which their prosperity ultimately depends, and which may help or ruin them. [821]

God, Nyikang, and the Shilluk kings seem to form a continuum in the Shilluk religious system. Nyikang is thus sometimes called *juok piny* (*piny* being earth or world) while God is either simply *juok*, or *juok mal*, God above. The Shilluk king, the representative of Nyikang, is chosen ultimately by God, as he is accepted and possessed proximately by Nyikang. A long Shilluk epic begins with the lines 'Nyikang joined with God, the election was held . . .', the election being that of King Kur.[2] There are reports of a form of election slightly different from that described earlier in this essay. In Hofmayr's account the king-elect is agreed upon by the electors much in the way described, but Nuba from Liri, with whom Nyikang formed a relationship, are said to come with pebbles, which represent those who have a right to succeed. These pebbles, one of which has been prepared beforehand to represent the chosen candidate, are thrown into the fire, and the pebble representing the king-elect turns red, or white, or red and white. Red stands for prosperity in cattle, white for good crops. The chosen prince is then challenged to fight at night and, if he acquits himself well, he is told that he is a brave man, and that God has decreed that he shall be king of the Shilluk. The installation ceremonies then proceed. At one point in them, when the king-elect enters the village of Debalo on his way to the capital at Fashoda, the chief of Debalo asks him, 'What do you want here?' and the king-elect replies, 'I am the man sent by God to rule the land of the Shilluk'.[3] Despite the election there is thus a 'fiction' that it is God who chooses the Shilluk king and is the ultimate support of the Shilluk kingship. The order of the Shilluk kingdom depends upon Nyikang and the king, and Nyikang and the king derive their positions from God. 643 [114] 643 643 776

The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk

The connexion between God and Nyikang is of great importance in defining the sort of 'divine kingship' which is the central feature of the Shilluk 776

[1] Oyler, 1908, (ii) p. 263. [2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 451.

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 145 ff. Westermann, (1912, p. 122) gives an account of yet another form of election, in which sticks are placed in a fire, the one which flames most representing the king-elect.

SHILLUK NOTES

By the Rev. D. S. Oyler

SOME CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH ELECTRIC STORMS

•821 THE wonderful natural display in an electric storm is terrifying to the Shilluk. He fears not only the vivid flash, which may send his dwelling up in flames, and may even strike him dead, but he also dreads the terrific crash which accompanies the flash. Such natural forces must be appeased by forms and ceremonies. If it is possible he will not be abroad during such a disturbance of nature. He prefers to crouch in his little hut, where the gleam of the lightning does not penetrate, but where he can hear the terrifying crash.

Once when caught in a rain storm with two native boys, a blinding flash of lightning (lôd kot, club of the rain) was followed by a terrific crash of thunder (mal efôdo, heaven strikes). The boys came to their knees for an instant, and then were up and hurrying toward shelter. They had kneeled to the lightning, which, according to their custom, was the proper thing to do. Natives when caught in a storm make haste to reach a house. When that is impossible they must take measures to protect themselves from the storm. Any decorations he happens to be wearing, such as bracelets, beads or necklaces, should be smeared with mud. They think the lightning desires an honourable sacrifice when it strikes a person, hence the effort to appear poor and unworthy of the notice of the lightning. At such a time they carry their spears with the handle resting on the shoulder, and the tip pointing upward.

Natives in a house must observe certain formalities during a storm. It is dangerous to sit in front of the door, and so the inmates shrink to the sides of the house. They prefer to sit on the right side of the door, but if more people have taken refuge in the house than can sit on the right side, some of them will sit on the left side, but in any case a wide aisle must be left from the door clear back to the wall opposite the door. All ordinary work must be laid aside during the storm. If a man is smoking he must put his pipe away. Should a woman be pounding grain in a mortar she must tie a bit of dome palm leaf to her pestle and put it away. When

15: Oyler M-S (ca. 1918) 1926 F323 Shilluk F323

the storm is very severe an offering must also be made. A hoe must be placed in front of the door. If no hoe is in the house then a fish spear, or something else made from iron, may be used instead. When a hoe or spear is thus offered it is taken back to the ordinary uses after the storm. In case they can find nothing of iron to offer, one of the inmates of the house takes a handful of dura and kneels in front of the door. He then turns back the door mat, and, reaching out, he casts the grain upward into the air.

Sometimes the lightning strikes (mal agyc, heaven hits). In former times when a house was struck by lightning each house in the circle had a rope tied around the apex of the cone-shaped roof. A bit of skin from the sacrificed sheep was supposed to be tied to each house. Then the houses were all connected by ropes running to these ropes. I have seen this arrangement only once. To the rope at the apex of the house old bones and snail shells are often tied. They are afraid to move the walls of the house that has been struck, and so the walls are pushed inward. If someone has been killed in the house the walls form a sort of earth covering, as he is not buried as other men. The custom in regard to electrical disturbances are changing. Many of the rites now practised are borrowed for the Dinkas, but seem to be well established at the present time.

According to the present usage, when a house is struck, the owner usually calls a servant of Deit (Bith Deit). After the servant of Deit arrives he surveys the place and then exclaims, "Deit says bring an ox." If the people are poor he may demand a sheep only. He usually adds, "I do not ask for this offering, but Deit asks for it." The offering is then brought, it is killed, cooked and eaten in the same place. After the meat has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, and a large branch from a higlig tree is stuck up on the site of the house. Then the bones of the sacrifice, with its horns and tail, are hung on this branch. Each guest partaking of the feast is supposed to offer an iron bracelet, and these bracelets are also hung on the higlig branch.

A person who has had a narrow escape from death by lightning may become a servant of Deit (Bith Deit), if he so desires. When they travel they say, "Deit asks for this," and few people will refuse them when they beg in that way. In one case a person who dreamed he had been struck by lightning became a servant of Deit.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

When someone has been stunned by lightning, the proper treatment is for two men to take the patient by the heels and, with his head hanging down, to dip his head in water. He is then taken from the water, but continues to hang head downward. After he has been held in this position for some time, snails and frogs will pour out of his mouth, and he will then be restored to health. One man assured me that he had once seen the frogs and snails come from a patient. 752 §21

When a person is killed by lightning he is not buried as other men. If his death occurs in a house the walls are pushed down over him, and form his grave. If he is killed out in the open, each person in the village is supposed to bring a bit of earth and throw on him, and thus the grave is formed. It is thought that anyone who refuses to do that will be struck by lightning. 766 §21

The person who is killed by lightning is not mourned as other people. The ox that is killed immediately after his death is looked upon as an offering to Deit rather than as a sacrifice for the dead. The relatives are not to weep for them as they do for those taken by disease. The thought seems to be that the man who is struck by lightning is called by Deit, and that it is an honour to be called by Deit, and that weeping and lamenting over such a death would be dishonouring to Deit. Death by lightning is looked upon as bad, but not as bad as death that comes through disease. The family of the deceased is supposed to be prospered. They feel that the family has made an offering to the higher powers, and they in turn should be blessed by the higher powers for the offering they have made. [782] 767 §21

When a house is struck by lightning the war cry is given. The men all run to the river with the tips of their spears pointing upward. The spears are waved in imitation of the lightning. This is done so that Deit will fear and return to the upper regions. Then they run to the boat landing where they throw their spears on the ground. Then each man cuts a bit of green grass. He carries this grass to the fire and throws it on the blaze. Occasionally, instead of running to the river in that manner, they run to the fire with their hands raised as if in supplication, and they give the war cry as they run. 787 §21

A day or two after the fire, as soon as the walls are cooled, the people assemble. If no one has been killed in the house, a sheep is killed and cooked and beer is made. After the sheep is cooked, bits are cut from 792 783 §21

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deñ. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deñ present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deñ. While the servants of Deñ put the higlig branch (ñk Deñ) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer. One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deñ. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deñ is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deñ's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojul went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debain, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan in fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ceero and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debain, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 78 84]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 773 787 821 a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth*'s army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows:-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 was completely peaceful, and the people of the villages surrounding Fashoda were not much in evidence.

The method of summoning the new *reth* was interesting. Dak like other sons of Fadiet was not far away, and the chief of Gol Nyikang sent his son by night to get him. Whether or not there is a mock fight between the selected candidate and the messengers I do not know, but the traditional form of words announcing the choice was told to me. It is an interesting example of Shilluk "understatement" when talking [195] of the *reth* (c.f. Pumphrey *Sudan Notes & Records* Vol. XXIV, p. 44) — "You are our Dinka slave, we want to kill you" which means "You are our chosen *reth*, we want to instal you in Fashoda."

It was said that the installation of *reth* Anei had been hurried and many things had been forgotten. This was interesting in view of Anei's short tenure of office, which may have been due, in Shilluk eyes, to the omission of essential ceremonies connected with the installation. It was also said, and this was true, that Anei had hurried his installation through fear, in his anxiety to get it over. The new *reth* determined that in his case there should be nothing lacking and that the proper interval of time should be allowed to elapse. That this period is a time of ritual danger, as we suggested in the previous article, was frequently confirmed in 1946. The *reth* 643 became more and more worried as the installation approached. There 669 were rumours of rivals being harboured by important chiefs, and of preparations made for his assassination. They culminated in a strong rumour that a *nyireth* had declared his intention of assassinating the *reth* on the first day of the installation ceremonies. Mr. J. C. N. Donald, who followed the *reth's* party in their march to Fashoda on that day, confirmed the *reth's* nervousness. After the installation ceremonies were safely over, I asked the *reth* about this, suggesting that his apprehensions had been ill-founded, and he admitted, for the crisis was then over, that he had never had concrete evidence of any plot.

The actual preparations followed similar lines to those of 1944. 643 It appeared that it was important that the ceremonies should take [201] place on a waxing moon, and in the event this delayed the installation for about three weeks. As the time approached, there was the same apprehension that Nyikang would not start from Akurwa.

On 27.12.46 Nyikang and Dak arrived at Adodo Nyigir at sunset, [614] carried by Kwanyikwom, the sacred clan from Akurwa who always have this duty. They entered the village, as they had done in 1944, over the body of a black sheep, and after dancing round the village, they went into the same house. They had come, as before, after

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's 539
spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people, and they die. Why 769
do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have 776
forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours.» 782

The prayer is continued in this strain until the sheep, responding to the 769
necessity of nature, relieves itself, and that is taken as an omen that the 776
prayer has been heard, and a favourable answer will be given. That which 782
comes from the sheep is put on the grave. If the omen is delayed, the sheep 787
may be taken to a house, and left there to be brought out another day.
The prayer life among the Shilluks is developed by adversity, as they seldom if ever pray, when in prosperous circumstances.

Their veneration of Nikawng does not blind their eyes to his faults. 776
When a prayer has been offered to Nikawng, and the answer is not given 782
as had been hoped, the disappointed one curses Nikawng. That is true 781
especially in the case of death. When death is approaching, they sacrifice 769
to Nikawng and God, and pray that death may be averted. If the death
occurs the bereaved ones curse Nikawng, because he did not exert himself in their behalf. Apparently they do not pray to him that the condition of the deceased may be happy after death. He is sometimes spoken of as the son of God, but it is not definite, as they also use the same term in regard to his father, and one or two others.

They maintain that Nikawng still lives. He is even now watching over the 776
Shilluks, and should he die the whole race would die, but in spite of their 778
belief they have a sacred house for Nikawng, which is similar to the sacred houses in which the later kings have been buried. This fact weakens their statement that they believe that he still lives.

The departed leader comes back to his country on certain occasions. At night he can be heard in the sacred house, which has been dedicated to him. He sharpens his spear, or beats with his club, but when the attendants enter the house, no visible form is to be seen, but they know that the sounds were made by him. He may also ring a bell that is in the sacred house. When he is heard in the sacred house, the Shilluks say: «Nikawng walks in his country». They rejoice because it is an indication that he is actively watching over his people. 776

When the rains do not begin as soon as the natives think they should, 821
785

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

776 the chief of the district offers a sacrifice to Nikawng so that the rains may
782 come. After the prayer has been offered, and the rain comes, if it comes
821 with a rushing sound they say that Nikawng walks in the storm, and the rushing sound is made by his passing.

643 Once the departed king returned so that he could be seen by the eye of
766 man. The first kings did not die, but ascended. At last a time came when
775 the kings were to be identified more fully with the people, and they were to
776 be buried. The proper burial of the first king to receive that attention from his subjects, was of such great importance that Nikawng returned to give minute instructions as to how the king should be buried. Some say that he actually appeared in the flesh. Others say that he appeared to a certain old chief in a dream, and made known to him how one of his kingly descendants should be buried.

776 At certain times the old woman, who has charge of his sacred house
778 places food in it for him. At the time of new moon the food is placed in his
782 house, and may be offered to him one day, or four days. Very early in the
792 morning the food is taken out, and eaten by the attendants. They say that Nikawng has tasted it. Should the offering entirely disappear in the night it would be taken as a serious omen. Milk is also placed in the house with the food. Should the old woman keeper of the sacred house dream of the king during the month, she places an offering of food in his house.

643 Similar offerings are made to the other kings, and also they may be
769 made to an ancestor.

When the harvest is beginning, before the people may eat of their grain
776 they must take an offering of their first fruits to Nikawng. After Nikawng
782 has been given his taste of the first fruits the people may eat freely. An offering of the first fruits is also taken to each of the sacred houses of the other kings.

769 Many of them take an offering of the first fruits to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. When offering to a father the grain is made into a sort of butter, and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste. The worship at the family shrine dies out when the immediate family is all gone. In the case of the kings it is kept by all the people.

775 The power of Nikawng is upheld to some extent by a class of religious
787
776
754

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two foot inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four foot apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shullas call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the butt ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

139
123

[illegible]	black, rich earth	[illegible]	brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
[illegible]	sandy ground	[illegible]	red sand
[illegible]	red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots	[illegible]	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

141
124

[illegible]	dura	[illegible]	an eatable gourd
[illegible]	sesame	[illegible]	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
[illegible]	beans	[illegible]	melon
[illegible]	cotton	[illegible]	tobacco
[illegible]	a small, round gourd, is eaten.	[illegible]	maize.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: [illegible]. The common name for white dura: [illegible].

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

does not count. It has been suggested that the prohibition of grass fires may spring from this prohibition upon building; it is necessary, if the building season is to start late, to preserve the grass for roofing. Out of respect for Nyikang it is also forbidden for the Shilluk to indulge in inter-sectional fighting, or possibly from fear of his wrath.

Several other prohibitions govern the *reth's* own behaviour: he may not sit upon the ambatch mattress, favoured by the Shilluk, until his installation, and his movements are considerably restricted. There is great importance attached to watercourses by the Shilluk, and until his installation the *reth* found himself unable to cross west of the big *khor* beside Fanyikang, which joins the Nile just downstream of the shrine of Nyikang.

To the north of Fashoda, he was "afraid of going too close to Nyikang". In fact he found any suggestion that he should travel north of Mal near Detwok uncomfortable. The importance attaching to *khors* is not confined to the two at Fanyikang and Mal. Whenever the new *reth* comes to a *khor*, before crossing it, he must step over a sheep, held prostrate in the bed, before he can cross. This sheep must be brought from the nearest village, but if a death has recently occurred in the village, or no one can be found to lend a sheep a sheaf of grass will do instead.

PART III—THE INSTALLATION OF ANEI KUR.

There are various preliminaries to the installation of the *reth* by Nyikang. Many materials necessary for the ceremonies have to be collected, and apparatus has to be made.

The most important is the expedition to *pathe maayo* (or raiding country), and northwards to the country traditionally conquered, though more probably merely raided, by Dak, the son of Nyikang. Two small sections are responsible for this embassy. The subsection of Akwobai in Kwom (Gol Nyikang), and the small section of Abwor in Mwomo (Gol Dhiang), are responsible for obtaining silver and cloth from the north, and as they go north they solicit gifts from Shilluk villages by the way.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis. 776 775 825

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2] 776 778 824

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (ajuage).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the successors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her 776 775 825

[1] Op. cit., p.

[2] At an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose enemy was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwal, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were scrupulously and carefully to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwal, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a house erected to, and a young tree that had sprouted at some distance from the enemy of the old tree was surrounded with sacrifices. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwal, since it was established that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluks at one time or another spoke of Nyadwal being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be rained and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shullus call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the thatching. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and works around the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the butt ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

139
123

[illegible] black, rich earth
[illegible] sandy ground
[illegible] red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
[illegible] brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
[illegible] red sand
[illegible] sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

241
124

[illegible] durra
[illegible] cassava
[illegible] beans
[illegible] cotton
[illegible] a small, sweet gourd, in season.
[illegible] an eatable gourd
[illegible] a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
[illegible] melon
[illegible] tobacco
[illegible] maize.

4. Different kinds of durra.

The common name: [illegible]. The common name for white durra: [illegible]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Kinds of white durra.

ɡɔ̀ is very long in ripening. *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* maize.
ɔ̀ɔ̀ has a longer ear than *ɡɔ̀*. *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* Dochn (panic grass).
ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

ɡɔ̀-ɡɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ɡɔ̀ɔ̀ ("kills the elephant"), *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀.*

The stalks of many of the white durras are cracked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red durra.

The common name for red durra is: *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀*.

ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ ("the Nubian"?), *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("of the white man"), *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("lion's eye") *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("crow's eye") *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀-ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("sheep-tail"), *ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀* ("horse-tail"), *ɔ̀ɔ̀, ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀.*

Agriculture Among The Shollas.*

By R. W. Titrick, of Dolnik Hill.

The Shollas have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his hardship, the Sholla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In these earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the skin or rib bones of these animals.

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men killed their time away in the village.

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Sholla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the northern and plundrers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth in sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Sholla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the nests of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by boiling and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp.

* G. A. Shillaba.

778 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is
780 sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be
776 identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approach-
825 es the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

777 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengit, and also a belief
779 in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is
775 made to *pen juak*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the
825 Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Rainmaker (*Ajuogo*)

756 *Ajuogo* means 'man of Juak'. Such people are regarded as possessing
791 certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community.
787 People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajuogo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) Ibid.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 F J23 Shilluk F J23

of his throne, the spirit of the divine Nyikang, which had been as it were in suspension since the last *reth* Anei Kur had passed over a year ago, had entered into Dak Fadiet, and once again the Shilluk people could resume their normal life.

NOTES.

1. *The body of Nyikang.*

It was explained in our previous article that the body of Nyikang consisted of a bundle of bamboos brought from the Nuba Mountains. I now believe that this is not the case and that only Dak's body is of bamboo. It is more likely that the bundle is of ambatch, indeed this is generally believed. The Shilluk believe that the soul of a mortal can pass into a stick of ambatch, and I am informed by Dr. J. A. Hoasty that if a Shilluk dies away from his home his relatives hold a ceremony to make his soul pass into a stick of ambatch, which they take back to his village and bury there.

2. *The vigil of the Beads 'Ouro,' which are tied on to the reth's ankle.*

I interviewed the old *oyiesik* who is responsible for these beads. She was reluctant to tell me much, and refused to show me the beads. I asked her, for she had great experience of these matters, how it came that some beads appeared with holes in them, and she told me that as she sat over them at night the ones which appear with holes went 'pop.' She told me that four had appeared with holes for *reth* Fafiti in 1918, and one for *reth* Anei and five for *reth* Dak. She said four or five were about right, one was too few, and more than five was too many. The beads with holes are tied on to the *reth's* ankle only during the ceremonies, and after that they apparently close up.

3. *Nyakwer.*

It was not clear in 1944 what became of Nyakwer. It now appeared that she became *Awith*, *i.e.* will become a wife of the *reth* when she grows up. The girl who was Nyakwer in 1944 still lives in Fashoda, and is now about 13 years old. There was of course a different girl in 1946.

4. *Fashoda.*

The sacred village of Fashoda was most beautifully cleaned and repaired for the installation. All the houses had had their fences renewed, and courtyards replastered with mud, though none of them was rebuilt. The whole of the mound on which the royal shrine of

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Immediately every dog in the district is awake and alert 512
and the peace of the night is shattered by a cacophony of
furious barking. In the mission we thump our wet pillows
and call down blessings on the dogs and the hyena. Eventu-
ally quiet is restored as the hyena's howls die away in the
distance. The village sleeps.

Such then, in brief, is a description of Shilluk village life, 461
yet our understanding of these people would be very incom-
plete without a more detailed picture of their activities,
their work and their play. To them, as to most of the
inhabitants of the continent of Africa, the common saying,
'to work like a black', is scarcely applicable, for the Shilluk
is no finder of work than the next man, and he is not one
of those restless individuals who are never happy unless busy
with hand and brain making and mending and improving.
Yet there are times when he must bestir himself, for he is
essentially self-supporting. From soil and river he must pro-
vide himself with what he requires for food and shelter, and
beyond this bare minimum of subsistence he must strive to
get something more which he can sell or exchange for a cloth
for himself and his wife, for a handful of salt and a drop of
oil. If his labours yield no such margin, he may have to offer [464]
his services to the mission or the trader to earn the money to
procure what he cannot provide himself. The Shilluk is, and 463
indeed has to be, a man of all trades. To get the grain for his
food he must farm the land, and although his methods of
husbandry may be primitive, he is expert in the traditional
way of farming. In fishing he is skilled in the use of the net,
harpoon, spear and fish trap, and gets the best results
possible from these methods. His house is neat and strongly
built, and, according to one missionary of wide experience, [342]
is among the best thatched of all African houses. To cross
the Nile on his fishing expeditions he must have a boat of [501]
some kind, and from a light, cork-like wood called ambach [324]
which grows plentifully in the Detwok area he constructs a
beautiful, unsinkable canoe, light enough to be carried by
one man, yet able to carry three people in perfect safety.
To roof his house and make fences around it he uses the [324] [283]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

463 stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he
• 324 makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the
[288] thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of
463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails
[232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least
[323] to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and
[415] fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to
[284] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from
[237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that
[322] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a
[411] need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable
[412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering,
[437] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in
[439] these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwu* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwu* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a
631 *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wat*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable
114 list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwu* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwu* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwu* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwu* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

784 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
825 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover
114 any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—

825 "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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773 ●825 son of Dengi came in the time of Dowat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenikwat. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adafalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the female sickness."[1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *ge* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *ewo* (tamarind), and *nalo* (hearth-stone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *ewro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tongo in the extreme south.[3]

262 773 825 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *ewro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

IN 773 825 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tongo at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 176-9. [2] Op. cit., 199. [3] Op. cit., 256.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 255), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Hussey of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Hussey, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—so he has little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Lou and Acoli. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuow, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a more curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paido, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okol*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okol* are caught. The Paido proceeded to represent an *okol* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paido, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okol* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 155.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awijok, brother's son to Ayuriel, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the kiar to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Gokdongo and Panaiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that Ayuriel was the hereditary bull slayer, but his personal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayuriel finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayuriel was old and Awijok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's house, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaya, almost as much crocodile

2:Seligman & Seligman E.-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. Nyakang, Dag, and Nyakwai all appear as a white bird called *ahak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Backshaw adds "long-headed grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *ral*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); as "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or assails someone's house in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1900 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yor Adrolo takes the form of an insect called *ahoon* (*Ar. gamal an nab*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Meloidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accidence of an *ahoon* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yor Adrolo, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The page, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yor Adrolo. Col told us that the appearance of Yor Adrolo in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] According to an unknown authority of Jesuit origin, or at least showing Jesuit influence, collected by Sir Sam. J. K. Gordon on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning God created a great white cow, Dimong Juok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Uchan, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who ruled over the Shilluk, and Nyakang's mother worshipped (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1908, 128).

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2:Seligman & Seligman K-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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information from Col and his people. According to Bechelaer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis. 776 775 825

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing over the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This concern is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground between to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2] 776 778 824

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-men (ajungo).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the mortal attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her 776 778 825

[1] Op. cit., 21.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose energy was sending to open near the grave of Nyakang, the wealth king; if anyone had learned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the houses of certain sacrifices. There was no open or shrine over the grave of Nyakang, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present capital village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a house erected to, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the energy of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyakang, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spirits of Nyakang being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 776 825 776 782 825 [853] [787] 553 776 782 776 782 171 [778] [782] 776

vilion into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (muzzles) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for no a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Holmayr states that the *kwek* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiya, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *kwek* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *kwek* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 1 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 177. [2] Holmayr, op. cit., 190.

Family Life

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased INHERITANCE
987 father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry
763 them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 115.

517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a DANCING AND
[341] circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of matting; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito stings.
[339] The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and snuff-box pot
● 828 going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large
75 tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With these signals are given
[202] in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events
635 in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dances they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the remarkable of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blessings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a
[579] drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hair-dress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or singles, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full array at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toes and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have all then been waiting in a separate place, where the female bystanders are gathered. Each girl adorns her own dancer. First the men form again a

made on all times of crown and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiwa, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengnic, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to pan yum, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Kronleitner the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Bonthdoctor (Ajuogo)

Ajuogo means 'man of luck'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the ajuogo are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, Die Schilluk, 1925, p.335.
(2) Ibid.

S:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F225 Shilluk F225

originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakaya)'.[7]

Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] Id. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.

[3] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.

[5] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

[6] Oyler, 1918 (i).

[7] Ibid., pp. 135 ff., et al.

[8] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

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which is now not mentioned, no takeport in the election of the Shilluk king. 182
This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a 773
Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is 776
now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between so differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he 773
made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he cap- 776
tured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk 825
common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So he Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that 773
is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts 776
of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant [613]
lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk 631
country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and 775

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1928, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 25.
[4] Oyler, 1928 Ib. p. 112.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 F323 Shilluk F323

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *jungo tuer*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the rak (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 276.
[5] 1929, p. 276.
[6] Op. cit., p. 195.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

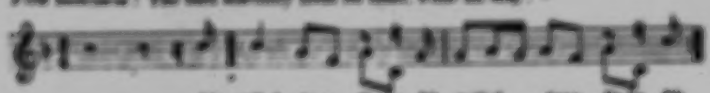
Acholi F314
Aotaro F317

S 929 936

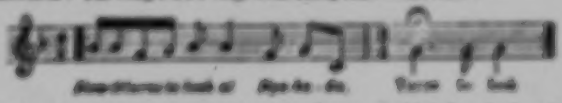
(6) *Kimpen.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (Fig. 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods his head, while all sing:—

S 929 933 939



Second movement: The song leader sings something that sounds like:—



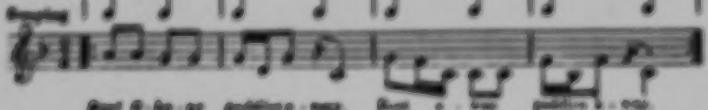
At the word "Turun," which is emphasized and drawl-ed out, the bird slows its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

Third movement: The song leader shouts "Lubo-lubo-lubo!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Kimpen"—a hare-like little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

(7) *Cimen.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as through telescoping. They sing, rocking gently from side to side:—

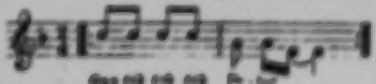
S 933 939



Suddenly the song leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Hugh!" the whole line bends over on to one side. They recover, and bend over on to the other side. They recover, and bend over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (Fig. 5, Pl. XVII.)

A C 929 A 933 939

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuka, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings:—



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The homesteads are arranged in roughly horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (*bual*) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a normal sized hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the *gwe*, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the ashes of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inhospitable absence of shade.

The homestead (*gol*) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) *gol*, and it is in this latter sense that the word *gol* will be used in this note.

In this sense *gol* is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the *gol* of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the *gol* of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their *gol*, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the *gol* leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the *gol* are owned and disposed of by the *gol* leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the pater-familias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the *gol* leader has the convenient aspect that the *gol* leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 F323 Shilluk F323

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Rot Fadiet wad Kwadhow died on February 10th, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Rotship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shuti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Rotship, and Fabiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shuti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Rot to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Rot, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Rot Kwadhow. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Rotship makes it essential for the new Rot to be the son of a previous legitimate Rot, then Shuti did not have the proper qualifications.) Fabiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Rotship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Rot-to-be utters judgments, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fabiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Rot as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of great insecurity. Fabiti therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[11] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[11] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 108. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 F223 Shillok F223

any outside they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Ryakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Ryakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is shown far it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Ryakang drawn near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dobola in Akwam and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fakki went to Akwam three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 5th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dobola: it would appear however that the Ret only goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan customs. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amaish of Akwam, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Ret[11] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Ryakang[12] from outside, and the temporary hut[13] built for the Ret.

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[11] Kwa (descendants of) Ret stated by Wawrzecz, p. 108 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth; their home is Rokkak. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret rope before crossing the River; this is their reward for whipping on any that delay in following the Ret.

[12] The shrine of Ryakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an outside egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's Illustration of Ryakang at Famkang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[13] About 2o yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after their installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [270] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a [825] protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, [515] if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 157 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered [372] cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to [234] dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

According to the tribal mythology, Nyikang was no ordinary mortal. God, it declares, created a great white cow which came up out of the Nile and gave birth to a man child, Dhyang. His grandson Adak married a being who was half woman, half crocodile, and she became the mother of Nyikang. This affinity with the saurian inhabitants of the Nile gave Nyikang a special power over them; they came to his assistance during his great trek whenever his further passage was disputed by superior numbers, and at his command they emerged from the river, assumed human form and fought on his side until the opposition was overcome. 643 173 [825]

Mysterious was his birth; so too was Nyikang's passing from this earth. Being more than mortal, death, the lot of mortals, was not for him, but during a dance he was enveloped in a whirlwind and carried alive into Heaven. And there he reigns, not God, the great Jwok Atang, but the glorious divine intercessor with God for the Shilluk people. Nyikang is very much alive indeed to the Shilluk, for his spirit enters into every Shilluk king at his installation and dwells in him until his death. [776] [775]

The king, then, is the permanent manifestation of Nyikang to his people. He is their great high priest on earth, their intercessor for them with Nyikang, even as Nyikang is with God. Nay, more than that. It is conceivable that a European state could flourish and prosper under a sickly, or a mad, or a wicked king, or conversely, could weaken and decline, be its ruler a Hercules in strength and a Solon in administration. To the Shilluk, however, such a thing would be quite incomprehensible; to them the bodily and mental strength of the king exercises an influence upon the whole tribe, and upon it depends the well-being and the prosperity of the Shilluk race. Whilst he is strong and in full possession of his faculties the country will be prosperous; should his powers decline, then too will his people weaken and wane. Hence he must not be allowed to become enfeebled physically or mentally, must not be permitted to become senescent. For him there can be no question of abdication, of 643 [793] [731]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

difficult and weary travel, but they are hazy as to what 775
kind of life is led in that country and suppose it to be but a 769
continuation of the kind of life they know on this earth. Meanwhile the spirits which have not yet started on the journey to Pa Jwok hover round their graves and former homesteads and may do harm to their living relations, and a person who has died in enmity with anyone is greatly to be feared by his late enemy. All these spirits, therefore, have [782] to be placated by offerings and sacrifices. Someone may be taken ill, and the anxious relatives call in the witch doctor [753] to tell them which spirit is responsible for bringing this evil [755] upon them. He consults his oracle, such as an empty cala- [787] bash to which he listens intently, and then informs the people that Nyikang says such-and-such a one, recently dead, is responsible and that sacrifice and prayer must be offered to his spirit, and perhaps intercession and sacrifice is to be made at the grave of the sick person's dead father, that his spirit may prevail upon the malignant one to remove the curse from his family. Accordingly a sheep is led to the grave [825] of the person to be placated. The right ear is cut off and [782] washed in water and the water poured over the grave. Prayer is made both to God, Jwok-Atang (on such private occasions as this without the intercession of Nyikang), and to the dead person. Then the sheep is killed and the meat cooked. Some of the soup is poured over the grave and the [262] meat is then eaten by those who have taken part in the sacrifice.

All former kings, and in some cases great chiefs, have 778
their shrines. These shrines consist of two or three huts 346
built in the usual Shilluk fashion but with much better 776
thatching than that affected by the ordinary Shilluk and enclosed within a reed or thorn fence. As befitting the great [417] spirit that dwells within, these shrines are kept in good [358] repair and spotlessly clean by the duly appointed guardians. One such shrine is situated just a few hundred yards from the mission at Detwok. It consists of two large huts surrounded by a fence and is dedicated to Nyala, a woman, surprisingly enough. She was the daughter of the seventeenth 778
776

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

685 and that one of the tins containing ninety piastres (about
754 18*s*.) had been stolen. The District Chief was called and held
[634 solemn court on the verandah of the house. He, however,
692] could not discover the thief and therefore gave judgment
that the owner of the box was responsible for the safety of the money entrusted to him and that he was to refund the missing money and to be held in custody until he did so. This seemed rather unfair on Henry, the owner of the box, since he had gained nothing from acting as banker to the rest, yet unless the thief was found there was nothing that we could do about the matter and it seemed to be closed. Two days later we were surprised to learn that one of the boys had owned up to the theft and had refunded the money. We were pleased, too, because we thought that although the boy had acted meanly in stealing his companion's savings, at least he had been man enough to come forward to save Henry from having to pay the penalty for the theft. We were speedily disillusioned as to his motive for confessing; the other boys knew perfectly well that Henry was innocent of taking the money, and they had a very strong idea who had. Accordingly they subscribed to buy a sheep which was given to the local witch doctor as a fee for
[626 finding the thief. The jal yath let it be known that he would
789] sacrifice the sheep at a certain hour, and the moment the
[152 animal died so would the culprit; the latter had not the
courage to defy the curse but promptly confessed his guilt.

782 When an animal is slain in sacrifice, great importance is
787 attached to the position in which it falls. If the animal is a
825 bull, it is not usually slain outright, but wounded by a spear thrust and allowed free. If it should wander towards the river or towards the shrine before it dies, that is taken as a sign that the sacrifice is acceptable to Nyikang. So, too, is it taken as a good omen if the beast in collapsing falls on its left side; if it should fall on its right side then the portents are unfavourable, and should it fall neither to right nor left but simply crumple up and fall forward with forefeet doubled beneath it, that would presage some terrible disaster. The actual spearing of the victim is generally done by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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a Bareth of the shrine before which the sacrifice is made. 782
The king or chief who is present and who dedicates the 787
offering stands by and leads public prayer to Nyikang for 825
the blessing sought. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten by all [262]
present with special perquisites for the Bareth guardian of [793]
the shrine. Care is taken when cutting up the meat not to
break any bones. These are collected and thrown into the
Nile. The horns are stuck in the ground in front of the shrine, [237]
and the skin, scraped and cleaned, remains in the shrine as
a mat for the spirit that dwells therein.

When the new corn is cut, tithes are given to Nyikang. 243
Part of these belong to the Bareth and the remainder is 782
ground into flour and made into a thin porridge which is
poured on to the ground in front of and inside the shrine as
a libation to the residing spirit.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
825 sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
787 following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
643 where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
825 this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
553 If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [431]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] [574] [854]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

764

person is a woman or a girl, a skirt is substituted for the skin, and for the girl some strings of yellow beads are added. If the family can afford it, it will buy a couple of yards of white cotton cloth to serve as a winding sheet and a cow skin is bound round this. The grave of a commoner is not dug in the hut itself but outside, near the compound. It is put near the surrounding reed fence, in a place where passers-by will not walk over it. As for a chief, the grave is excavated to a depth of about six feet but it is not nearly so wide, since the body is not buried lying on a bier, but is placed on the bare earth. The niche or alcove is cut out of the side, however, and a hen is placed under the head. [231] During the funeral the mourners wail in the customary manner, and this is the signal for the warriors, who hitherto have been out of sight in the cattle byre, to charge forward, armed as usual with spears and shields, to salute their dead comrade. [765] The grave is mudded over on the fourth day with the customary beer drinking and libation over the grave, and [782] the relatives abstain for a while from dancing and the use of [535] personal adornments. [301]

The mourning is not really completed, however, until the deceased person has been commemorated at a funeral dance. 765 This is a strict obligation upon the relatives, even though it 535 may be a year or more before it is fulfilled. Since the commoner is not sufficiently important or wealthy to be given a [527] dance all to himself, funeral dances are held periodically in the principal villages. [628] The district turns up in force for these communal 'All Souls' days, for besides the attraction of the dance—and any Shilluk will cheerfully walk miles just for the pleasure of a dance—there is also the extra treat of a share in the meat when the affair is over. Everybody who is commemorating his dead must give an offering, a bull if the [825] deceased is a man or a woman, a sheep if a child. The dance follows the pattern of the more important funeral dances: There is no tomb, however, so the drums mounted in forked sticks are made the focus of attention. The warriors, armed with spear and shield, make the customary encirclement of the village and then advance to the drums, chanting their

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they 754
have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims.

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as 754
the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family 827
may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time.

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, 582
and while the man afflicted in this manner is not desirable as a husband, 754
yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry [583]
for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the afflicted man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbours ignorant of their powers.

In addition to those who inherit the evil eye, others suddenly receive 754
the power. It suddenly falls upon them, or comes on them. They know not how it comes, but suddenly they find themselves with that dread power.

A person possessed of the evil eye can not always be distinguished. The fact that a certain person has that power is known in his own village, and the stranger coming in soon enquires about it, and is told. However one 754
mark can be relied on to some extent, and that is if a person has eyes in 826
which the whites are small, and the iris is large in proportion, and the iris is very dark. This test is not sure as some people of the class do not have this mark, and others, who do not have the power have the mark.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

The natives weave their hair into fantastic shapes. If a person has very 7 51
fine hair, he puts a few thorns in it to keep off the evil eye. Should the evil 7 54
eye fall on his hair, his head would break out in sores. [302]

When a person has his body well oiled or covered with some fine ashes, he is very likely to have the evil eye cast on him. To escape that misfortune he takes a cucumber like pod from a wild plant, and takes out the seeds. Some of the seeds are put on the temples, and some on the neck, and others on the tip of the shoulder blade, or the entire fruit may be worn suspended from the neck.

When butter is boiled to clarify it, the work is usually done at night so that the evil eye may not be cast on it.

The Shilluks will not say that they are in good circumstances, lest it [556] be heard by some envious person, and he should cast the evil eye on their possessions. When a rich man is asked in regard to his property, he usually says I have one or two cows, but they are very poor cows.

The parents of a very fine looking child do not like to let people see it 6 72
for fear someone will cast the evil eye on it, and the parent is very angry 7 51
when someone comments on the good appearance of the child. Should the 7 54
child be taken sick, the parents call on the person who made the remark, and demand that he pay the fine required when a person is killed. The accused usually holds out, and a compromise is affected. He brings a sheep, and one of its ears is cut off. The sheep then is a witness against the man, and by doing that, he assumes the responsibility for the child. If it dies, he pays the fine as though he had killed it. Even if the child reaches maturity and dies, the man is responsible and must pay the fine.

Frequently people have hard knots in their flesh. These are really stones 7 54
that have been put there by someone with the evil eye. The swellings do 8 26
not disappear.

The Shilluks have a custom that when a person is threshing his grain, 6 26
they go to beg from him. Sometimes they go in such numbers that the 7 54
man has very little left for himself, but he does not dare to refuse for fear 4 31
someone in the party may cast the evil eye on him. He gets even by going 7 35
to beg from some other person.

They give a few warnings as to conduct when with a person who has 7 51
the evil eye. 7 54
6 26

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed 754
by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring [192]
or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees.

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three 754
different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one 826
testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful.

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at 845
birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone [847]
has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her [844]
first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the woman's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say : « What is it? ». If the women within reply « a boy », the men then ask : « Is it good? ». If the women reply immediately « it is good », the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer : « It is bad », the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, 672
a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely 845
say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband 847
can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

*539 755 a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a certain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of these three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medecine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is *γīrǫ*, they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the [756] gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the hoe, the knife, the meat, and the ram.

24. Sicknesses.

753 ● 827

dwūlǫ the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
tíń heart-ache, pulmonary disease.
dńǭńò cold, catarrh.
ánfkò insanity, lunacy.
owin wich giddiness.
átǭgó teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
àlàt dropsy, hydropsy.
àdòń pains in the buttocks.
ákápó rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
ǫ́ǫ́u guinea worm, Ferendit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
àmwòl swelling of knees and elbows.
lǫ́i leprosy
ńóńò a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.
ajańkobyǫt the skin peels off.
lēr caries.
wàń a kind of light leprosy.
kwǭm kwǭm swelling of the shinbone.
kamír salt-rheum, "lupus".
ayǭgù small-pox.
àbíp a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
gi bwǫńǫ "thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.
kàjéjò inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger rot off.
dńǭch inflammation of the joints; of the toes.
àńǭn gonorrhoea.
bòr boils.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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shǫltík the same as *àmwǫl*, but it is curable, *amwǫl* is uncurable.

dwûdǫ a kind of leprosy on the foot, takes a long time to heal.

mígm the skin becomes rough, squamous.

ɡàwó-shín diarrhoea.

ràm diarrhoea.

chǫrǫ blindness.

ɡi-ɡí eyelashes get red, fall off.

ìǫlǫ lameness.

dìǫm thigh-bone is affected, it is mortal.

duoń disease of the outer ear, chiefly of children.

gwǫɡìǫ itching.

àdwàń "a cripple who never walks".

àtàkǫ hunch-backed.

byér a disease of cattle and men, pains in the back.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are hazy as to the powers which animate the different classes, but they 754
have no doubt as to the power of the people who make the claims.

The Shilluks believe firmly in the power of the evil eye. A few claim that the people who cast the evil eye belong to the evil medicine men, and receive their power from them, but the people are almost unanimous in saying that they have their power separately, and they think that it comes from God. The fact that the power is inherited tends to prove that they are really a separate class.

When one person in a family has the evil eye, the house is spoken of as 754
the house or family with the evil eye, though all the members of the family 827
may not have that power. A man may have this power, and his wife be all right, or it may be the wife that is affected, but in every case all their children are affected, though the unaffected husband may have untainted children by another wife. This taint is carried by their descendants, and theoretically at least is supposed to extend to the end of time.

A girl who has the power of the evil eye is not sought in marriage, 582
and while the man afflicted in this manner is not desirable as a husband, 754
yet he does not have so much trouble in getting a wife. This is not because they differentiate between the sexes, but because a man pays a heavy dowry [583]
for his wife, and he does not want to buy a tainted wife, whose children will also bear the taint of a hidden power. If the afflicted man has the price, the father is very often willing to accept him for a son-in-law, and that is especially true, when the daughter is not very desirable. As a class the people with the evil eye try to keep their neighbours ignorant of their powers.

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17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yat cie dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yat nian a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo cie dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo nian a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting
827 in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.
[548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a
[547] son.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

25: Anonymous I-5 (no date) 1956 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 When the Reth's army begins to move out to meet Nyikango's, all the people of Debalo run away clapping the handles of their spears, meaning that the Reth will never return to Debalo until he dies. As he goes out a bull is laid down on his path, whereupon he walks over it in front of the procession, pulling another bull by the tail. The latter is covered with white cloths and is meant to reach Fashoda, being dragged in this manner—Fashoda is about two and a half miles from Debalo. The spear from the shrine at Bol and another from Lul are also brought for the coronation ceremony.

Now scouts are sent to see if Nyikango's army is approaching and to report the news back to the Reth. In the Reth's army the people carry some dura stalks representing spears with which they fight with the army of Nyikango by throwing them. The members of Nyikango's army carry long thongs of twisted grass which they use as whips to disperse the Reth's army, so that they will leave the Reth in [753] their hands to be taken by the spirit of Nyikango. The whips are filled with the [828] spirit and the people are frightened by them, as being touched by the whip is enough to produce madness unless gifts are offered to Nyikango's people. Princes are not [644] allowed to go near the Reth during the procession, because if the Reth is killed by any of them during the coronation procession from Debalo to Fashoda the coronation [669] is not postponed, but the people at once seize a nearby Prince, or the prince who killed him, to replace the slain Nyireth—he is not yet Reth, as he has not been possessed by the spirit of Nyikango—and the coronation continues. Because of this danger during the procession the Reth has to be protected by his policemen and the senior chiefs, who keep the ordinary people away from him.

According to the custom, when the Reth's army reaches the dry khor called Arebajur near Fashoda, which is the boundary between the two parties, a black bull is laid down. The Reth boldly walks over the bull and across to the other side to meet the party of Nyikango. As soon as they come near each other the two armies begin to fight, throwing dura stalks at each other. At that moment the Reth is seized from his army by the people of Nyikango and clothed with the spirit of Nyikango. Here Nyikango's army are busy sending people away with their whips so as to leave the Reth with the group of performers of the ceremony. After this he is taken to a round cleared place and circulated four times there before entering Fashoda. As this is done he is escorted to Fashoda by two holy maidens with the image of Nyikango [644] on his shoulder. These two maidens are taken from the performers of the coronation and later become wives to the new Reth.

In Fashoda he is taken in front of the Nyikango's shrine and placed on a silver coronation seat covered with white cloths, and the image of Nyikango and Dak are held over him in order that he might be possessed of their powers. With him are his sub-chief and the chief of Kwanyiyek holding the legs of the Reth as he is sitting on the seat. He remains in an open place for some time, with the group holding some white cloths as a shelter around him. Meanwhile Nyikango's army beat their drums [775] and sing Nyikango's songs. Here the Reth is said to be shaken by the power of Nyikango as he is being possessed by him.

643 After the performance of this, the Reth and his sub-chief are taken to one of the roughly-made huts near Nyikango's shrine, where they stay for two days, with 233 the Reth keeping the little herd of Nyikango's cattle which was brought from Debalo. This kind of action is done so as to obtain good fortune in the future during his kingship. Here he is treated as he was in Debalo, being made to do the work of a small boy, making fires for these cows and clearing their place. This work is done

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

105 there are diviners of various sorts, seers and holy men, called *ajuge*. Such people may also be priests of the Nyikang cult, but in themselves they do not form part of any organized religious system embracing the whole kingdom. There is said to be no cult of the divine being *Juak*, who is approached through Nyikang and the Shilluk kings.[1]

Myths of Origin and Traditional History

101 In considering the Shilluk apprehension of order in their universe, we may first suggest how they classify themselves and other people with whom they have been in contact. The name 'Shilluk,' used by most authorities, seems to be an Arab form of their own name for themselves, *Col* or *Ocolo*, or 'the children of *Col*'. They call their country 'the land of *Col*',[2] but it is also spoken of as 'the land of Nyikang', and they may refer to themselves as Okang, which is possibly derived from the name of their leader. All those 173 who now are Shilluk and live in Shilluk country do not think that they had a common origin. Some of them think that they came originally with Nyikang, and others that they are descended from people who in one way or another Nyikang eventually incorporated into his kingdom. The most 173 detailed and circumstantial of Shilluk myths are about the origin of the ● 829 present internal organization of the Shilluk kingdom. Less detailed stories, 186 which nevertheless seem, for the Shilluk, to have something of the intrinsic validity which we attach to history, are told in order to assimilate to the Shilluk world their knowledge of other Nilotic peoples. In their accounts of their own history, and of their relationship with other Nilotes, we find an interest in process, which is absent from their accounts of their relations with other peoples outside their system. This in itself might be expected, though it might have been supposed that the long period during which they have been in contact with non-Nilotic peoples would have generated more elaborate aetiological stories to explain the presence and customs of quite foreign human beings. Even within the Nilotic world Shilluk stories of their relationship with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with whom they can have had only the most casual and occasional contact for many years, are a great deal more circumstantial than those of their original relationship with the Dinka, who are among their nearest neighbours. They thus have traditions of relationship which do more than account for their social relations at the present day, and which have not been modified to accord with them. There is some indication that they value the knowledge of historical tradition for its own sake.

Shilluk classification of the peoples with whom they have been in contact, or of whom they know, may briefly be described as follows. Differences of function, status, and origin within the Shilluk kingdom are ultimately attributed to Nyikang, or to one of his successors, the early Shilluk kings.

[1] This very brief survey of those features of Shilluk social organization necessary for an understanding of their cosmology is drawn from many sources, which I have not thought it necessary to cite individually.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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Differences and divisions between the Shilluk and other Nilotic peoples are attributed to differences between Nyikang and others who are thought to have been once closely associated with him. Differences between the Shilluk and people whose culture and system of thought are quite unlike their own are attributed to an ubiquitous God, *juok*. Leaving aside for the moment the Shilluk classification of people within their own kingdom, I mention briefly some of the stories referring to the relationship between the Shilluk and some other Nilotes, and between the Shilluk and foreign invaders.

According to one Shilluk tradition,[1] in the original migration from their first homeland, 'the land of Duwat', the Shilluk were with their leader Nyikang, and with them were the Dinka led by Dengdit, the Anuak led by Gilo, and the Luo led by Odimo. There are various versions of this story, and the presence of Odimo in it is inconsistent with other stories about him. The kin relationship supposed to exist between the leaders also varies from one account to another. In this version, the Anuak first broke away, and then the Dinka, and finally, when the Shilluk were on the fringes of the country they now occupy, the Luo turned away towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The story shows some idea of successive developments in a necessary chronological order, and the stories of the relationship of the Shilluk with the Luo contain circumstantial details, some of which are confirmed in independent accounts given by the Luo themselves.[2] These are people who are thought to have been involved in Shilluk history from very early times; we are not given any indication that the Shilluk attempt to account for their existence, but only that they themselves account for their relationship with the Shilluk. It is not so with the stories about white and brown people. One tells, for example, how it was that God (*juok*) came to help the *turuk*, the Turk or European,[3] rather than others of his sons, the people of Darfur, the Abyssinians, and the Shilluk, who were afraid or refused to approach him.[4] Another version, found also among other Nilotic peoples, attributes the success of the light-skinned people both to superior guile on their part, and to some preference shown them by God. We are also told that when God began to make men, he made them from light-coloured clay, until his hands became dirty towards the end of his task, and he then made the Shilluk, who lost their equality with the light-skinned people.[5] Like other Nilotes, the Shilluk seem to have singled out writing and guns as the gifts with which God gave supremacy to the foreigners;[6] and Shilluk songs recorded by Hofmayr[7] suggest that circumcision has come to stand for much that is contemptible in foreign custom and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 14.

[2] J. P. Crazzolara, 1950, has tried to build up the traditions of the Luo (Lwoo)-speaking peoples into a connected history.

[3] Though Turks, Arabs, and Europeans can be verbally distinguished from each other in Shilluk, Europeans, particularly when they are officials, are often called *turuk*.

[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 241.

[5] Ibid., p. 107.

[6] Westermann, 1912.

[7] 1925, pp. 360 ff.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Heasty, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *ya puny*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Heasty, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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778 of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

793 The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and 778 probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine 614 and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans 831 before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief [613] (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, [156] though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

778 The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and 346 that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which [643 Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used 192a] of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kejo respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

782
796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should
[643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the
[793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is
[787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it
[831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

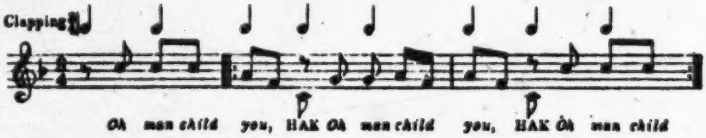
7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Dinka FJ12
Jur FJ14

D 524 [516]

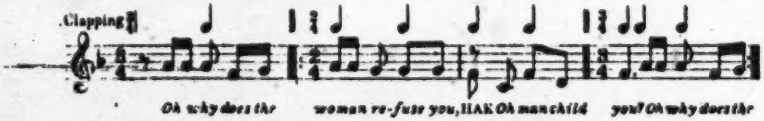
The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing inwards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is called the "pot." Into this pot grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pot" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S 524 533 539 [516]

2. "*There stands a lady on the mountain.*"—There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girl) sings (in 3/4 time): "Oh man child you," and the chorus shout "Hak" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to:—



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. Soon the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has milady's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

S 524 832

J 524 171

3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the Jur.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no bracelet. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, slapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk-speaking tribe in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

For dress both sexes wear a length of cotton cloth knotted 291
on one shoulder, the left of a man, and the right of a woman, and falling to the knees. These cloths when new are a dazzling white, but they soon lose all semblance of their original purity. The male Shilluk favours red, and steeps his [386]
cloth in a dye made from brick dust which produces a russet hue; the female, alas, prefers to soak her cloth in oil which turns her lovely white robe into a dingy, evil-smelling clout.

'In the Spring,' sings the poet, 'a young man's fancy 832
lightly turns to thoughts of love,' and this is no less true of 302
the Shilluk youth than it is of his brother of any other race or clime. A Shilluk gallant seeking to captivate a maiden's heart is indeed a sight to see; his cloth is dyed the deepest red; his spear-blade glitters and its six-foot shaft is smooth and polished; his face is painted red and white (and in other colours, too, if he has a friend or relation who has access to the school chalk-box), with the beads of flesh across his brow pricked out in contrasting colours; he is loaded down with [301]
ropes of beads, dangling ear-rings, bracelets and anklets, so that he clanks along like a tank engine. But the most astonishing feature of his get-up is his hair. No fashionable hairdresser at home can teach the Shilluk anything about hair-styles. Nature has given him but a sparse thatch of thin, kinky hair, yet with this he produces the most amazing results. If he decides to go in for the soup-plate style, he waits until his hair has grown to a reasonable length and then puts himself in the hands of the local hairdresser who treats his locks with a mixture of mud, oil, ashes and other less pleasing ingredients before moulding them into discs on each side of the head, teasing the hair into minute curls. Sometimes the barber will shave the top of the head bare, but occasionally he will treat it with red mud and knead it into small balls like cherries, or shape it like a cock's comb or something equally fantastic. A youth who adopts this hair-style may keep it long after his courting days are over and he has settled down as a sedate husband, and in this case the two side discs, reinforced from time to time with extra supplies

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He [595]
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was 578
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
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[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

843 to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during [844] lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

844 An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth [1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action [84] was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid-
846 wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make
853 confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

851 The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid [847] (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the [846] first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

553 Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304 on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262 which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833 dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853] though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past [888] the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857] he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, [231] or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 513 but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264 and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415] over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

[1] Five feet ten inches.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

606 (1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among [291] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of 606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that •835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

606 It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as 607 *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father 607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may 583

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth. 606 607 583 [604]

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them. 607 583

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others. 607 835

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously. 607 [595] 602 835

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

502 would marry woman from lineage A as this would prevent the correct working
613 of the relationship of avoidance and would confuse the situation. Each
836 lineage therefore develops a tendency to marry women of some other specific lineage,(1) but this is a traditional convention only and not compulsory.

In addition to the ordinary *ora* relationship between two lineages it is dangerous for a man to have sexual relations with a member of a lineage which is *ora* in the second degree. B, C and D may have an *ora* relationship, through customary intermarriage, with other lineages, E, F, G and H. If a man of lineage A seduced a girl of lineage E then all the men of lineage B would be offended, since they regard marriage with girls of E as their prerogative, and there is an *ora* relationship between the two
[753] lineages as there is through A and B. *Dwalo* sickness would result from the offence in the same way as if a man had relations with a woman who was a blood relation.

Terminology

601 Pumphrey gives a list of Shilluk kinship terms,(2) among which may be noted the absence of any single word for brother, such a kinsman being described as father's son or mother's son. The Shilluk kinship terms used to describe members of the immediate family are extended to others of the same generation, and from this descriptive terminology a classificatory system is formed.

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

771 There are three major aspects of Shilluk belief and ritual; the recognition and worship of Juok, the cult of Nyikang and the kings in whom he has been reincarnated, and the cult of the ancestral spirits. In addition there are less important beliefs such as the belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

JUOK

776 The concept of Juok is found in many of the Nilotic tribal groups al-
[771] though beliefs concerning it vary. Among the Shilluk Juok refers to a spirit which is universal, formless and invisible like the air. Juok is above Nyikang and men though he is approached principally through Nyikang.
[782] The Shilluk perform sacrifices to Nyikang which cause him to move Juok to send rain, to prevent misfortune, remove sickness and so forth. Juok is so linked to Nyikang that he is seldom approached in prayer without mention of the latter as intercessor. Juok is vaguely associated with the firmament and is recognised as creator though he is believed to show little interest in men owing to his greatness which is so far above them.

Hofmayr(3) states that the Shilluk put adjectives to the word Juok in order to bring out one or other of his attributes:

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30. (2) *Ibid.*, pp.37-9.
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, pp.186-7 and p.193.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kwor yor nion ejer* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kwor kwob cir dhano*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is four head of cattle[2]—*kwor yor cir dhano* or *kwor yor cir et*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *okaje* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the [114]

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of ceti Kur (1901).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, as here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the richest of her lovers. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

684 same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness
835 (*dwab*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen farther
[621] removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet
[178] or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

684 The following court case illustrates the procedure.
69

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwor kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwor yat nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bride-
[848] wealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *okijo*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Onak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogeng *wad* Ajwin (*kwor yat cic dhau*)

Dogeng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bul Ayuil,
[851] but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bul, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is con-
[848] sidered to belong to Bul, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogeng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bul. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwor yat nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female nyireths

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *nyireth*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *niarat* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, [835] however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become preg- [684] nant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led [847] to frequent production of abortion.[2]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *nyireths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *nyireths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *nyireths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *nyireths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *nyireths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *nyireth* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwor*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *nyireth* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *nyireth*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Pashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyireth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

607 husband will not speak to his *ora* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 613 835 The *ora* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach of which is visited by *dwalo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (*i.e.*, a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ora* thus means a *pac* which is *ora* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram :—

582 835 613 607 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X, Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ora* to A, A being reciprocally *ora* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X, Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ora* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*[35]. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

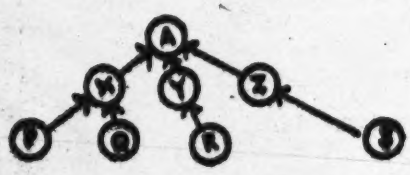
35. For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathwore to marry girls of Adhiling.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dwalo*. 582 835 613 607

Dwalo[36]

In this diagram :—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pac* A as *myer man ora*,[37] that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dwalo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182 having relations with a women to whom he is related; but it seems 582 that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607 It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613 Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835 and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a *pa man ora* girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dwalo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing-by may carry away the *dwalo*." [753 755]

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pac*.

182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *pa ora*, P. Now if a
835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of *pac* X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *tang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
[584] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the other kind and will be considered first.

Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
583 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,[38] or
768 they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals)
[587] making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born. Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yas cie dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yas nian a jur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo cie dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo nian a jur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 837 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 844 827 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully ; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are 684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. [548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men [837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are [582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a [547] son.

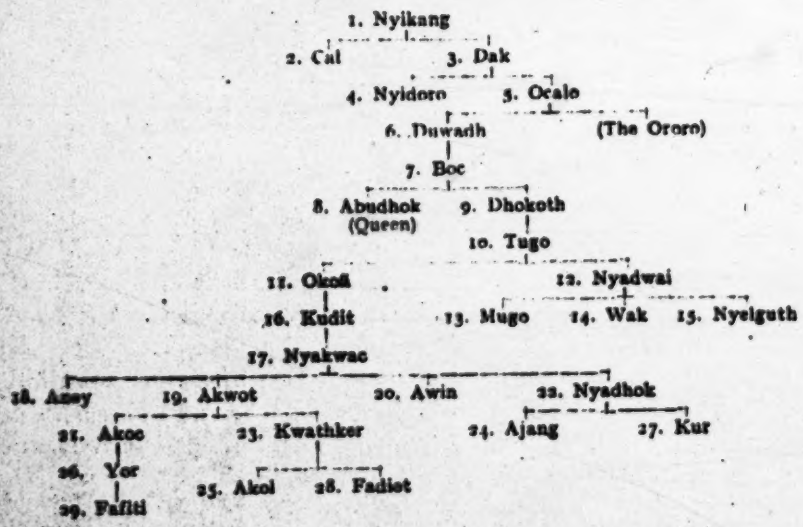
17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *oheijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[39]. A girl who is *oheijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



39. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *dwale* taboo.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy. 643 541 [293 411]

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine. 643 [778]

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[*] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed.[**] [782] [783]

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

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[*] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[**] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Abec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahude*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation. 773 835

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
[593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
562] a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
[582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
566] woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
[582] are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
● [836] Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated
with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
[562] affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
565 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nya dey cuan*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place •836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
848 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *guitor*, even though this carries with it no
[613 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
428] uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
588 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
558 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[597 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *Awer kwob nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

[82 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiag

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiag*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female nyireths

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *nyireth*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *niurt* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *nyireths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *nyireths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *nyireths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *nyireths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *nyireths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *nyireth* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kwor*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *nyireth* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *nyireth*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyireth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

644 836 lover is any less hard. In place of a recognised tribal fine or compensation he is now a victim of blackmail. The *nyireth* whom he is living with proceeds as follows 'Give me a cow or I will tell.' This may go on until the lover's capital is exhausted and the *nyireth* with her child or children moves off in search of further prey. The lover has no redress as the whole arrangement is outside tribal custom, and the *nyireth* prospers from her blackmail and promiscuity.[1]

614 644 684 836 671 I do not propose to discuss here the reasons for the bar against marriage or sexual intercourse with the daughters of reigning or former *reths*. I have sometimes heard Shilluk say that compensation for illicit intercourse with any woman of the royal clan should really go to the *reth*. There is, however, an obvious distinction between offences committed with daughters of *reths* and with other females of the royal clan. In the first case, all forms of sexual union are barred and any infringement of the rule is a crime against the *reth* himself and all he stands for. Moreover female *nyireths*, not being allowed to marry, are in a sense males. Hence sexual relationship with them by a male amounts to perversity and perversity is not a mere private delict but a spiritual offence likely to react upon society as a whole. Shilluk say that theoretically the *nyireth* and her lover should be put to death, but the offence is now compoundable by payment of a fine. The principles of punishment and expiation are involved, not merely restitution. In the case of all other female *kwareth*, the offence lies not in the fact of sexual relationship, but in an illicit relationship amounting to an infringement of rights which apply to all members of Shilluk society. The wrongdoer pays the [643] indemnity in order to right that wrong. In accepting compensation for offences against other women of the royal clan the *reth* is acting as the recognized head of that clan and has a right to receive and redistribute (which in fact he usually does) the wealth which belongs to the clan collectively. The former is therefore more nearly a criminal or public offence, the sanctions being penal, while the latter is a private delict involving the restitutory sanction only. It is worth noting that a closer study of this subject might well lead to a clearer picture of the spiritual functions of the *reth* himself and through him of the royal clan, and also to a more reliable interpretation of his legal functions. [121]

Conclusion

171 58 We may conclude by noting that Shilluk marriages have not the complexity, found both in the social processes and the transfer and distribution of bridewealth, which characterizes unions among their Nuer and Dinka neighbours. The principles are, however, comparable. Marriage is achieved by the performance of ceremonies which have both social and ritual aspects. Side by side with these ceremonies is the payment of bridewealth in cattle, goats, sheep, and sometimes cash. Neither is complete without the other and, generally speaking, each stage in the ceremonies is accompanied by further payments of cattle. The *mogho thiek*, the ultimate ceremony of marriage which corresponds approximately to the Nuer *mmot* and the Dinka *thok de thiek*, at any rate in its legal implications, will not be performed unless sufficient cattle have already been paid to satisfy the kinsmen of the bride. Conversely, the payment of cattle would not legalize the union without the accompanying ceremonies.

[1] W. P. G. Thomson: unpublished records, 1946.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thieh* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thieh*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [836] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which [684] case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi hal Jwok* (you have been brought
64 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci nen*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
848] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no premuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwob nion qiw*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [837] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [818]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 71 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the commonly and conventional elopement which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28–29.

8:Howell E-4.5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shilluk were perhaps more prosperous cattle-owners and the rates of bridewealth were higher. 583

There is in fact no evidence that the number of cattle paid as bridewealth was ever higher than ten, though it may have been so in the era preceding Turkish times. During the *Mahdia*, and for some time after, when the Shilluk had even less cattle than they have now, the transfer of more than two head as bridewealth seems to have been exceptional. But in the more prosperous period which followed, when cattle [178] increased, there was an aftermath of claims dating back to marriages contracted at an earlier date. Some of these claims were upheld in the Courts established by the Government; a procedure which no doubt fostered the belief that the rate of ten head of cattle was unalterable and amounted to the enforcement of obligations which would not otherwise have been honoured. Latterly, the Administration has made 583 attempts to reduce the bridewealth rate. At times in recent years, presumably after 648 epidemics which have sometimes nearly halved the cattle population in the course of twelve months, ten head of cattle as bridewealth has been excessive, with varying results all naturally considered undesirable by the Administration. First, there has [691] been a marked increase in litigation over bridewealth claims. Young men, having started the processes of marriage and made some initial payments of cattle, have then absconded with their brides and refused to honour further obligations. Second, 177 since suitable husbands with sufficient cattle are not to be found, Shilluk girls, unable 583 to marry the men of their choice, in an age when some degree of emancipation has 648 been the result of alien government, tend to drift into the towns as concubines [548] and prostitutes.[1] This process has an equally undesirable corollary. The young men, [839] unable to marry, are more inclined to illicit love affairs, with the result that adultery has increased with a consequent rise in litigation. Finally, the Shilluk have taken to [582] marrying their daughters to Nuer or Dinka who are easily able to find the ten head of cattle required. This process, though not necessarily undesirable in itself, has the effect of aggravating the position, because Shilluk men find it even harder to acquire wives. Without this absorption of Shilluk girls by intermarriage with other tribes or by the process of detribalization, their guardians might be prepared to accept smaller numbers of cattle as they undoubtedly did during the impoverished times of the *Mahdia*.

There have been many discussions, recorded in Government files, of the necessity for reducing the amount of bridewealth and it is clear that Shilluk chiefs and notables have themselves been acutely aware of the need to do so. Yet, despite resolutions made at Shilluk Council meetings, no alteration has in fact occurred.

Divorce and the Dissolution of Marriage

Divorce laws among the Shilluk are, in principle though not in detail, similar to 586 those current among other Nilotic tribes. We must here distinguish between what [171] may be called 'active divorce', when both parties are still living, and 'dissolution of legal union', which sometimes follows the death of the wife.

[1] Encouraged perhaps by the removal of customary deterrents. The 10th meeting of the Shilluk Council (1931) records: 'Chiefs are warned that the following customary "punishments" for a woman are forbidden and will be followed by imprisonment:

(1) Tying her up in a net and half drowning her.
(2) Tying her up outside at night for the mosquitoes to bite her.
(3) Smoking her in a closed up house
(4) Sticking thorns up her finger nails.

The Government does not object to the lawful guardian of a woman or a girl giving her reasonable correction with the palm of his hand, or a light whip, but beating with a stick is also forbidden.' [177 648 681]

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

thiep

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *thiep*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or lactating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female ajiwith

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *ajiwith*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nieet* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *ajiwiths* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *ajiwiths* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *ajiwiths*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *ajiwiths* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [548]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *ajiwiths* who consort with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *ajiwith* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kaw*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *ajiwith* to give birth and abortion was frequently practiced. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *ajiwith*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in *loco parentis*. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Ajiwith*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, e.g. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yar cie dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yar nien a jur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo cie dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobo nien a jur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations 837 with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply 844 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting 827 in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named: Sometimes as many as five bulls are 684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. [548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men [837] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are [582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a [547] son.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought
614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth [1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. *The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers,* as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
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The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after then her *uwa* who are her clansmen. 583

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people. 586 [626]

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law. 586 587 586

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth 584

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his sons, and the *ajuga* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 256). [842]

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

[683]

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing ceremonies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

[847]

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845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nuole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 845 847 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 847 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 845 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 627 683 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: «an accident», and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are done by the evil medicine men. He cuts off a cow's tail, and it becomes barren; but if he treats a bull in the same way, it brings disaster on the house of the owner. Any mishap that may come to him is sure to be caused by the fact that his bull was maimed. 754

He may not be able to get a person in any other way, and finally kills his dog. That causes the death of the master. He slips into a house, and cuts off a bit of the skin on which the people sleep. The people who sleep in that house all die. He watches a person as he walks and counts his steps. The person dies. He defiles food, and those eating it die that very day. If the food is given to a dog it coughs, and swells, but it does not die. He cuts a bit out of the loin cloth of a woman, and she becomes sterile.

For one special device of the evil medicine men the good medicine men have a special counter. The evil man makes a mud image of the man he expects to kill. He sticks nails in the ears of the effigy, and puts it in the fire. The man will either die or go crazy. The good medicine man makes another image of the man when he comes for help, and it is put in water, and that tends to neutralize the heat on the other image. [755]

They have the power to bewitch a herd of cattle so that all the milk is found in the udders of their own cows, or they can injure the grain in the fields. One of the evil medicine men sees the field of a certain man yielding very abundantly, and he becomes envious. He waits till the next crop has been planted, and is just coming up. He then goes to the field at night and pulls up a bit of the grain, and then throws a dead snake in the field. From that time on the field will not bear, and the owner takes a new field and leaves the old one. He may hear that a certain person is a very fast hoer. He goes at night and takes a bit of the soil from his field, and in so doing achieves a double victory. The owner of the field loses his power to hoe, and the field loses its fertility. 754 789

These men with the occult power are said to be envious of the man with a large family, and for that reason they cast many spells on little children, and they must be guarded so as not to come into the presence of such an evil man. When he spits on a child, it dies. The reason for this envy is that the man can not have a large family. He may have many children, but as a judgment for the blood on his hands most of them die in infancy. 754 842

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He [595]
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] 833
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

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Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

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793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
346 sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114] of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
[237] elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts,

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [814]

16. Burial.

Ţiŋ kpé a ţíwé, ka ţiŋ dwé, ka ŋŋŋ kwé, ka ŋţé fé, ka ŋŋŋ ţí, ka kpé téţţí, ka ŋŋŋ mţké mík, ka ŋţé fé, ké ţiŋ wéŋ ţiŋ; ka dŋţí kţí, ka ŋŋkí[1] kŋ, ka wé kwéţ kţ kí kí. Ké wéţ kţí, ka chwţŋ, ké ţí chţké, ka ţím kwţr ŋwéch. Ka dţŋţ kţí, ka tţé kţí, ka kwţr kţí, ka wéţŋŋ kţí, ka ţím kţí; ka tŋţé kţţŋ kţ ŋţé kwţţ, mţŋ téţ ţţm; ka ţiŋŋ twéch tţţé ţţm. Ké ţí kţţţ, ka ŋŋ téché kwţţţ, ka kwţţ kţí ŋŋ ţwéch, ka wéţké tţţé kwé, ka tţţé kwé ka: kţí kţéch! Ka kţéch kţí, ka ŋŋ ka: rţwéch ţiŋ! Ka rţţí kţţ, ka ţiŋ rţm, ka rţţr kţí, rţm kţŋ kér ţiŋ. Ka ţiŋ a kwéţ, ka ţí mţké ŋŋ kwéţţ ţiŋ, ka ţí mţké ţţţkţ ţţéch. Ké ŋŋţm kţí, ka ţér (rér), ké téţ ţţm, ké kţţ fé (tabete). Ka ţiŋ dwé kkí, ka chţŋŋ chwţí, ŋ mţţr tţţţí ţiŋ, ka ţiŋ kţţr wéŋ tabete. Ka téţ ţţí ţţm ţţéché tţţţí ţiŋ, ka téwţm chwţí, ŋ ţţwé téţ. Ké kéí kţí, ka dţţí kţí, ka dţţí ţţéche kţţ; ka kéí ţţéch. Ka ţí ŋwţţţ; a téwé ţiŋ fa ŋwţé, ka ţí wéché. Ka ţéí téţm, ka ţiŋ é réwţ kí kwéţţ. Ka kwé a kţţ, ka ţiŋ kwţkí ŋţţ, ka ţiŋ dwţŋŋ fwéch. Ołwţţţ kţí kí ŋŋţwţ, ka ţí fwéí kí chwţŋŋ. Ka ţí kţţí fwéch. Ka ţţí rţţţ wwéch, ka kţí, ré ţţéché kţţí ţí; ţí a téţţ, ka ţí rţţţ chéé ţţm téwţm. Ka wţŋŋ dwţí, mţŋ kţţr kwţm ţiŋ kí kéţţţ. Ké ţíwé kţí, ké wţţţ tţéé, ka wţŋŋ kţí, kţé kwţm ţiŋ. Ka kéţţţ dwé, ka kţţr kwţm ţiŋ, ké wwţm kí ţí, ka wţŋŋ chţţí kţí, ka chţţí kţé, ka wţţ chwţŋ, ké kéí fwéch, ka ţiŋ a wéché, ké téí téţm, ka ţiŋ téţţ. Ka dwém ţţr, ka ţiŋ kţţţ kí

[1] ŋwéch ŋŋ kŋ.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too 425
much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the 431
old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed.

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his [622]
master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox.

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, 425
nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When 484
a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not 593
allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not [843]
permitted to go on these trips.

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked 425
upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a 556
financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for 535
the animal in the prestige it gives him.

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. 476
When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it 462
out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often 241
the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion.

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. 735
They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general 241
statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret,

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by Westermann, p. 108 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their house is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that delay in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606]
even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842]
always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851
fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836
to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626]
to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608]
at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626]
would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately [787]
such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851
indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684
must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695
he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that 604
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 951
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' [844]
house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take [273]
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dok nun, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diak nun, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam nun, spears and other goods.

The *dok nun* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

Ţūŋ kpé a ţjwé, ka ţjrţ dwaí, ka gyţ̀ŋţ kwaá, ka gţ̀ch fat, ka gyţ̀ŋţ ţ̀ţ, ka lţ̀ó 539*
*téţ̀ţ̀ţ̀, ka gyţ̀ŋţ mţ̀ţ̀ţ mák, ka gţ̀ch fat, ká ţ̀ţ̀ŋ wiy ţ̀ţ̀ŋ; ka dyţl kţ̀l, ka gţ̀ch[1] kţ, ka wei bwáţ kţ kal. Ká wiţ kţ̀l, ka chwţ́p, ká jţ́ chţ̀kţ, ka jam kwţ̀r gwach. Ka dţ̀rţ kţ̀l, ka tţ́i kţl, ka kwţ́r kţl, ka atţ̀ţţ kţl, ka lţ̀u kţl; ka tyţ́i kţ̀ţ̀ţ kţ ńţte kwţ̀ţ, mţ́n tţ́t pţ̀m; ka ţjrţ tuoch tyţ̀ţ́ ţ́ţ́n. Ká ţ́ţ kţ̀ţ́ţ, ka ţ́ţ ńţ́ţ́ kwţ́ţ́ţ, ka kwţ̀ţ kţl ţ́ţ́ ţ́ach, ka wţ́ţ́ tyţ́i kwaá, ka tyţ́i kwaá ko: kţl kţ́ch! Ka kţ́ch kţ̀l, ka ţ́ţ ko: rţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ̀ŋ! Ka rţ́ţ́i kţ́ţ, ka ţ́ţ̀ŋ rţ́ţ́m, ka rţ́ţ́ kţl, rţ́ţ́m kţ́y bor ţ́ţ̀ŋ. Ka ţ́ţ̀ŋ a kwţ́ţ́, ka jţ́ mţ̀kţ yţ kwaáţ ţ́ţ̀ŋ, ka jţ́ mţ̀kţ yţ́ţ́kţ́ ţ́ţ́ńţ́. Ká pyţ́ţ́n kţl, ka yţ́r (rţ́r), ká tţ́t pţ́m, ká kţ́ţ́ fat (tabate). Ka ţ́ţ̀ŋ dwaí kţ́l, ka chyţ́ţ́ţ chwţ́l, ţ mţ̀ţ́ţ tyţ́ţ́i ţ́ţ̀ŋ, ka ţ́ţ̀ŋ kţ́ţ́ wiy tabate. Ka ńţ́ ţ́ţ́l ţ́ţ́n yţ́ţ́kţ́ tyţ́ţ́i ţ́ţ̀ŋ, ka ńwţ́ţ́n chwţ́l, ţ ţ́ţ́ńţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́. Ká bţ́l kţ̀l, ka dyţl kţl, ka dyţl ţ́ţ́ţ́ńţ́ loţ; ka bţ́l ţ́ţ́ţ́ch. Ka jţ́ ţ́wţ́ţ́ţ́; a ţ́ţ́ńţ́ ţ́rţ fa ţ́wţ́ţ́, ka jţ́ wţ́ţ́kţ́. Ka ţ́ţ́ńţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́m, ka ţ́ţ̀ŋ á rţ́ńţ́ kţ kwţ́ţ́kţ́. Ka kţ́ţ́ a kţ́, ka ţ́rţ kwţ́ţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́, ka ţ́rţ dwţ́ţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́ch. Obwţ́ţ́ţ́ kţl kţ ţ́ţ́ţ́wţ́, ka jţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́ kţ ţ́ţ́wţ́ţ́ţ́. Ka jţ́ kţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́ch. Ka ţ́ţ́l rţ́ţ́ mţ́ţ́ch, ka kţ́l, ńţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́ kţ́ţ́ţ́ jţ́; jţ́ a ţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́, ka jţ́ rţ́ţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ́ţ́ ţ́ţ́n ţ́ţ́ţ́wţ́n. Ka wţ́ţ́ţ́ dwţ́ţ́, mţ́n kţ́ţ́ kwţ́n ţ́ţ̀ŋ kţ kţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́. Ká ţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́ kţ́l, ká wţ́ţ́ţ́ tţ́ţ́i, ka wţ́ţ́ţ́ kţ́l, kţ́ţ́ kwţ́n ţ́ţ̀ŋ. Ka kţ́ţ́ţ́ţ́ dwaí, ka kţ́ţ́ kwţ́n ţ́ţ̀ŋ, ká wwţ́n kţ ţ́l, ka wţ́ţ́ţ́ chţ́kţ́ kţl, ka chţ́kţ́ kţ́ţ́, ka wţ́ţ́ chwţ́p, ká kţ́l ţ́wţ́kţ́, ka rţ́ţ́ a wţ́ţ́kţ́, ká ţ́ţ́i chţ́m, ka rţ́ţ́ tţ́ţ́ţ́. Ka dwaa ţ́ţ́r, ka rţ́ţ́ kţ́ţ́ţ́ kţ

[1] ţ́ţ́ch ţ́ţ́ kţ.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Deiyet

Deiyet appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jelyet*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jelyet*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing ceremonies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

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DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.271. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

11; Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jel yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees. 754 [192]

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful. 754 826

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case. 845 [847]

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say : «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask : «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer : «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He [844] 672 845 847

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yur rin dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yur nian a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kwobe rin dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kwobe nian a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
684 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
844 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting
627 in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.
[598] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[637] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a
[597] son.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
565 moved always by God. Thus *yi hal Juok* (you have been brought
64 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
195 *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
643 used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
[836] wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci nien*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
622 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
[837 The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
548] almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

851 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

868 is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 551 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ajas* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñawsilo* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser [683] may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyat

Daiyat appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyat*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyat*.

The Evil Eye (Ywop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuago* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

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846 monies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to
842 have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

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(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.221. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
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11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed 754
by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jal yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring [192]
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The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three 754
different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one 826
testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful.

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birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone [847]
has the power to spare his son in such a case.

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her [844]
first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the woman's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say : «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask : «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer : «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, 672
a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely 845
say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband 847
can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He

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672 845 847 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 847 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 845 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

754 627 683 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: «an accident», and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

754 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative, and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 754 [683] [845] 847

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 683 754

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 754

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practising their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [732]

To call a man a *jel yet* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 683 754

843 to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during [844] lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

844 An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action [841] was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid- ●846 wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make 853 confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

851 The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid [847] (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except [846] on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

553 Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 271); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Dalyet

Dalyet appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyet*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyet*.

The Evil Eye (Tung)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajungo* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

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DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *ori* and a *tipo*. The *ori* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1929, No.3, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
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(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.76.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

851 ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is;
684 a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into
695 a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are
[825] sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the
[787] following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of
684 government resulted in his being removed from office, a
695 much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted.
178 The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile
[643] where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means
[825] this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the
852 lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child.
[553] If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is
852 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the
604 baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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852 dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the 604 ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be 846 shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accom- 851 panied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who 852 attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other [847] abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child [825] would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at [574] the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve [854] as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, [431] beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children 852 after the first born, and the mother may or may not return [843] to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as [574] before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the [854] infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband 843 is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered 758 to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely 574 result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may 777 stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving 843 her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first 644 child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 644 608

to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid-wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., 276n. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father or mother.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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782 the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be 789 presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done 643 by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps [826] with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* 754 —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, 756 who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though 754 men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands [826] tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition [847] is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated [826] with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other 755 most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

"When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 134-6.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Daiyet

Daiyet appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyet*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyet*.

The Evil Eye (Yeep)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuogo* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing ceremonies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

563 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.11, 1929, No.2, p.123. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.271. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Shing

One other offence which is recognized by the Shilluk and is also known to Nuer and Dinka is *shing*. This refers to fornication with a woman who is pregnant or menstruating. Should the woman abort the child, or the child die subsequently, four head of cattle are claimed. This applies, of course, only to married women and in effect means that a man must pay four head of cattle for adultery where in other circumstances he would only pay two. 171 684 837

Sexual Offences Concerning Female spirits

It is a rigid rule among the Shilluk that no female *spirits*[1] may marry or indeed have sexual relations with any man. It is possible that in the past they were more strictly guarded and deterrents in the form of severe punishment were more rigidly applied. 582 644

Seligman says,

> . . . the daughters of a king must remain unmarried, the alleged reason for this being that it is unfitting that the daughter of a king should marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nimer* (king's son) since this would be incest. The prohibition of marriage does not, however, extend to all intercourse; a king's daughter is allowed to select lovers as she chooses, and nothing is said so long as it is not publicly known that she has become pregnant; but if this were discovered she would be killed, as would also the man responsible for her condition. This rule, which until recently appears to have been sternly carried out, led to frequent production of abortion.[2] [835] [684] [847]

This rule is still insisted on by the *reth*, though clearly it is ineffective nowadays since *spirits* have become something of a problem to the Administration. Writing in 1946, Thomson says that female *spirits* can be divided into two classes: (*a*) those who cohabit with Police and 'Malakia' (detribalized urban elements) and (*b*) those who live in Shilluk country. 644 836

The former class appears to be numerous, and has gained notoriety owing to its pursuing its trade largely in Malakal. I believe it forms a small minority of female *spirits*. Some of them live faithfully with their unmarried husbands, others are more flighty and others again are prostitutes. As long as these *spirits* remain in Malakal or Kodok they are merely objectionable on moral grounds. [549]

The latter class is a menace to tribal society. Their habits are similar to the female *spirits* who connect with 'Malakia', but in this case the 'husband', being of Shilluk blood, feels bound by tribal custom and its distortions. The tribal custom appears to be that the first time a female *spirit* becomes pregnant the lover has to pay ten head of cattle (*kow*) to the *reth*. In the old days it was held to be a disgrace for a female *spirit* to give birth and abortion was frequently practised. The ten head of cattle to the *reth* would not be objectionable, if it could be looked on as bride-price (which it is not). If this were so, the *reth* would have a personal interest in the fidelity of the *spirit*, as the bride-price would, of course, be returnable on divorce. It would be right that this bride-price should go to the *reth* as being either father of the girl or in loco parentis. 644 684 836 [847]

This custom has, I think, largely fallen into contempt and I doubt whether the number of cattle reaching Fashoda amounts to very much. This does not mean that the lot of the 644 836

[1] *Nyiroth*, daughter or son of a *reth*.

[2] Seligman, o.p. 'The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk'. *Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 218.

11; Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jol yet* (the first *o* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yet* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees. 754 [192]

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful. 754 826

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case. 845 [847]

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He [844] 673 845 847

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

672 fears to trust his relatives-in-law lest they yield to the pleadings of the
845 mother, and so he sends a messenger to see that the child is killed. Should
847 the father permit the child to live, he is responsible for all the evil done by him. If the father is present, he gives immediate judgment, and if it is for death, the sentence is carried out immediately.

845 The helpless child is always killed in a certain way. A little basket is
847 woven, and the child placed within, and then the top is also woven shut. The basket is then put in a boat, and taken to the middle of the river, where it is committed to the water. The basket is a necessity, as they think that the powers of the babe are such that without the basket to restrain him he would immediately swim ashore, and escape.

842 When the evil medicine man is not killed, his mother loses the power to
845 become a mother again, and when she weeps for the death of the little one, her next child will be deformed in the same way.

682 If the father spares the child, and someone else kills it, the murderer must suffer the usual punishment for murder, which can usually be atoned for by a fine.

759 After an evil medicine man has reached maturity, he can not be openly
627 killed except under certain conditions. The people of his village may tire of his evil practices and conspire to kill him accidentally. To accomplish
683 that end they invite him to join them in the chase, and they manage to get him well to the front. When he is in the right position, they all throw at the animal, but he is their real target. When he falls, the men all cry out: "an accident", and no one is responsible for his death. They do not seek to kill such a person in their local fights lest their own side be thrown into disorder.

759 This occult power is not hereditary, but many think that the mother of an evil medicine man has some occult power, if her husband is not of that class. She does not work as the men do, and the majority seem to think that such a mother is not tainted.

The evil medicine man always works on his own initiative and never at the request of another, and for that reason he never receives fees. He uses as his tools, owls, snakes, eggs, sodom apples, lizards, and crows. The medicine or power in these agents is the same as the power belonging to the man, and in action unite with his power to work evil.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

As a class they are without mercy, and do not intercede for the children, who are killed. However, if an evil medicine man has a son afflicted in a like manner, he spares his life. They try to keep people ignorant of the fact that they have the evil power, and when someone mentions the work of the evil medicine man in the presence of one of the class, he usually says «why are they so evil?». 754 [683] [845 847]

They belong to the dark as they always work at night, and when one is seen casting his charm on the house of another, if he tries to run away he may be killed, and no punishment is inflicted on the murderer; but if he is caught, and held, and then killed, the murderer is fined. If he is caught, he must pay a fine as though he had killed a man. It is very difficult to hold them, as they blind their captors temporarily by throwing some medicine in their eyes. 683 754

The statement is made that they usually try to cast their charms on houses where people are sick, and that accounts for some of their apparently wonderful achievements. This statement is also borne out by one case at the mission. The calves had been dying from some disease. One night an evil medicine man came, and made a great hole in the mud wall of the barn. Some object, perhaps a snake, had been dragged among the calves, and sticks were placed in a certain manner in front of the opening. The herder was in great distress, as he was sure all of the calves would die, but not another one died from that disease. 754

The people firmly believe in this black art, and apparently in many cases at least the victims believe themselves possessed of this power. They go out into a desert place at night, and pray thus: «You, who are God give me this person to kill. Why was I created thus if it was not that I was to kill?» If he does not succeed at the first attempt, he tries till he is successful. Their belief in their own powers is also shown by the fact that the little boys of this class work charms on their little play fellows, apparently practicing their powers. Perhaps the child has heard much of his own evil powers, and he desires to learn whether or not he can do the wonderful things attributed to him, and as he tries he becomes convinced of his own power. [722]

To call a man a *jal gat* is a serious matter even though it is a well known fact that he has the power. The person making the statement must 683 754

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow [593] up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

● 848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time
582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned. 684

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the *gol* of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1) 848

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups. 587 851

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ora

The in-law relationship of *ora* has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense. 602 607

A man describes as *ora* all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's *gol* have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's *gol*. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his *ora* and meets them as little as possible. [835] [114 182]

In a wider sense the *ora* tie is connected with certain sex taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause *dwalo* sickness, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain *ora* relationships between lineages and one lineage will be *ora* to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are *ora* relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D 582 613 835 [753]

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.34-5.
(2) Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p.114.
(3) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.29.

8:Howell, E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

even at this stage, complete. The husband has not yet acquired full rights in his wife and does not do so until the cattle payments (*kany*) are at least substantially complete. It is, however, unlikely that the bride's kinsmen will consent to the *mogho thiek* unless they are satisfied with the payments. 58

Theoretically, the wife will not take up residence with her husband until these payments have been made in full and in any case not permanently until her first child has been born.[1] The fact that during this transitional stage, when the wife is still living with her family, adultery is regarded as a less serious offence (*kwor kwob nien ajur*) than later when she is living with her husband (*kwor kwob cie dhano*), indicates that full legal rights in her have not yet passed to her husband. The girl is in fact only betrothed, though, as among the Nuer and Dinka, bethrothal carries with it a degree of legal union and certain rights. Though completion of cattle payments should coincide with change of residence, this is not often the case and frequently a man, tired of waiting and unable to find the final two or three head of cattle, elopes with his betrothed.[2] [591] [587] [684]

Pumphrey also states:

> Thus the marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of cattle payments, but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. [818]

Ultimately, however, a man's rights in his wife and his children must depend on the payment of cattle. Analysis of disputes over marriage payments show that unless these are sufficient to satisfy permanently the demands of the wife's kinsmen, the union is unlikely to last. This does not mean that the ten head of cattle required are always paid in full, but those owing remain as a debt in the second generation.

Thus it seems safe to assume that the *mogho thiek* should be regarded as the ultimate ceremony which marks not only the change of residence of the bride, but also the final transference of legal rights in her to her husband. In fact this will usually coincide with the payment of at least an acceptable proportion of the bridewealth cattle.

The Distribution of Bridewealth

Pumphrey states that:

> Professor Seligman was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact, only in the case already described does he receive anything; i.e. when he claims from the bridewealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister.[3] 583

There is here, then, a very definite difference between the system of distribution of bridewealth among the Shilluk and that current among the Nuer and Dinka. Among the latter peoples, even in unions achieved by the transference of very small numbers of cattle, there must always be a definite portion set aside for the maternal kinsmen 191 583

[1] A further cow (over and above the ten head of cattle for bridewealth) is expected after the birth of the first child.

[2] This is not the same as the ceremonial and conventional abduction which forms part of the *mogho thiek* ceremonies. Pumphrey says: 'The *mogho thiek* . . . sometimes ends with the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom', op. cit., p. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

586 *Action Divorce*: This is simply known as *tag*: disputes over divorce which are frequently brought before the Courts being known as *gainy tag*.

(*a*) If *A* marries *B* with ten head of cattle (or less) and a divorce is instituted, all cattle should be returned to *A* with the exception of one cow (in the past two) known [684] as *kwor kwob*. The expression *kwor kwob* is used generally in reference to all kinds of sexual offences in which rights in women are violated and, as will be seen later, implies that compensation should be paid. Since the union is terminated and *A* has renounced his rights in his wife, the Shilluk say he must pay something for taking her virginity. It also refers to loss of domestic assistance in the home, for Shilluk sometimes say that this deduction is *kier mar*, which comes to mean 'compensation for services rendered in the home' and it is not considered necessary if the union is dissolved before the wife takes up residence with her husband. This deduction is still made even if the wife is to blame.

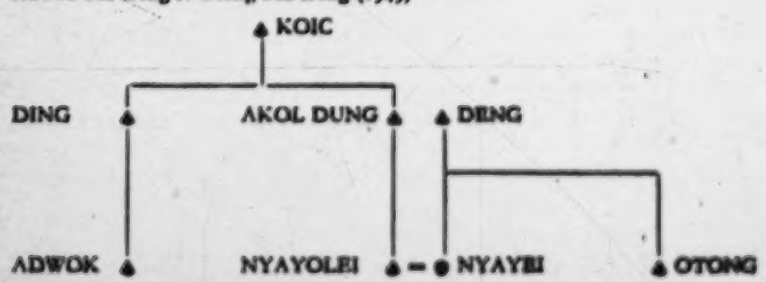
(*b*) *A* marries *B* and *B* produces children. Should a divorce follow, *A* can only claim return of his cattle after suitable deductions have been made for the children at the rate of five head of cattle for a girl and two for a boy. In such circumstances *kwor* [613] *kwob* or *kier mar* would not be paid by the husband, who thus retains legal parenthood [848] of his children. Otherwise, as will be seen later, the children would become *akeijo* (illegitimate) and belong to the wife's lineage.

586 69 Two examples show the way in which such disputes are nowadays dealt with by the Courts.

Kak *wad* Banykwee *v.* Anyang *wad* Dwalo (1949)

[583] Kak married Anyang's daughter Nyabony for ten head of cattle, ten sheep and £E1.500 in cash. One child was born of the union and, at the time of dispute, was about three years old. Nyabony then eloped with another man and Kak claimed the return of his cattle and other bridewealth. Anyang had already paid everything back with the exception of two cattle which he claimed should stand as legitimization fees for the child. The Court, however, held that the legitimization fees were covered by the offspring of the original cattle which Anyang had not returned to Kak and which Kak was not in fact claiming. No deductions were deemed necessary as *kier mar* was claimable by Nyabony's family in any case.

Adwok *wad* Deng *v.* Otong *wad* Deng (1949)



[583] Nyayolei (deceased) married Nyayei for eight head of cattle, sixteen sheep and goats, eleven baskets of grain and .500 in cash. The marriage took place in *reth* Fadlet's time

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be retained for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

Pumphrey adds that:

> It is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *okeijo*.

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and erratic because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 26.

[5] Ibid., p. 33.

S:Howell E-1.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

171 tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach
849 greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *ohoje* male
will usually be linked to the name of his *gwier*, even though this carries with it no
[643 legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal
728 uncle or his heirs to deny to the *ohoje* rights of inheritance or full participation in the
reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and
indeterminate.

171 Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated
582 as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of
a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer
and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system
162 is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of
581 the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with
cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not
559 transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation.
775 It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is
then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed,
usually with the assistance of a *bay rath* who specializes in such matters, to determine
this. The participants will ask, '*ane ada! yi ane?*—'This one is brought by whom?'
This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex,
since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male
child or vice versa.

848 As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a
child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother
and then only *if* at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the
initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at
least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain
[584 *ohoje*. This does not apply *if* the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided
that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however,
that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently
[587 marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal
parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

684 The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk
and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *dwar dwak ciin*
ajier and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, as one ox.
Humphrey remarks that,

[832 . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment
is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also
[585 marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is impossible that the girl's family
will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[5]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1951 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[5] Humphrey: unpublished records.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ2

This also applies to a girl who (on Pumphrey's definition) is already technically married, but still living in her father's home. The seduction of a girl in this condition (which I prefer to call betrothal) by an outsider is not considered a more serious offence than seduction of a girl who has not been bespoken. In such circumstances, too, the compensation is the recognized right of her father or legal guardian and not of her so-called husband. It is true that the latter will usually be expected to collect the compensation and to take action either directly or through the agency of the Courts, but he will ultimately hand over the ox to the girl's father. Seduction of a girl in these circumstances is not therefore adultery in the legal sense. 684 584 684

Seduction, whether of an unbetrothed or of a betrothed girl, if followed by pregnancy, is considered a more serious offence and demands a higher rate of compensation, which again is claimed as the right of the girl's father. This is known as *kaw yar nim ajer* and is nowadays fixed at three head of cattle.[1] Again, in the case of an unbetrothed girl, her own kinsmen will take action, but if the girl is betrothed, her future bridegroom will take up the matter on behalf of her family. 684 848

An act of adultery with a wife (in the full legal sense) demands an indemnity of two head of cattle (*kaw kwab cie dhum*) payable to her husband. 684

The impregnation of a married woman (in the full legal sense) is a much more serious offence and the recognized compensation is *four* head of cattle[2]—*kaw yar cie dhum* or *kaw yar cie et*. The cattle are claimed by the woman's legal husband who will retain them unless there is a divorce, in which case they go to her kinsmen. In fact they would be deducted from the cattle which the wife's kinsmen should return to the husband on divorce and it is unlikely that he would hand them over, especially if they had been paid a long time before.[3] 684 848 [586]

If a divorce follows the offence the child will normally become *ohejo* (unless legitimization fees are paid) and will be brought up by its mother's kinsmen. Otherwise, children born of adultery belong to the legal husband, even if the wife leaves him to live with her lover. 586 848

Adultery with the Wives of Kinsmen

As among other Nilotic tribes, the exaction of compensation usually depends on the relationship between the husband and the woman's lover. Pumphrey says, 684 835

> No *kaw* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or his father. In fact, little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by raptus elsewhere.

This statement is substantially correct, though it must be realized that it does not [114] imply that there is anything in the nature of the right of access to each other's wives by close kinsmen.[4] It is forbidden for two (uterine) brothers to cohabit with the

[1] Shilluk say that it was seven head in the time of each King (*reth*).

[2] Shilluk say that the number demanded in the past was eight.

[3] Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, there is no limit to the number of times a man may demand compensation for the adultery of his wife. Moreover, if several men are concerned, compensation is demanded in full from each. This does not apply if a child is born, so here only one man can be held responsible, and it is said that the woman will sometimes be prevailed upon to name the father of her lover. [171]

[4] As suggested by Hofmayr.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 F323 Shilluk F323

684 835 same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (*dwak*) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen further removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical exemption of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

[621] [178]

684 69 The following court case illustrates the procedure.

Ajak *wad* Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwar kwak nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akioc *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akoc *wad* Agiu *v.* Taytung *wad* Deng (*kwar yar nian ajur*)

Taytung impregnated Nyandongkal (daughter of Bilayang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bridewealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is *akrijo*. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Taytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

[848]

Onak *wad* Mayhong *v.* Dogreng *wad* Ajwin (*kwar yar ciu dhum*)

Dogreng seduced Onak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bol Ayoil, but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bol, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is considered to belong to Bol, though the compensation is claimed by Onak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogreng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Onak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bol. Otherwise the case might have been classed as *kwar yar nian ajur* and assessed at only three head of cattle.

[851] [848]

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the
583 husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to
591 get his wife home to do the cooking.

Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep
585 has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a con-
● 848 comitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances
[629] if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often
586 dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the
[848] dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of
[578] acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kuow yar ric thuow	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kuow yar wiau a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*) — — — —	3 head of cattle
Kuow kuoke ric thuow	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy — —	2 head of cattle
Kuow kuoke wiau a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*) — — — — —	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kuow* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
684 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
944 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting
627 in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kuow* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all.
[941] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[637] is on the average as high as twenty-eight extra marital relations are
[582] not uncommon.

• 891 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra
[891] for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a son.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *gol* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father[28]. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX I.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adapted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)

28. This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which divides the dada tribes.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in such case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yuva*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

601 [537] [837] [614] [851] [607]

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

606 607 593

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

606 [114] [683]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony. 585

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings. 585 604

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them. 951 [844] [273]

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:— 583

Dok nuw, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attached to his betrothed.

Diok nuw, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam nuw, spears and other goods.

The *dok nuw* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 190 et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle
are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *awa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his
father's brother's son, or his classmen of his own generation. He
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except [595]
his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father
will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to
another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants
could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely
it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when
he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *awa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *awa* had been to his wife while he was
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *awa*. It is
all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger
he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was
exercising his rights towards the wife of his *awa* (actually his father's
brother's son) said that his *awa* (the husband) knew, and that he made
no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging
to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *awa*, *amia*, *ana*, 835
aka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was
believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states
that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in
the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [838]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband
and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 195.
[2] Op. cit., 171. A pregnant woman is decidedly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., 208.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action are not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid-wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monsterchild (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother then the cord around her body (op. cit., 175); he apparently this in order to the dry stump that hung from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 178.
[3] Op. cit., 100n. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father as mentioned.

but the usual fine for making another man's wife pregnant consists of three cows and one bull; if pregnancy does not result the fine is two head of cattle. Fines for seduction are paid to the girl's father and vary from one to three head of cattle according to whether or not the girl is made pregnant. If a woman has committed adultery, she confesses it at the time of childbirth; her husband then exacts the appropriate fines from the men concerned.

If children have been born outside marriage the eventual husband may take them over and will pay extra bridewealth cattle. Failing this, they are brought up in the gol of their maternal uncle and belong to his clan. He will receive the bridewealth paid on the marriage of the girls.(1)

Widow Inheritance

According to Westermann widows are inherited by the brothers of the dead husband or by his sons, who take the wives who are not their own mothers. He then adds that, if children are begotten from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man and "they are like his own children."(2) This custom of raising up seed to the name of the dead man is general among the Nilotic tribal groups.

KINSHIP AND KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Ore

The in-law relationship of ore has been commented on by Seligman and Pumphrey. It appears to have two particular applications, being used in a narrow and in a wider sense.

A man describes as ore all his wife's kinsmen and, strictly, all the kinsmen of the wives of the men of his own generation belonging to his own clan. This extension may be because he is allowed, at any rate in theory, to have access to the wives of such clansmen and temporarily takes over the in-law relationship with their parents. During the first years of marriage the members of the husband's gol have to respect and to avoid the members of the wife's gol. Pumphrey suggests that the basic reason for this is that the initial period of marriage is an unstable one and friction is gradually resolved as the bridewealth is paid off and children are born. To avoid friction the husband does not speak to his ore and meets them as little as possible.

In a wider sense the ore tie is connected with certain ore taboos. The breach of these taboos is believed to cause death outcome, a form of illness believed to affect both mother and child who will die unless the man who induced the mother to break the taboo will split a gourd in two and sacrifice a sheep.(3) There are certain ore relationships between lineages and one lineage will be ore to another. Thus, if men of lineage A have married women of lineage B, C and D, there are ore relationships between A and B; A and C; A and D. In such a case no men of lineages B, C and D

(1) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, pp.3a-5.
(2) Westermann, The Shilluk People, 1912, p.116.
(3) Pumphrey, S.S.S. 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.30.

S:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

An analysis of Shilluk marriages has shown that many cattle which should be reserved for bridewealth to be used by the bride's male kinsmen are, in fact, frequently paid away as debts, or slaughtered, or sold to obtain cash in times of famine. This is perhaps natural among the Shilluk, who have to place greater reliance on an agricultural economy, but whose agricultural activities are no more productive or reliable than are those in other parts of the Nilotic area.[1]

583 [841] [171]

Pumphrey goes on to say,

> accordingly it seldom occurs that, owing to the death of all the original marriage cattle, the wife's relatives become interested in the breaking up of the marriage. Possibly as a safeguard against this very contingency the Shilluk have a custom which compels the bridegroom, during the first three or four years of his marriage, to replace by living cattle any of the original cattle he paid as bridewealth which may die in the interim.[2]

[586]

It is not clear, however, at what stage of marriage the bridegroom is absolved from this responsibility. Some Shilluk say that it no longer applies when the marriage is finally confirmed by the birth of a child and the bride's change of residence.

[851]

Pumphrey adds that:

> It is a natural corollary of all this, that the progeny of the marriage cattle are not reclaimed. The claim is for a roughly equivalent amount of cattle. This amount will vary according to the number of children borne to the man by the wife.[3]

The Legitimacy of Children

With regard to the legitimacy of children in case of divorce, we hear that, 'the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived'.[4] Pumphrey mentions, not here but later, that a certain number of cattle must remain with the wife's family if the ex-husband is to retain legal parenthood of these children. If these deductions are not made, the children are automatically classed as *ohaya*.

586 848 [583]

On this subject Pumphrey says,

> If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bridewealth, the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon the termination of the marriage, except that . . . if the marriage has been broken through his wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.[5]

My own investigations lead me to believe that this statement is incorrect, at any rate according to the principles of Shilluk law, for although a husband may be so exasperated by the conduct of his wife as to demand return of all his bridewealth cattle, he can only do so by waiving all legal rights in the children of the union, and he is unlikely to do this.

114 586 848

Among the Shilluk these questions arise principally in connexion with subsequent rights in the bridewealth cattle of a daughter. The question of nomenclature, impor-

171 848

[124]

[1] Crop production in Shilluk country is unreliable and results because the soil on the high ground in the immediate vicinity of the villages is exhausted, while the land in the hinterland is subject to flood owing to poor drainage.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Pumphrey, op. cit., p. 16.

[5] Ibid., p. 15.

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

same woman and to do so would result in spiritual calamity and actual sickness (death) for which ritual expiation would be necessary, even though an indemnity would not be claimed. This spiritual bar does not apply to half-brothers though again no compensation would be expected. Immunity from the payment of compensation for adultery extends also to paternal cousins and agnatic kinsmen further removed in the kinship structure. The extent is variable—a link four to five generations back may still give immunity—but it appears that common residence in one hamlet or one settlement is a factor of importance. Shilluk say that this theoretical relaxation of the law of adultery is less commonly accepted than in the past and that compensation is more frequently demanded. This may be due to the fact that legal machinery is now available for the settlement of such claims, though presumably public opinion in the matter is expressed in the judgements of the Courts. Moreover, the network of obligations to assist relatives in the payment of compensation of this sort was cast wider in the past. Hence, theoretically at any rate, those who would receive compensation might well be those upon whom lies the obligation to assist in its payment. The two obligations thus cancel each other out.

The following court case illustrates the procedure.

Ajak wad Fadiet *v.* Awow *wad* Awingjok (*kwar kwob nian ajur*)

Awow seduced Landeng, daughter of Akiec *wad* Nyaljok. Landeng was at the time betrothed to Ajak, who had paid nine head of cattle and thirty-six sheep. She had not, however, taken up residence with Ajak at the time of the offence and, since no child resulted, only one bull is claimable. The Court awarded Ajak one bull which will be handed over to Landeng's brother, since Ajak himself has no legal claim to it.

Akec *wad* Agiu *v.* Teytung *wad* Deng (*kwar yar nian ajur*)

Teytung impregnated Nyandwaghal (daughter of Bilnyang, brother of Agiu) and she produced a girl-child. She was subsequently married to Ajing Amikwei for a full bridewealth of ten head of cattle. The baby, however, remains with her maternal uncle and is ahaja. Her maternal uncle has full rights in the child and will receive the bridewealth on her marriage. Neither her mother's husband nor her physical father have any rights in her at all. This case was brought before the Court merely because Teytung had not completed the compensation payment which he was ordered to do. (He had, in fact, only paid two out of the three.)

Gwak *wad* Maydong *v.* Dogreng *wad* Ajwin (*kwar yar ric dhum*)

Dogreng seduced Gwak's sister Agwer. She was at the time betrothed to one Bol Ayuil, but was living at home. A boy was born to Agwer after she had taken up residence with Bol, by then her legal husband. For this reason, the child (though actually dead) is considered to belong to Bol, though the compensation is claimed by Gwak. The case was brought to the Court simply because Dogreng had paid no compensation which he had previously been ordered to pay by instalments. No dispute over legal paternity of the child or over the compensation cattle had arisen. Had the child lived (especially if it had been a girl-child) Gwak might have claimed legal rights in it, though the ruling here, as we have seen, is that providing the child was actually born after the woman had taken up residence with her husband it should belong to him. In fact, the child was born a considerable time after Agwer had taken up residence with Bol. Otherwise the case might have been charged as *kwar yar nian ajur* and concerned at only three head of cattle.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he 843
spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, [606] even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is [842] always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but 851 fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety 836 to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure [626] to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby [608] at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it [626] would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are [787] rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or 851 indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he 684 must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if 695 he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

851 684 695 [825] [787] ordeal'. He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is; a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

851 684 695 178 [643] [825] During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of government resulted in his being removed from office, a much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted. The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means this brute was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, 'I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?'

846 852 [553] After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child. If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is 852 604 woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
F323 Shilluk F323

to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

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[3] Op. cit., 100n. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father or uncle(?).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 541 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyirok* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex. 304

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act. 262 833

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose. [853] [888] [857] [221]

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *pare* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking. 593 264 [415]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

163 [165] [833 853]

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

142 516 147

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinos seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

142 [145] [481]

PAINTING THE BODY

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

302

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the teeth

304 [753]

[1] five feet ten inches.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt [263]
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes [262]
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of [853]
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or [283]
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 512
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the [231]
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering [857]
under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

J. Westermann K-5 (2910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

BIRTHS AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXXII. The birth of twins is regarded as the gravest of good fortune.

Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or carries with a cast in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Agu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Nyamily* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a branch of *ateer*. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle. — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a company-fellowship, all members of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

SLAVES

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from further up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

BURIAL

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 133.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The members of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking marissa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking. 852 604

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home. 846 851 852 [847] [825] [574] [854] [481]

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat. 852 [843] 574 [864]

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him. 843 758 574 777

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is 843 644 644 608

Other body marks are also made at will and have no religious significance. The people say that it is also to have these marks on the body, especially for young men and women and for dancing festivals. These marks take many forms - geometric, tribal, geometrical designs, or even military signs, especially that of a serpent on the upper arm. 30 f 177

Clothes.

Hofmayr states that "... In grosse die Anfertigung und Tracht der Nuba und Dinkaleute, so gering die Kenntnis für die Kleider."(18) He also states "Abgesehen der Nuer in Shilluklande fast immer ohne Kleidung ging, stand es mit den Jellen in dieser Hinsicht anders." (19) and "Langsam begannen nun auch einige dieser Völker, zuerst die Shilluken Kultur und Religion ins Land gezogen hat, die politischen einer besseren Zeit sich einzurichten. Bei allen kamen die Kaufleute der Shilluk von diesen auch die verschiedenen Bekleidungen." (20). During my enquiry among the Shilluk I noticed one great difference among the Shilluk and the other Nilotic tribes, this being that the Shilluk were always dressed at home as well as in their own villages, children being the only exception - and others were not. Their dress is called in their own tongue LAED, and consists of a piece of cloth of any colour, but mainly white. The LAED is placed round the body, so that it reaches down to the knees and is knotted in a special way on the left shoulder by men (21) and the right shoulder by women. Women also wear some other underclothing which is well described by Hofmayr.(22) But the question is that SHARE is a standard Shilluk dress; it is neither European nor Arabic from the northern Sudan. It standardises and the Poor or the Rich, who are supposed to have some kinship with the Shilluk, go, men and women, quite naked. Hofmayr's statement, as quoted above, was written in 1925. It is quite impossible that the Shilluk have altered one of the most important habits over a period of 30 or 40 years, taking into account the extremely conservative spirit which all authors attribute to the Shilluk and other Nilotes. Secondly, if the Shilluk are begun to dress due to the introduction of Christian culture and religion, they would have adopted the European dress, (23) rather than invent a new type of dress foreign to both mischamarine and Sudanese. Or, if this were due to Christian culture, why did it not produce the same effect among the Nuba and Ingi, among whom comparatively more missionary work has been done than among the Shilluk ? Hofmayr contradicts himself in the same book. Col, the second Shilluk king, who lived about 1780 A.D., before he died, washed himself, and " Sich vollendeter Kleidung kleidete Col sich an.." (24). This means that the Shilluk used to dress themselves from the beginning of their known history. 24 f 177

I have also no knowledge of a society in which the difference between the two sexes go, or went, so far as that which we could understand from Hofmayr's description, i.e. men go naked while women have a complicated dress system composed of two pieces for the unmarried and of three pieces for the married.

There is also a traditional economy of importance in the Shilluk political organisation. Every new chief of a settlement, which is a combined group of lineage hamlets, has to be confirmed in his post by the king. This takes the form of investing the new chief with a LAED with the king "personally knotting this robe over the juju's (chief) shoulder" (25). In a similar manner, the chief of a hamlet (a lineage group, homestead in a settlement) may be invested with a LAED "directly from the king, or from the settlement) may be

[18] "such great attention and meticulous care dress and ornamentation, so little care for the children"

[19] " While the men in Shilluk country almost always went without clothing, the women behaved differently in this respect."

[20] Slowly in the beginning, but since that time Christian culture and religion has also penetrated among these people, a sign that a better time is coming. Already one can see that the nakedness of the Shilluk is disappearing from this country."

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyiook* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Henry for a note on Shilluk customs, which seems to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Henry could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *sylwa* (if her *gal* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *pero* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. F. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eyes: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the flags and ensigns on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *baiey* or foreigner with his lusted camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 191 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 683

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luals* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the kraals.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the shoot is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *pak* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with hand ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

in a leopard skin for a dance. Apart from these privileges, however, the son or grandson of a king is in no other way distinguished; he must undertake the menial tasks which fall to the lot of the boys of the village, the herding of the cows and sheep, the milking and the cleaning of the byre; he submits to the same ordeal of tattooing and cannot anticipate his initiation dance, the great coming-of-age celebration, by which he and others of his age-group formally become full members of the tribe. He is accorded a special respect, and if he is a Nyireth, a son of the king, is eligible for election to the high office of king of his people. The fifth generation of the king's descendants, though they are allowed to retain the title of Kwanyireth, descendants of the king, merge into the common people and are treated as such.

The second class is that of the Ororo, which holds a peculiar position in the social system. Its members are of royal blood, but are for ever debarred from election to the kingship. Shilluk history relates that of the fifth king, Ocalo, all the sons of his first wife were slain in battle with the Nuer, save one. This was a puny boy whom his father despised as unfit to be king. In his grief and rage at the loss of his sons, Ocalo threw the sacred spears of Nyikang into the river to signify that he considered his house at an end, since he had now no son worthy of succeeding him. The son who was left, Duad by name, upbraided his father fiercely, and swore that if ever he became king he would disinherit and degrade the other children of Ocalo. Eventually he did become king, and kept to his oath. His half-brothers were all degraded to the level of commoners, but because of their undoubted royal ancestry they formed a special clan among the other royal clans. To compensate them for the loss of their rank they were given, and still hold, special functions at the installation and burial ceremonies of the king. They used also to hold the office of royal executioners and put to death all those who fell under the king's displeasure, but in these more enlightened times, that office is no longer required.

The third class is that of the Colo. Strictly speaking this

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and bloodshot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against these pests he covers himself from head to feet with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat-shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

Z9:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

narrow circular hole in the ground about a foot deep, and 512
steadily pounded with a heavy, six-foot pole wielded with 857
all the strength a young pair of arms and shoulders can bring 252
to the task. The coarse flour which results from this operation is soaked in water and then ground again, this time between two hard, rough stones. The flour is ready for use; it is mixed with water and boiled in a shallow iron dish to make a thick porridge, and this, flavoured with a little salt 263
if that is available, and mixed with a little milk, constitutes 262
the meal. Young women, however, are denied the luxury of 853
milk, unless they are nursing a baby.

By the time the women have returned from the river, 512
ground the flour and cooked the porridge, it is already nine o'clock. If it is the dry season and there is no work to be done in the fields, the men have been sitting around since sunrise, busy perhaps with some task such as making a grass rope or 283
weaving a fish trap, or merely gossiping away the time until their food is ready. When a woman has cooked her husband's 512
breakfast she takes it into the living hut, and then leaves 264
while he eats. She never eats with him, though she may return later, before he has finished, and eat her own meal sitting apart; she may also join other women and eat with them. When breakfast is over the men resume their tasks, 512
and if there is a nice part of the river bank shaded with trees, such as is to be found at Detwok, they will take their rope making and weaving materials or their fishing net and pass the day there pleasantly enough. The young boys untether 233
the bleating sheep and goats which pour out of the village 857
running in search of grass and water, followed by their herds who add to the din by yelling and whistling; the cattle follow at a more leisurely pace in charge of the older boys. Soon the village is empty of animals save for the mangy, 572
half-starved dogs nosing about for scraps of food, and the 231
scraggy chickens picking up grains of millet scattered here 857
and there in the compound. The little girls appear, staggering under the weight of the fat babies they carry on their hips. The women and the older girls go about the never-ending household tasks, cleaning up after their untidy menfolk,

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

advantage of the superiority that the mission education gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a payslip, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women, the Sisters ('*Thaaw*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suor*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place where his children could learn to read and write, but rather a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring could be dumped during the period when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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dusty nakedness; the good red blankets to protect them from the cold at night; the two solid meals a day in which oil and salt were always to be found, and frequently meat and groundnuts as well, and the joys and thrills of football. For these and other blessings the Shilluk boy was quite willing to put up with the nuisance of having to sit in a classroom for a few hours each morning, with the grind of gozintas and the making of ridiculous marks on a slate. After all, he needn't learn these things if he didn't want to; when the novelty of the place wore off, and even the delights of football began to cloy, he could always run away and return to the freedom of the pampas and the cattle camp, and if he had any luck he might be able to get away with his cloth and his blanket too. And, by heaven, they did run away, with a regularity that became monotonous. I suppose that during the first couple of years, for every boy who found learning to his liking and settled down to make it his career, ten tired after a month or two and returned to the less exacting life of the kraal and the cattle camp.

Sometimes it would suddenly dawn on a Shilluk parent that he hadn't seen his son and heir about the place for the past week or two, and that his herd was either tended by a substitute, or else running wild to the detriment of his neighbours' corn fields, and with a baleful light in his eye and a willowy stick in his hand, he would make a bee-line for the mission. Or perhaps he would be returning from the river and would stand stock still and rub his eyes in astonished incredulity on beholding the vision of the apple of his eye clad in spotless white, his face shining with soap and his soul with virtue, among the alumni of Detwok Academy. Disturbed in whatever I was doing by the ear-piercing shrieks that one usually associates with pig killing, I would rush to the spot. But the result was always the same; the white badge of scholarship would be whipped off the boy and flung indignantly in my direction; the erring youth, after dodging round a few obstacles to avoid the shrewd cuts of the ashplant, would break for the open and hare it in the general direction of French Equatorial Africa, his irate dad

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881 535 881 [622] 858 [626] 881

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tiresome to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," *i.e.*, Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.[1]

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyiroth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means literally "cow."

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 **REARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN**

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

854 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

868 is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most

551 cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Agu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñaweilo* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 **SLAVES**

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 **BURIAL**

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

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175 take control of the government of his own country, the new
648 Sudan Government took immediate steps to bring education to an almost entirely illiterate people. Less than four years after the Battle of Omdurman, the Gordon Memorial College was opened by Lord Kitchener in the newly-built Khartoum as the nucleus of educational development in the Sudan. Elementary schools were opened to bring the rudi-
[871] ments of education to the peasantry and later, as the need arose, intermediate schools, a technical school and a teacher training college. As the number of literates grew, other departments acquired their own training establishments. The Kitchener School of Medicine and the Lee Stack Laboratories provided for the training of Sudanese doctors, chemists and dispensers; the Atbara Railways School gave the young Sudanese the opportunity to take control of the railway system which covers the northern part of the country
[505] and of the fleet of steamers which operates on the Nile south of Khartoum. In the Law Courts Sudanese advocates plead their causes before Sudanese judges and magistrates who have been trained in the School of Law. The Agricultural and Veterinary branches have their own training establishments, many of the senior police and army officers are Sudanese, and the training of officers in the political and administrative departments is so far advanced that Sudanese District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners are now common, and several have been promoted as Deputy-Governors of Provinces.*

648 For some twenty-five years official educational efforts
871 were confined almost exclusively to the peoples of the north.
797 In the south missionary bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, without Government aid or recognition, laboured untiringly among the primitive peoples in their efforts to give them some share at least of the educational benefits enjoyed by their more fortunate brethren in the north. Only in 1926 was Government aid given in small measure to help to defray

* Since this was written all British officials have retired, and except for the Governor-Generalate, Sudanese have taken charge in all departments.

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the educational expenditure that hitherto the missionaries had met from their own meagre resources, and it is only during the past decade that official steps have been taken to promote higher education in the south and to assist the missionary organizations in a way commensurate with their labours in the field of education. It must be stated, however, that plans for the development of education in the south were in hand in 1938, but the outbreak of war prevented their being implemented. During the years in which the Sudanese were educationally being reared from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the administration and development of their country was in the hands of experts from outside, generally from Britain, which country too, in the beginning, provided the financial assistance necessary to launch the various schemes which such wholesale development entailed. British doctors inaugurated and took control of the public health of the country and gradually established large, well-equipped hospitals throughout the land; in keeping with the number of trained Sudanese doctors, dispensers and medical assistants, dispensaries were opened in more remote districts and administered from each hospital. Engineers developed the railway which the army had laid down to assist Kitchener's campaign against the Mahdists and extended it to cater for the northern half of the country, and for the south built and launched the first passenger and cargo vessels which have grown into the large fleet of steamers which today provide the main passenger and commercial link between the Sudan and the other countries of Central Africa. The Forestry and Veterinary services took in hand the conservation and the improvement both numerically and in quality of two of the country's most valuable assets, her trees and her cattle. Yet the Sudan could not continue indefinitely to depend upon outside gifts and loans to finance her public services. Some way had to be found to provide a regular national income large enough to enable the country to pay her way, and since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural and pastoral country it was on these lines that the problem had to be solved. The

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* 797 643 was saved. Of the two chiefs who were on the side of the missionaries one is now the father of the best Catholics and catechists in Detwok, and it is pleasant to recall that King Papiti received the grace of Baptism before he died, as has already been related.

Father Brambilla, who was Superior at Lul at the time, hastened to Detwok when he heard the sad news and offered to give to the family of each of the dead girls ten cows, the amount of dowry which each would have had on marrying, but the king would not hear of it, giving as his reason: 'The crocodile does not give cows; this was an accident.' Soon afterwards the people assembled for the solemn mourning dance for the dead children, and Father Brambilla sent four bulls for the funeral feast.

* 797 The church was completed in the same year by Father Cotta, and under his guidance the school also made great progress. It was his dream to have a Central School there for the whole Shilluk mission to which boys would come from Lul and Tonga to attend the upper classes, but this scheme was not realized whilst he was there.

The mission of Kodok, as it was known, was raised to the status of an Apostolic Prefecture in 1938 and the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society of Mill Hill took over the staffing of the district from the Verona Fathers who had worked there for nearly forty years. The first leader was Mgr. Wall, who had already seen many years of service in Kenya. He had his headquarters at Malakal, another mission in Shilluk territory, and the Prefecture was renamed after this place in 1949. Since the coming of the Mill Hill Fathers the good work has gone on slowly, but the difficulties still remain immense; a total absence of civilization, complete indifference to religion on the part of the population in general, trying climatic conditions and wretched communications make the missionary's task hard and call for great patience and a spirit of optimistic endurance. Much effort
• [871] has been put into the advancement of education. Father Cotta's dream of a Central School in Detwok has been realized, and schools for both boys and girls as well as

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Teacher Training Centres have been established in other missions. New stations have been started in Awechi, Wau and Riang Nom. 797* [871]

Mgr. Wall had to relinquish his office of Prefect in 1947 owing to failing health, and was succeeded by Mgr. John Hart.

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Chapter XII

GOZINTAS AND ALL THAT

A visitor to Detwok, or indeed to any other mission station, taking an after-breakfast stroll round the place, would perhaps be momentarily mystified by a buzz which, as one approached nearer the source, would develop into a chant of youthful voices. Even though the listener knew nothing of the Shilluk tongue, the chant nevertheless would soon be recognized without much difficulty, for I suppose that about the same hour each morning the same chorus arises from millions of young voices all the world over. The language might differ from place to place, but the chorus is the same and the theme is the same: 'Two gozinta four twice, two gozinta six three times, two gozinta eight four times, etc., etc.' The Shilluk version is a little more elaborate than its English counterpart, for it may be translated thus: 'Four, its inside has two multiplied by two . . . ten with two to its head (i.e. twelve), its inside has two multiplied by six,' and—if one wished to proceed thus far—'one hundred with forty to its head, with four to its head, its inside has ten with two to its head multiplied by ten with two to its head.'

No matter how zealous a missionary may be to preach the Gospel, he realizes that evangelization must needs go hand in hand with secular education, and indeed in some cases—and this is particularly true of the Shilluk people—must follow it. For the adult Shilluk is so conservative in his habits and customs, is so imbued in the mythology of his tribe which claims its founder to be a demi-god and the spirit of divinity to be immanent in its kings, as to be almost wholly indifferent to the presence of the foreigner in his midst, and quite incurious as to the reason of his coming. Hence, the Catholic priest among the Shilluk, although by no means unmindful of the salvation of the adult pagan,

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226 with their harpoons and spears and driving the fish before them. The fish that escape the spears and are caught in the nets are collected, and the operation is repeated again and again until the late afternoon when either the fishing or the fishermen are exhausted and the party returns laden with the burden of the catch. It sometimes happens that the fishing is not successful, and the fishermen return with a very poor load, or even nothing at all. Once I met such a party coming back dejected from a full day's fruitless toil; all that they had to show as the result of eight hours' strenuous work in the sun was a large rat dangling from the end of a spear. On another occasion the fishing had hardly begun in earnest before one of the men was seized by a large crocodile. I am sorry to say that his companions in their panic ran off and left him to his fate, but he attacked the brute with his spear and managed to free himself. Needless to say, the fishing was [797] abandoned for that day. The Sisters nursed the victim, whose thigh was badly lacerated, and after some months, thanks to their care, he recovered completely. When these communal fishing expeditions take place, the school might [872] as well be closed for all the learning that is done. It is just as impossible to keep the boys to their lessons, as it would be to keep a class of English boys if a cup-tie were being played on the school football field. So when the vanguard of the fishing party passes the school, we call it a day and send the pupils off. If the results are good, there are empty places in the classroom for many days afterwards, for the boys who live locally stay at home as long as the good living lasts.

224 For the Shilluk youth who finds community fishing a dull affair, in spite of the dangers of being seized by a crocodile or being harpooned by an over-excited companion, there are always the hazards and profits of hunting hippopotamus. The hippo which are so numerous in the Nile, and particu-
643 larly in the Bahr-el-Gazal, are strictly royal game. The
687 Shilluk may hunt if they wish, but a large portion of the
224 carcase must be sent to the king in Fashoda, and a hunter who refused to do this, or tried to conceal his 'bag', would

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teeth-baring snarl. Then I bade them a cheery 'Good-morning', and was greeted in turn by a full-throated roar. These preliminaries over, I cast wildly round for something to teach. English! That's what I'll start with; English by the direct method. And heaven knows, never before had a class so unique an opportunity of learning by the direct method; I knew no Shilluk, and it had no English. The setting was perfect. I picked up a book from the table and said 'BOOK'. The boys beamed brightly as though I had performed a smart conjuring trick. I repeated the word and indicated that they were allowed to play too, and was rewarded by a thundered response of 'FOOL'. I showed them a tin box, saying 'TIN'. The answering bellow was 'SIN'. 'TABLE' was rendered as 'ALEFUL' (which I wasn't at that hour of the morning). 'RULER—BOO', 'CHAIR—JEER', 'PEN—FEN', 'PENCIL—FANCY'. And so the merry game went on. When I said 'Stand up', the response sounded like a request from a gangster accompanied by a menacing gesture with a tommy gun.

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When at length I had exhausted all the articles in the room, my vocabulary, and myself, I selected the book from the now littered table and asked the brightest looking star in the galaxy what it was. He promptly answered 'Fool'. I tried another boy and he thought it was a 'Fancy'. I waggled the book at a third and he gave his considered opinion that it was a 'Jeer'. 'No, you clown,' I shrieked, 'it's a Book, a BOOK, a BOO—OOOK'. 'Now'—to the whole class—'what is it?' The troupe, game to the last, bayed something that ranged between 'Fool' and 'Coot'. I threw the book at them and fled.

It is interesting after the lapse of a dozen years to see what became of the 'guinea pigs' of that first 'Essay in Elemenary English'. Simon is now a respected and happily married Primary teacher in Detwok Central School; Maurice teaches in Lul Elementary School; Bernard, after serving Detwok mission faithfully for years, inherited a dead relative's wife, and now we see him no more. One boy died and two have dropped out of my ken. Two others took full

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* 797 advantage of the superiority that the mission education
159 gave them over their fellows, for one became a doctor; not, alas! one of the medical variety, but a witch doctor, and the other, rejoicing in his knowledge of writing and arithmetic, tried to forge a paysheet, and now languishes in Malakal Gaol.

* 797 To the Shilluk, the foreigner and all his works were of little
185 or no interest, unless he could see some immediate personal benefit to himself. The missionary was a person whom he hoped to touch for a piastre or a pipeful of tobacco; the mission was a place where those good, but queer, women,
[759] the Sisters ('*Thwore*'—an attempt at the Italian '*Suore*'—as he called them), could be relied upon to produce a remedy for his tummyache, a bandage for his sores and a soothing medicine for his rheumy eyes. So, too, education meant nothing to him. The mission school did not mean a place
872 where his children could learn to read and write, but rather
* 797 a convenient nursery and boarding house where offspring
857 could be dumped during the periods when food was short in the village, and in the rainy season when parents were busy about the all-important business of planting and were only too glad to have their infants out of the way and from under their feet. They knew that in the mission the child would be well fed and housed, would even be given a yard or so of white cloth to wear and a blanket in which to roll himself at night. And when the rains were over and the grain baskets once more full, he could promptly be recalled to the family hearth, to attend to the domestic chores of minding the baby or tending the herd of goats and sheep.

The boys, too, who did condescend to attend the school, were for the most part not particularly worried about their academic advancement. They came because it was a novelty for them; it was a change from the life of the cattle camp and the village; from the milking of cows and the herding of goats and the nursing of squalling babies. They came also because of the amenities the status of a scholar offered to
[262] them; the resplendent white cloth with which to cover their

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dusty nakedness; the good red blankets to protect them from the cold at night; the two solid meals a day in which oil and salt were always to be found, and frequently meat and groundnuts as well, and the joys and thrills of football. For these and other blessings the Shilluk boy was quite willing to put up with the nuisance of having to sit in a classroom for a few hours each morning, with the grind of gozintas and the making of ridiculous marks on a slate. After all, he needn't learn these things if he didn't want to; when the novelty of the place wore off, and even the delights of football began to cloy, he could always run away and return to the freedom of the pampas and the cattle camp, and if he had any luck he might be able to get away with his cloth and his blanket too. And, by heaven, they did run away, with a regularity that became monotonous. I suppose that during the first couple of years, for every boy who found learning to his liking and settled down to make it his career, ten tired after a month or two and returned to the less exacting life of the kraal and the cattle camp.

Sometimes it would suddenly dawn on a Shilluk parent that he hadn't seen his son and heir about the place for the past week or two, and that his herd was either tended by a substitute, or else running wild to the detriment of his neighbours' corn fields, and with a baleful light in his eye and a willowy stick in his hand, he would make a bee-line for the mission. Or perhaps he would be returning from the river and would stand stock still and rub his eyes in astonished incredulity on beholding the vision of the apple of his eye clad in spotless white, his face shining with soap and his soul with virtue, among the alumni of Detwok Academy. Disturbed in whatever I was doing by the ear-piercing shrieks that one usually associates with pig killing, I would rush to the spot. But the result was always the same; the white badge of scholarship would be whipped off the boy and flung indignantly in my direction; the erring youth, after dodging round a few obstacles to avoid the shrewd cuts of the ashplant, would break for the open and hare it in the general direction of French Equatorial Africa, his irate dad

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*797 ●872 a good second, getting in a telling thwack every second or third step. I could but watch with dismay until the yells grew fainter as pursued and pursuer grew smaller in the distance, and then resignedly cross the name of yet another promising scholar from the roll.

So with one thing and another Detwok Elementary Vernacular School had something of a floating population during the first two years. In January 1940 there were some twenty pupils in Class I. When I closed the school in November there were still some twenty pupils in Class I, but alas! they were not the same twenty. There had been many incomings and outgoings during the intervening months, so that the personnel of the class, although always hovering around the twenty mark, had completely changed not once only but several times, and of the original twenty not one had stayed the course. On going across to the school on any given morning, I could never know whether I would find thirty pupils or thirteen or even three. On one historic occasion, indeed, I found none! There had been a communal fishing effort on the previous day resulting in a bumper catch. And overnight, the entire student body had hied it to the villages, nor did any of the truants return while there remained a bone to be picked clean.

Gradually, however, things improved. I was able to take a firmer hand and in 1942 let it be known far and wide that I would refuse all comers after the end of February (the school re-opened at the beginning of January), and that all who left would be refused re-admittance. In May and June, when the grain bins were emptying and the first rains were falling, the usual stream of applicants athirst for academic honours began. Steeling my heart, I refused one and all. The Shilluk were incredulous and indignant. 'Where,' they demanded, 'are we to find food for the children at this time of the year?' I regretted that I did not know, but assured them that it would not be from the school larder; I pointed out that if they had made less beer during the months of plenty, they would have sufficient now for themselves and their progeny, and bade them a courteous good-day. Those

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in the school, knowing that re-entrance was barred to them 797 *
if they ran away, and sensing what the coldness of their 872
reception at the family dinner table would be if they returned
at such a time, elected to stay, and found that actually
gozintas and all that could be fun. They remained for that
year and came back for more the following year. Numbers
grew year by year until the happy day in mid-January 1946
when I had to turn applicants away through lack of room.

At the time of writing the Shilluk have become far more [185]
education-conscious, and all our schools can now be filled
without any difficulty. Indeed the problem has now become
that of finding sufficient room and teachers for all who apply.
Even girls are coming forward in increasing numbers. The [562]
reader may have noticed that so far there has been mention
only of boys. In 1940, girl education was but an idle dream.
Now each mission has its separate girls' school in the care of
the Sisters, and so the prospects for the future Christian-
izing of the Shilluk are thereby considerably enhanced.

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583 72
604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither 304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be [881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal [565] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here [683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

304 Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young 881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man [305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, 881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go 883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. [561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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 561 881 883

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304 on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262 which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833 dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853] though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past [888] the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857] he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, [231] or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 593 but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264 and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415] over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

643 of the newly elected *reth* Nyikang and Duk are brought in procession from
778 Akurwa to Fashoda with their priests to test the new *reth*.

The conventional opposition between northern and southern divisions
182 now becomes apparent. The forces of the southern province flock to sup-
631 port the *reth*-elect and wait at Dabalo settlement while Nyikang and his
643 supporters assemble at Adodo. The two armies then march to Khor Arepajur
541 and a mock battle takes place with millet stalks instead of spears. Nyikang captures the *reth*-elect and there is a procession to the shrine of Nyikang at Fashoda. Certain ceremonies of a mystic nature follow, which are not participated in by the whole people, as are the procession and battle. The image of Nyikang is placed on the royal stool, then the king-elect sits on it and the spirit of Nyikang is believed to enter into him, and possess him causing him to tremble.

A few days later a second mock battle occurs between the king's supporters and Nyikang. The *reth* is victorious, for Nyikang has taken possession of him and the effigy is now merely the symbol of Nyikang and no longer the repository of his spirit. . In a final ceremony all the important chiefs and elders from all parts of Shillukland declare their allegiance to the new *reth*.

182 The installation ceremonies of the *reth* and the traditions relating
643 to Nyikang show how, at every point, the structure and political organisation of the Shilluk people is confirmed by ritual and by mystic symbols.

All rebellions and revolts are directed against the king in person
643 and not against the kingship itself. The unity of the Shilluk is such
669 that the various segments of the country can be represented by the common symbol of the *reth*-ship. Nevertheless, there are powerful tendencies towards fission within the structure. As has been shown, the kingship is the subject of competition on the part of the *nyireth* candidates supported by chiefs and forces available from their territories.

171 Of all the Nilotic groups for which there is any considerable information, the Shilluk alone form a single political unit, or nation, as opposed to a number of separate tribes or tribal groups which are culturally similar but not politically unified. At the same time, the principles of their political structure and social organisation are similar in many respects to those of the rest of the Nilotes, in particular the Anuak.

AGE SETS

114 Apart from a brief mention by Hofmayr, the only information concerning the Shilluk age sets is contained in Howell's article in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1941, Vol.XXIV.

541 On reaching puberty a Shilluk boy is initiated into the age-set organisation. A Shilluk age set is known as *ric* and is made up of three
[887] or more subdivisions each consisting of men of approximately the same age, who have herded cattle together as boys. A man always remains in the subdivision into which he has been initiated, but a periodical shuffling of the subdivisions alters their respective positions in an age set and the whole age-set organisation. A reorganisation of the groups of subdivisions

182 561 621 from the fact that the *jago*, elders of the *dyil* clan, and other lineage representatives, hold political authority quite apart from the age organisation. The age sets take no part in disputes within the settlement, but when the settlement as a whole goes to war the warriors "... are mobilised into age sets."(1) Howell suggests that formerly the age organisation had special military functions, but whether this was so or not, the age sets seem to fulfil a more peaceful purpose today, and form a useful basis for organising the relations of generations for social purposes.

The Ngol Ceremony

561 624 At the *ngol* ceremony a war leader *(ban)* is elected. The *ban* has no administrative or political functions. His duties consist in organising the mobilisation of the warriors and presiding at communal feasts at which people assemble in age sets. His age mates may assist him in his cultivations. After the *ngol* ceremony each age set is given a new name.

Initiation

561 ●881 There are no elaborate rites of initiation among the Shilluk. Participation in a dance, the *cong bul* marks the initiation of a youth in the age organisation. The *cong bul* is a social affair which is arranged periodically with the permission of the *jago* of the settlement. It is not a ceremony of initiation in the normal sense but merely a formal recognition by the community that a lad has reached adult status and can take part in a man's obligations and privileges. Previous to the *cong bul* a youth is restricted in that he may not fight with spears, take part in war or in any dance other than one held for children. Before the *cong bul* he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of ornaments.

The *cong bul* is attended by a boy when he is 14-16 years old, or earlier if he has to take over the duties of family head through the death of his father. A youth normally obtains his father's permission and another man is appointed to act as his sponsor. The sponsor ceremonially adorns the youth with ornaments before he enters the dance. At the beginning of the dance the warriors salute the *jago*, advance in formation and fling themselves before him.

[553 556] At the time of the *cong bul* the initiated is usually presented with two spears by his father. Rich men give their sons an ox and they take their ox-names from these animals. An ox so given is kept until it dies and then a new one of the same colour is substituted. After the *cong bul* the initiates visit relatives and travel round the countryside for a few months.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

614 There are about a hundred patrilineal clans in Shillukland. Each clan has a name which is preceded by the word *kwar*, meaning 'descendants of'. All clansmen trace their descent from a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special observances and are exogamous.(2)

613 614 The Shilluk clans, like all Nilotic clans, are dispersed, each clan

(1) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.57. (2) *Ibid.*, p.47.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may
join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that
pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted
to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722]
in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the
same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. In the few cases that I have [558]
known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted
that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they
had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay
their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to
claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the
beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōṅo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried
cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and
burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished.
It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is
poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little
balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small
boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [212]
of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and
dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young
ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights
in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881 ●
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at
an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps
fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty
years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be
initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and
also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village.
Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

561 class. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear [701] that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might [726] cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually ● 881 goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rek) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (wīn). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rek in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. 593 The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, " You are too 881 small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. When a boy has danced in defiance to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to " soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, " The boy went to a dance. You refused,

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but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726] into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kōk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the ●881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to 513 get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 428 say, " His property is on the ground (jumḕ ya pịñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukḕ).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tịịṅ ayạj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tịnḕ atwị) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her. 291 881

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season. 425 562 621 484 [535 221]

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rek) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rek?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox. [593]

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a baña. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rek, as the chief of the village is crowned. In 562 624 484

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561 726

Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881 535 881 [622] 858 [626] 881

Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished
[534] work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants. The important men of the settlement, the *Jak* and their assistants
[554] and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal
[291] "*Lau*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and sashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting
[411] shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small
[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round
[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamble and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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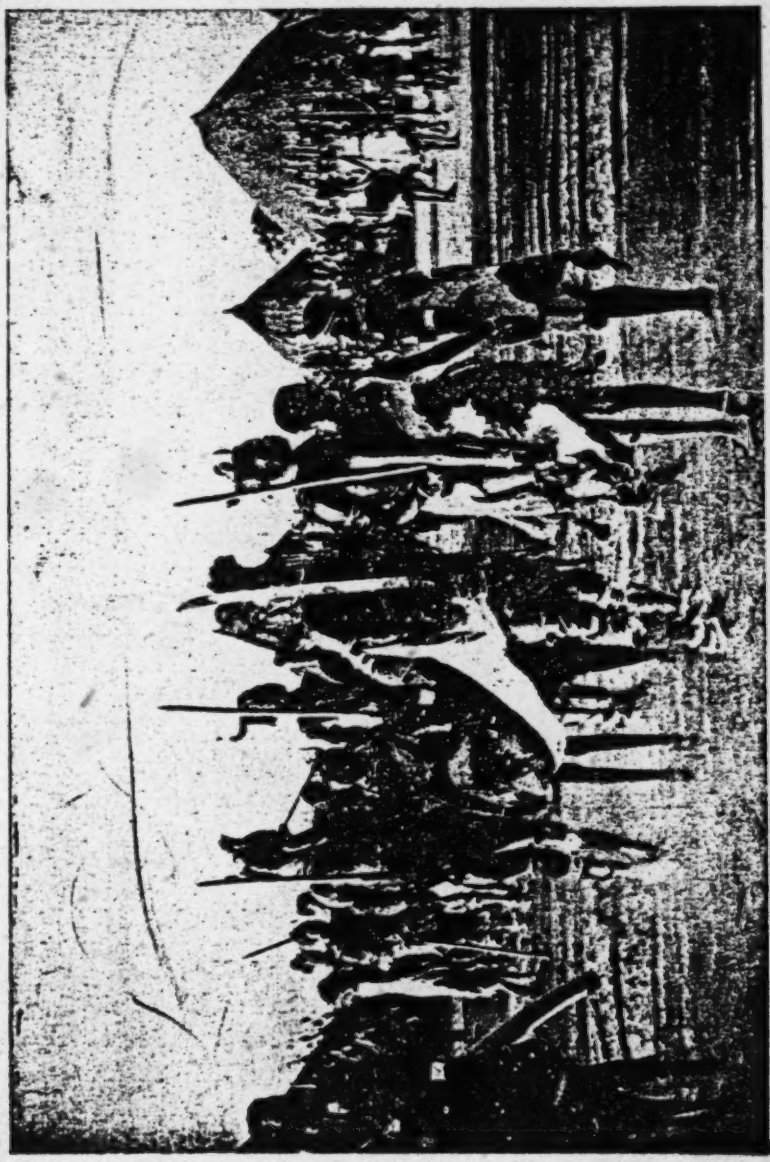

THE DANCE IN PROGRESS.

[p. 62 A]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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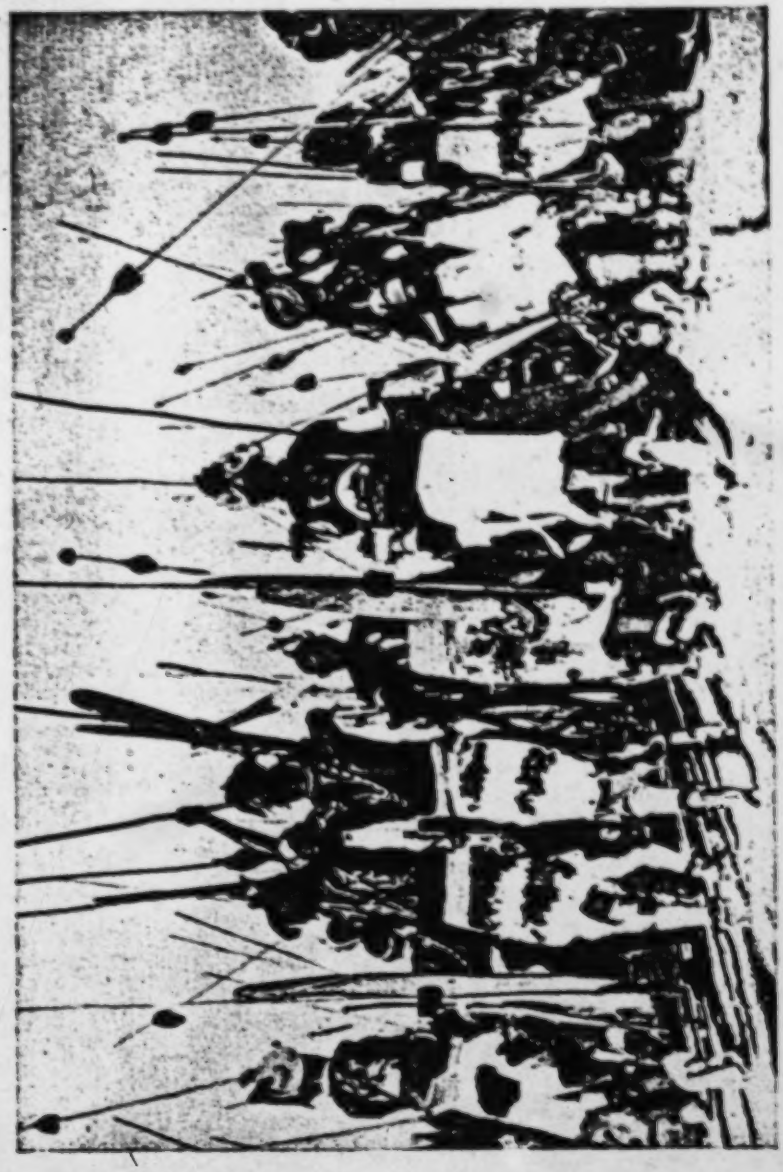

WARRIORS SALUTE THE DRUM.

[p.62 B]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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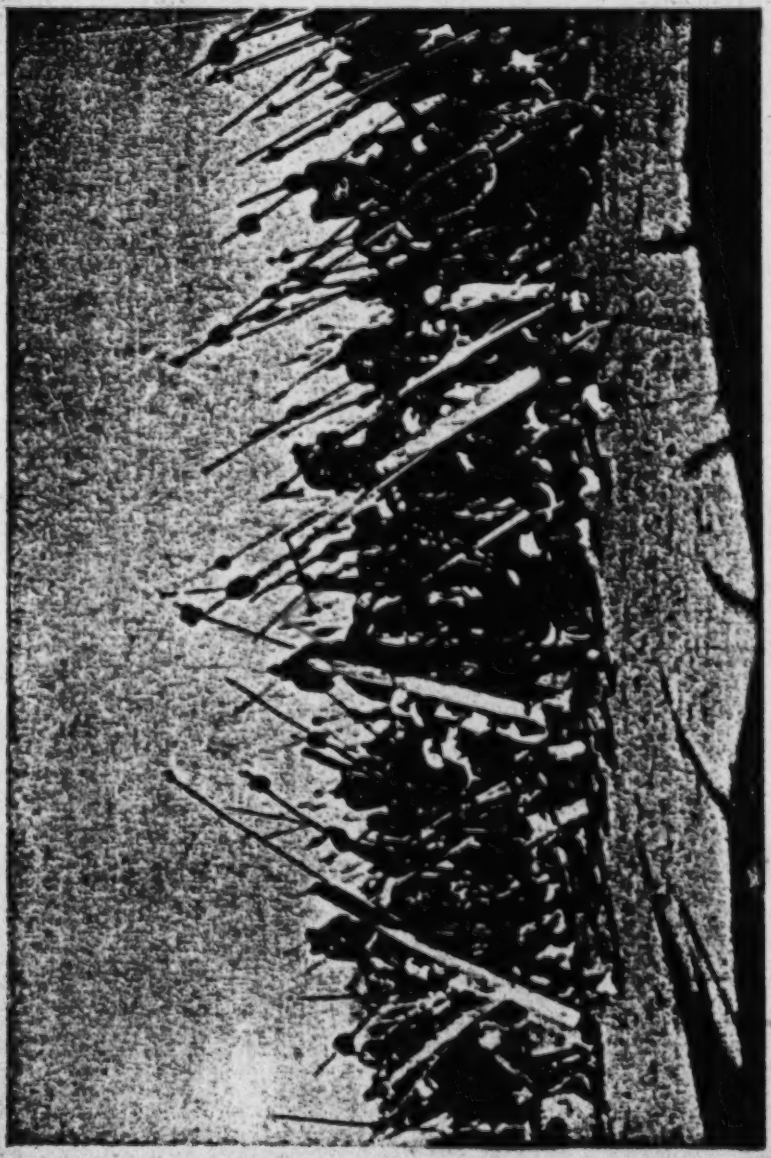

Warriors salute the Chief.

[p. 62 c]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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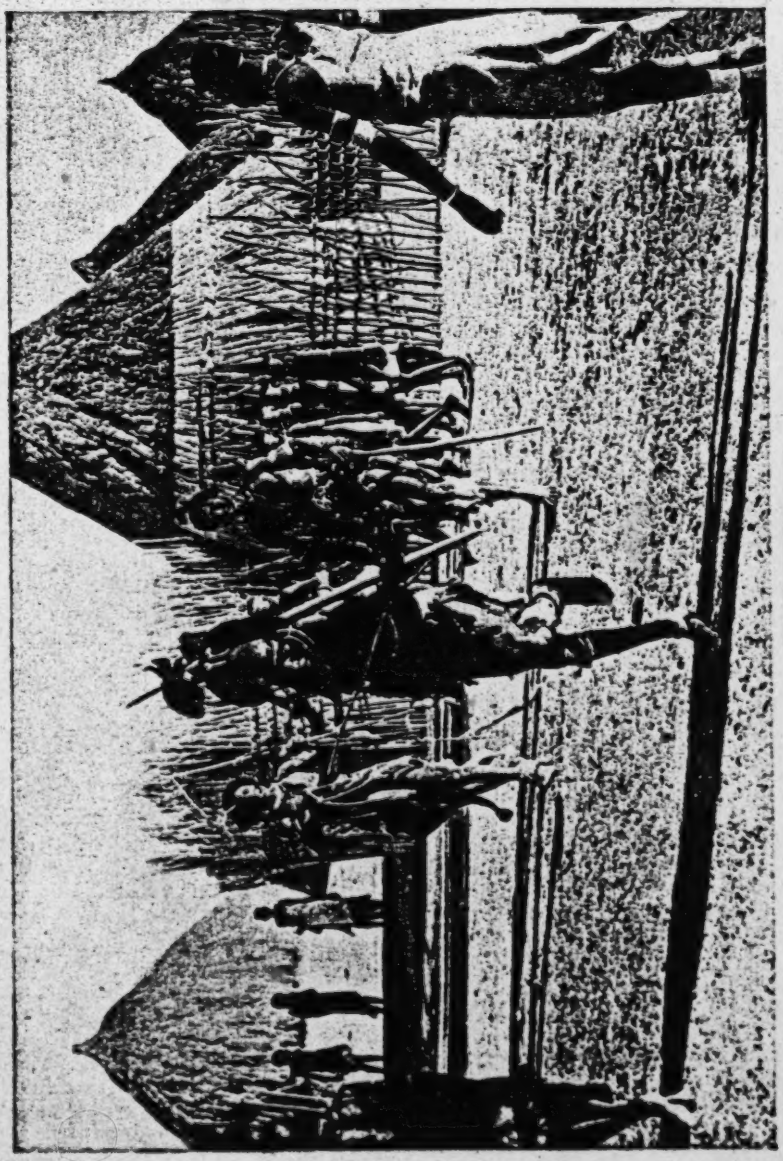

[p. 62 D]

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the rush.

Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
881 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
431 with a bull (*Walh Owono*) as well.[8] This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies. It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114 to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before final reintegration into the community in adult status.

At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
535 together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards. The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The *Walh Owono* is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is as follows:

> "I have a grey bull, a great bull,
> I am going to Golbaign to buy a bell,
> A bell for the bull that lives in
> My fathers byre."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the roar of voices and the clashing of weapons might well 461
make him apprehensive that he would soon find himself on the scene of a bloody battle between two rival villages. However, the reality would prove such fears unfounded, for he would merely discover that the dance was on, and that Shilluk youth was taking an afternoon off to enjoy itself. The Shilluk is fonder of dancing, we may suppose, than of 535
anything else in the world. He will walk, or rather run and leap and jump, for miles to a place where dancing is to take place; and as he goes along he will lift his unmusical voice in raucous song, or give vent to blood-curdling whoops, springing high into the air and lunging with his spear at imaginary foes. Then for the next two or three hours he will bruise his great flat feet by pounding them on the ground, and yell himself hoarse, yet return home at the end of it not a bit less exuberant than when he set off. It may be the rainy season when the food stores are at their lowest level, and he will return home to a damp, fireless hut and an empty food bowl, but he does not mind; if he cannot eat and drink, at least he can make merry, and the dance will continue tomorrow and the day after too.

The day of his first dance marks a high light in the life of 535
a Shilluk boy. Up to this he has been a wistful onlooker, a 881
mere boy among other boys, whose occupation has been the minding of sheep and goats, the cleaning out of the cattle byre, the fetching and carrying for his betters; now, however, he has become as good as they are. He may dye his cloth as red and do up his hair as elaborately as they; carry real spears, not just some blunted cast-off a good-natured elder brother has given him; sit in council among his equals; take up his good new spear, if necessary, in defence of his village or his tribe.

On the day of the dance therefore, he attires himself with great care; his body shines with oil and is liberally powdered [302]
with red ochre; his hair is dressed in the way beloved of [292]
Shilluk youth; since 'tails' are *de rigueur* for these functions, he [237]
wears them: an antelope skin bound round his waist by a [301]
coloured sash with two strips of skin from the legs hanging

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

down at the back; round his neck, instead of a white tie, he wears a collar of discs cut from the shell of an ostrich egg and a necklet of hair from the tail of a giraffe; his face is painted in some tasteful design in red, white and blue; his arms are loaded with all the beads he possesses or can beg, borrow or steal, and if he can fasten a large clanging bell to one elbow, he is extra pleased; his legs are cross-gartered with strings of metal shells, the size and shape of mussel shells, which give a most satisfying clashing sound when he moves; in his right hand he carries the three-foot long dancing stick of brown wood adorned at the top with two lugs of leather, in his left he grasps his dancing shield, a short, thick cylinder of ambach wood. Thus accoutred, he takes his beautiful new spear in the hand which holds the dancing stick, and with great pride sets out, surrounded by a bevy of admiring females, to join a number of his fellow dancers. Some of these are neophytes like himself, others have long since tasted the sweetness of the initiation dance, but all are picturesquely garbed and bedecked in the same way. In single file they proceed, running and yelling, leaping and whooping, towards the distant village where the drums are already beginning to throb and to which noisy throngs are converging from all sides. The girls follow on, no less excited than their brothers and sweethearts, and as they run along they give vent to their feelings in shrill ululations. They are more soberly dressed than the gorgeous males: an animal skin or a dark blue cloth is fastened on one shoulder and falls to the knees; they have anointed themselves with oil, put on their best beads, and perhaps smeared a little red dust on the top of their heads and touched up their faces with a little paint. Yet they need not worry that lack of charm or beauty will mean a lack of partners; if there are to be any wallflowers at the dance, they will be among the men, for every girl will have her beau. Nor need they have any misgivings about not knowing the correct steps; a leap upwards and backwards in time with the beat of the drums and a half turn to right and left with every dozen steps is all that is required. It is not grace of move-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ment so much as endurance that is called for at a Shilluk dance. 535 881

The festivities are opened by a salute of the warriors to the assembled chiefs. The leader of the band approaches carrying a bowl of dust and asks the senior chief present or the leading guest to bless the dance; he takes a little dust [788] from the bowl and sprinkles it on the ground while calling down a blessing on the gathering. Then the warriors who are congregated at the opposite end of the field thunder forward with whoops and cries, their spears uplifted to strike, the lust of killing in their eyes; they stop dead in their tracks when the spears of the front rank are but a foot away from the row of chiefs and guests, and a roar of laughter goes up if they succeed in making anyone flinch. A second wave follows the first and so on, until with the onslaught of the last group this phase of the dance ends. The beat of the drums now quickens its tempo, spears are discarded in favour of dancing sticks and ambach shields, and the girls come forward to claim partners. A girl may take part in the [562] dance almost at any age, so that little girls of not more than twelve years of age are found taking their places in the long lines being formed. The dancers arrange themselves two abreast, the boys facing the girls; the boys stand with arms bent and sticks held upright, the girls hold themselves rigid with their arms pressed close to their sides. As three hundred pairs of feet thud down in unison, the ground seems to shake and dust rises in clouds; the drums throb, feet thump, the metal shells clash and bells clang, male voices yell hoarsely and female trill—the din is indescribable. The long lines circle slowly round the dancing floor, the boys jumping forward and the girls backward; in a concerted movement the girls raise their arms as if to ward off a blow and make a turn, first to the left, then to the right, while their male partners make the same half turns, bringing their sticks and shields over the girls' heads to protect them, as it were, from the threatened attack. This movement which is done at every dozen or so steps is the only variation in the monotonous jumping of the dance. A rest is called when the drummers

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

535 are exhausted, but it is not long before the drumming is
881 renewed with fresh vigour, for there is no lack of volunteers for the privilege of supplying the rhythm required, with a rapid slap of palm or thump of stick.

If our European traveller has halted to watch the dance and stayed as long as this, he will by now be deafened by the noise, choked by the dust and made dizzy by the monotonous movements of the dancers. He will be relieved when at last he is able to make his apologies to his host, ease up his cramped legs from the cowskin on which he has been sitting and make his escape. The din will follow him along the road, until in the distance it becomes a subdued murmur and finally dies away altogether. Behind him the dance continues with unabated enthusiasm, but when the sun begins to go down behind the trees, the party breaks up, and those who took part in it, still filled with the excitement which has possessed them all the afternoon, leap and shout and sing their way homeward. For them life is good. This is only the first day of the dance; there will be another tomorrow, and the day after that. Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow—we dance!

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 **REARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN**

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

854 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

868 is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection

551 with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ajoa* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñowail₂* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 **SLAVES**

The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 **BURIAL**

When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

592 there may be a dependent relative or friend. A man's sons live in his homestead until they get married; if their father is dead, they live in the *gol* of their eldest brother or in that of their father's married [679] brother. The owner of the homestead is the head of the *gol*; he holds the cattle belonging to the unit and is responsible for the behaviour of the members of his *gol*. He has to pay cattle in compensation for any wrong which may be committed by any of the members.

The Hamlet (pac)

34 Hamlets are built about 100 yards apart on high ground parallel to the river. They vary considerably in size according to the number of homesteads which compose them. The homesteads of a hamlet are grouped round a cattle kraal containing a hut which shelters all the herds in the rainy season. The byre and hut are used as the general meeting-places and social centres for the inhabitants at all times and guests are entertained [882] there. There is often a *geu*, a hut with no surrounding fence, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. The hamlet is a homogeneous 621 unit being an extended family group or a small lineage.

[613] *The Settlement (poth)*

The settlement consists of a number of hamlets, occupied by different [361] lineages. There are several hundred settlements, often not spacially distinct from one another. There is, however, a structural division which is recognised by the people themselves in referring to the settlement units. In spite of lineage differentiations within each settlement, all unite to defend the whole, all take part in the ritual of the age-set organisation, all participate in the settlement's relations with other settlements and all acknowledge a common chief.

554 The lineage organisation within a settlement revolves round two recog-613 nised types of lineages: the *dyil* and the *weth*. It is said that Nyikang, 621 the Shilluk culture hero and founder of the present Shilluk tribe, origin-[173] ally granted each settlement to a clan. The surviving descendants of the grantees are considered the 'owners of the soil' and are termed *dyil* to distinguish them from lineages which settled on their land later and which are called *weth*. If the original owners of the land are extinct, the *weth* lineage next in importance takes their place and becomes *dyil*. The members of the *dyil* lineage are closely associated with the land they occupy and are accorded considerable prestige and authority in virtue of their position and this association. The *dyil* form the core of the settlement and political activities revolve round them. The *weth* lineage members are not socially inferior, but the *dyil* lineages have greater prestige and are expected to be the leaders in important matters in the settlement. For this reason the *dyil* of a settlement is the 'dominant lineage'.

[622] The chief of the settlement, the *jago*, is taken from the *dyil* lineage. In practice, it occasionally happens that the dominant position of the *dyil* lineage is taken over by a stronger, wealthier, and more numerous lineage but, even if dispossessed of political power and the chieftainship, the original *dyil* lineage retains its ritual connection with the soil and also much of its local prestige. This ritual relationship remains so long as any living representatives of the original *dyil* lineage remain.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

342 the liver, stomach, heart, tongue, upper lip, lower lip, and lungs. The
782 walls of the house are then pushed down, and these bits are cast on the
821 mound. They are to be thrown by a servant of Deṅ. The soup in which the meat was cooked is taken by the chief servant of Deṅ present, and the next in rank takes a gourd of beer, and they pour these upon the mound at the same time that the meat is thrown on it. The people then dance, while they sing a song of Deṅ. While the servants of Deṅ put the higlig branch (ȳk Deṅ) in place, the rest of the people run to the river to take a bath.

751 At the close of the rainy season the family of the person who has been struck by lightning invite the people of the village to drink beer.
821 One gourd full of the beer is thrown into the air for Deṅ. This observance often becomes an annual event in the family. They think it helps to keep the lightning away.

342 A house is never built on the exact location of a house that has been
821 struck by lightning, though another may be built near the place. An
778 object that has been struck by lightning is sometimes worshipped. Sacrifices may be killed and eaten in front of it.

177 Many of these ceremonies are borrowed from the Dinkas. Deṅ is worshipped by the Dinkas; they are "Deṅ's people." He is the spirit of the rain, or the rain.

132 The rains at the beginning and close of the rainy season are very often accompanied by considerable electrical displays. It is small
000 wonder that the natives behold in amazed terror the wonderful power of nature, and it is still less cause to marvel that they try to placate the powers of the storm. The westerner, with his scientific knowledge of electricity, is often awed by the gleam of the lightning and the crash of thunder, and it is not surprising that the uneducated native is even more awed by it.

Rites connected with the Dance Initiation.

882 The Shilluk lad looks forward with eagerness to the time when he will be permitted to join in the dances of his people. Not only does he long for the time because of the social pleasure, as dancing is the chief amusement of the people, but the right to dance carries with it other privileges.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Many things are denied to the young man who has not been properly 882
initiated. He cannot take part in the formal dances, though he may join in the moonlight dances of the children. He is debarred from that pursuit so dear to the heart of the small boy, that is, he is not permitted to go to their tribal fights. However, he enjoys immunity from danger [722] in these fights, as women and boys who have not danced are placed in the same class; it is a disgrace to kill them. [558] In the few cases that I have known of small lads being killed, the ones who did the killing insisted that it was a mistake—that either the weapon had miscarried or they had mistaken the lad for someone else. Some timid lads may delay their initiation through fear, but to the majority it is a challenge to claim the full rights of men. The boy who has not danced is not per- 301
mitted to wear the large necklaces made from the heavy hairs of the 882
giraffe tail. He may wear a band of a few hairs, but the large ones called 237
wīn are forbidden to him. He is also forbidden to wear the rek, the beads made from the eggshell of the ostrich. He is not permitted to 302
use "ajōṅo" on his hair. This is a brick-like substance made by taking 882
the cleaning from the floor of the stable in the morning, and then dried cow dung is put with it, and the resulting mixture is made into a loaf and burned with cow dung. It has a brick-like appearance when finished. It is then powdered. The young man puts oil on his head. The dust is poured on his head, and he keeps shaking his head to get it to form little balls. Other red preparations for the head may be used by the small boys. The lad who has not danced is not permitted to wear the skins [292] of the various members of the cat tribe that the men wear at fights and dances. Finally, he is not permitted to make a formal call on the young ladies until after he has danced, and he is not granted any political rights in the village council.

The ages at the time of initiation vary. A strong lad is initiated at 881
an earlier age than a weakling. The older men say that boys dance at an earlier age than they did formerly. The average age now is perhaps fifteen years. Some of the older men say it used to be at least twenty years. When all the older males in a family are dead a boy may be initiated younger so that he can inherit the property of his father, and also to give the family representation in the civic life of the village. Initiations may occur at both the spring and autumn dances. Those 561
initiated the same year have a feeling of relationship for others of the same

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. 593
I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who 881
has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually 561
have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up [726] into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young 535
men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in 881
the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (kǭk lanā)." In that he refers to the skin he wears. The woman who asks him to dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwā). 882

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his 513 initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 428 say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya piñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

People who are of the same age are called (tiṇ ayaj). They are 561 expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 881 develop (tiṇē atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference 607
to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" [584]
relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman 607
persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride- 586
wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. 883
The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by 883
night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible 584
boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by 836
blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nyu dey cuen*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

583 72
604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither
304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be
[881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal
[865] family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here
[683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two
304 or three lines of scars, called *sai*, being made, which in the young
881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man
[305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term,
881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances.
● 883 It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that
[561] they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty agrees that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

845 BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

854 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps. Education

868 is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 551 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Ajgu* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Ñamoilg* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 135.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merissa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

882 After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance [593] with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man [558] is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. [581] Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the 881 girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

883 If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to 513 get the right to call on the women ? "

553 After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they 428 say, " His property is on the ground (jumē ya pjñ). Later when the boy 882 has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukē).

561 People who are of the same age are called (tijñ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear 291 a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to 681 develop (tinē atwj) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN IDLE SHILLUK.

By Captain G. P. Cann.

WHILE passing through the river ports of the Central District of the Upper Nile Province a casual observer is prone to comment on the apparent idleness of the Shilluk, as if it was the normal state of the tribe; and although such a traveller is probably within his rights in drawing this conclusion from the abnormal conditions under which he meets the Shilluk in river ports—for the native of the Southern Districts of the Sudan has certainly achieved a high standard in the art of doing nothing when on holiday—he is desired to remember that the Shilluk seen on the river bank on the arrival of a steamer is keenly interested (and even amused) in all the strange sights that meet his eye: the steamer itself with its tiers of decks with the Rais and sailors on the roof, the motley collection of humanity on the barges, and by no means least the *bwing* or foreigner with his hated camera and amazing dress and incredible customs. 181 517

Can one wonder, then, that the Shilluk is prepared to stand for hours and simply gaze on such interesting sights?

The writer is 'on trek' at the moment, and is so struck by the strong relief afforded by village life that he has fallen to the use of the pen in vindication of the libelled Shilluk.

Awaking long before dawn one finds that smoke fires amongst the cattle have been kept up assiduously throughout the night, and already shadowy forms are passing amongst the herds and moving a beast where necessary to get more benefit from the smoke. 512 233 883

Dawn approaches and the herds are becoming restless, so every man turns to to release them, and four or five youths drive the cattle away some two or three miles inland, where flies are known to be less troublesome, and a first feed of dry grass is available to start the day.

Almost immediately hosts of small boys appear on the scene, the smaller ones—from seven to ten years of age—to bring out the goats and sheep from the *luaks* in which they have passed the night, safe from 233 512 857

[p. 251]

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

233 the depredations of hyænas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years
512 to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean
857 out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle,
[556] and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

233 At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture
512 accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for
883 protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certa[illegible]
[226] amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to th[illegible] duties and turn to the older men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-
241 bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation
462 area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—
512 before dawn; this early start becomes of vital importance when the
[361] dura is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

462 Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides
512 carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are
[361] usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before
[312 dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river
415] to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use
482] of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *puk* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

361 Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have
[101] become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in propor-
tion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual
[221] migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken
across to islands and the youths accompanying them build temporary
[883] cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[101] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dunjol Dinka living
opposite them receive, namely an annual refresher course in clan
614 organisation. The Dunjol Dinka village organisation disintegrates
631 in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer
grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk
and consequently the clan organisation is more masked by the growth
of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, super-
imposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the
clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively
simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly
clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the
sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic
habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping
621 together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence
182 against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."
721

THE CLAN (KWAR).

614 *Kwar* (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name
of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. *Kwar*
Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor
is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the
tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and
although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has
ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or 643
standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is [173]
no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been 643
assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the 565
fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well- [173]
informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health [886]
of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this [173]
there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt 173
that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or 643
possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

123 643 Our task has not been easy. It was almost impossible—particularly during the more public events which were attended by thousands of Shilluk--to observe all the individual ritual acting which occurred, often simultaneously. The scene was set from Kwomo to Tonga—a distance of about 160 miles—and the whole tribe entered into the spirit of the occasion. Moreover, it was not seemly to interrogate the performers while the ceremonies were going on. Thus, while in many cases we observed behaviour, ritual and emotional 124 attitudes displayed by individuals or crowds, we were not able to 643 interrupt to demand an explanation from the participants. Most of the onlookers knew little more than we did, though the events had to them an accepted meaning in the context of tradition stamped on [88] their minds from birth, but only vaguely so, for Shilluk tradition rests in the minds of the elders. In a series of ceremonies, which are [614] carried out by many clans each with its peculiar duties to perform, each man knows with any degree of accuracy only the part that he must play. Subsequent interrogation was often sterile. Sometimes the Shilluk do not know, sometimes tradition exists only as such and the meaning is lost in antiquity. Interest after the event--at the time roused to a high pitch of emotional excitement--soon dies down. Answers were therefore often evasive, contradictory and even misleading.

128 643 Subsequent events, prolonged leave in England, accumulated administrative duties, etc., have made it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue our investigations. The installation of Anei Kur is three years past, and the results of our observations must be published now at the risk of criticism. We have omitted in many cases to explain fully the meaning of the varied forms of ritual, and failed to include a full description of the origin and significance of the many sacred and material objects used. At this stage of our investigations it would be misleading to speculate too deeply into those things about which our knowledge is far from complete.

643 It is not easy to draw conclusions, but certain facts are abundantly clear :-

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NIKAWNG'S PLACE
IN THE SHILLUK RELIGION

BY REV. D. S. OYLER.

The Shilluks being without a written language have lacked the means to collect and verify their religious beliefs. When asked as to their beliefs they refer to the old men, who have given them the traditions. Defects of memory, different sources of information, and the personal beliefs, and desires of the narrator, tend to give a diversity of belief. [173] [212] [887]

The Shilluks profess belief in a Supreme Being. He is greater than Nikawng or any other king. He is the Creator of the world, but he is far distant. They are not able to come into close contact with him, and feeling that he is far beyond their reach, and dismayed by the disasters, which come to them apparently from the hand of God, they feel the need of some one to stand between them and God. Nikawng is the chief intermediary, though others stand between them and God, either for good or evil. The distance of the Creator, and the nearness of the intercessor often tends to give him the greater power and influence. 776

They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor. A typical prayer in which Nikawng is invoked with God can be given. 776 782 539

« We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones, who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the sea (river) is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you. Now hear all of you, you the people of the earth, and save us. The person who rejects your talk will die. » 776

This veneration of Nikawng may possibly be a bit of ancestor worship, 769 782

[p. 283]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

 561 881

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, 883
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over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

763 sound that is prolonged for about ten minutes and is renewed at intervals during the day as relatives or friends of the deceased arrive for the funeral.

[166] I have said previously that the Shilluk are fond of wandering from their own villages. They will settle and live for years at the other end of the country, perhaps among the people of another tribe or in another province. But no matter how long a man has been away from his own people, he will always endeavour to return to die among them, and if he should fall ill whilst away from home he will try to let his kinsfolk know in order that they may come and fetch him, or will have himself carried back. If, however, he should die 766 away from home the news of his death is greeted with the customary wailing, and some member of his family must visit his grave and bring back some of the earth from it; this is buried near the dead man's home and the funeral ceremonies are enacted over it as though the corpse itself were present.

761 It is the Shilluk tradition that the king should not be 682 permitted to die a natural death, but should be ceremoni- [643] ously smothered by his womenfolk. The same is true of a chief, but whether the reasons for the killing in this case are the same as those which decide the death of the king is not clear. Certainly a chief who had been ill for a month and showed no signs of recovery would be speedily put out of the way. [888] The custom seems to extend to other cases too; an old man would be smothered as also would be one suffering from a long and painful illness, and the same is done too, in some cases at least, shortly before death would take place naturally. I myself saw a dying boy being smothered by his own mother. She propped him up between her knees and passed her hand over his nose and mouth. I thought that she was wiping away the mucus that was coming from his nose and mouth, and it was only when he had ceased to breathe that I realized to my horror that she had killed him. When questioned about the reasons for this 'mercy' killing the Shilluk are vague and evasive. They say, for instance, that it is a humiliation for anyone to die naturally.